





GRUNDRISS DER INDO-ARISCHEN PHILOLOGIE UND ALTERTUMSKUNDE

(ENCYCLOPEDIA OF INDO-ARYAN RESEARCH)

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON G. BÜHLER.

III. BAND, 1. HEFT A.

VEDIC MYTHOLOGY

BY

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I. INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. Religion and mythology. — Religion in its widest sense includes on the one hand the conception which men entertain of the divine or supernatural powers and, on the other, that sense of the dependence of human welfare on those powers which finds its expression in various forms of worship. Mythology is connected with the former side of religion as furnishing the whole body of myths or stories which are told about gods and heroes and which describe their character and origin, their actions and surroundings. Such myths have their source in the attempt of the human mind, in a primitive and unscientific age, to explain the various forces and phenomena of nature with which man is confronted. They represent in fact the conjectural science of a primitive mental condition. For statements which to the highly civilised mind would be merely metaphorical, amount in that early stage to explanations of the phenomena observed. The intellectual difficulties raised by the course of the heavenly bodies, by the incidents of the thunderstorm, by reflexions on the origin and constitution of the outer world, here receive their answers in the form of stories. The basis of these myths is the primitive attitude of mind which regards all nature as an aggregate of animated entities. A myth actually arises when the imagination interprets a natural event as the action of a personified being resembling the human agent. Thus the observation that the moon follows the sun without overtaking it, would have been transformed into a myth by describing the former as a maiden following a man by whom she is rejected. Such an original myth enters on the further stage of poetical embellishment, as soon as it becomes the property of people endowed with creative imagination. Various traits are now added according to the individual fancy of the narrator, as the story passes from mouth to mouth. The natural phenomenon begins to fade out of the picture as its place is taken by a detailed representation of human passions. When the natural basis of the tale is forgotten, new touches totally unconnected with its original significance may be added or even transferred from other myths. When met with at a late stage of its development, a myth may be so far overgrown with secondary accretions unconnected with its original form, that its analysis may be extremely difficult or even impossible. Thus it would be hard indeed to discover the primary naturalistic elements in the characters or actions of the Hellenic gods, if we knew only the highly anthropomorphic deities in the plays of Euripides.

B. DELBRÜCK, ZVP. 1865, pp. 266—99; KUHN, Über Entwicklungsstufen der Mythenbildung, Berliner Ak. der Wissenschaften 1873, pp. 123—51; MAX MÜLLER, Comparative Mythology. Oxford Essays. II; Philosophy of Mythology. Selected

Essays. I; Chips from a German Workship, IV[2], 155—201; Physical Religion 276—8; SCHWARTZ, Der Ursprung der Mythologie; MANNHARDT, Antike Wald- und Feldkulte, Berlin 1871, Preface; MÜLLENHOFF in preface to MANNHARDT'S Mythologische Forschungen, Strassburg 1884; LANG, Mythology. Encyclopaedia Britannica; GRUPPE, Die griechischen Culte und Mythen. Introduction; BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. XV, 135—6; F. B. JEVONS, Mythology. CHAMBERS' Encyclopaedia; Introduction to the History of Religion, London 1896, pp. 23. 32. 249—69.

§ 2. Characteristics of Vedic mythology. — Vedic mythology occupies a very important position in the study of the history of religions. Its oldest source presents to us an earlier stage in the evolution of beliefs based on the personification and worship of natural phenomena, than any other literary monument of the world. To this oldest phase can be traced by uninterrupted development the germs of the religious beliefs of the great majority of the modern Indians, the only branch of the Indo-European race in which its original nature worship has not been entirely supplanted many centuries ago by a foreign monotheistic faith. The earliest stage of Vedic mythology is not so primitive as was at one time supposed[1], but it is sufficiently primitive to enable us to see clearly enough the process of personification by which natural phenomena developed into gods, a process not apparent in other literatures. The mythology, no less than the language, is still transparent enough in many cases to show the connexion both of the god and his name with a physical basis; nay, in several instances the anthropomorphism is only incipient. Thus *uṣas*, the dawn, is also a goddess wearing but a thin veil of personification; and when *agni*, fire, designates the god, the personality of the deity is thoroughly interpenetrated by the physical element.

The foundation on which Vedic mythology rests, is still the belief, surviving from a remote antiquity, that all the objects and phenomena of nature with which man is surrounded, are animate and divine. Everything that impressed the soul with awe or was regarded as capable of exercising a good or evil influence on man, might in the Vedic age still become a direct object not only of adoration but of prayer. Heaven, earth, mountains, rivers, plants might be supplicated as divine powers; the horse, the cow, the bird of omen, and other animals might be invoked; even objects fashioned by the hand of man, weapons, the war-car, the drum, the plough, as well as ritual implements, such as the pressing-stones and the sacrificial post, might be adored.

This lower form of worship, however, occupies but a small space in Vedic religion. The true gods of the Veda are glorified human beings, inspired with human motives and passions, born like men, but immortal. They are almost without exception the deified representatives of the phenomena or agencies of nature[2]. The degree of anthropomorphism to which they have attained, however, varies considerably. When the name of the god is the same as that of his natural basis, the personification has not advanced beyond the rudimentary stage. Such is the case with Dyaus, Heaven, Pṛthivī, Earth, Sūrya, Sun, Uṣas, Dawn, whose names represent the double character of natural phenomena and of the persons presiding over them. Similarly in the case of the two great ritual deities, Agni and Soma, the personifying imagination is held in check by the visible and tangible character of the element of fire and the sacrificial draught, called by the same names, of which they are the divine embodiments. When the name of the deity is different from that of the physical substrate, he tends to become dissociated from the latter, the anthropomorphism being then more developed. Thus the Maruts or Storm-gods are farther removed from their origin than Vāyu, Wind, though the Vedic poets are still conscious of the connexion. Finally, when in addition to the difference in name, the conception of a god dates from a

pre-Vedic period, the severance may have become complete. Such is the case with Varuṇa, in whom the connexion can only be inferred from mythological traits surviving from an earlier age. The process of abstraction has here proceeded so far, that Varuṇa's character resembles that of the divine ruler in a monotheistic belief of an exalted type. Personification has, however, nowhere in Vedic mythology attained to the individualized anthropomorphism characteristic of the Hellenic gods. The Vedic deities have but very few distinguishing features, while many attributes and powers are shared by all alike. This is partly due to the fact that the departments of nature which they represent have often much in common, while their anthropomorphism is comparatively undeveloped. Thus the activity of a thunder-god, of the fire-god in his lightning form, and of the storm-gods might easily be described in similar language, their main function in the eyes of the Vedic poets being the discharge of rain. Again, it cannot be doubted that various Vedic deities have started from the same source[3], but have become differentiated by an appellative denoting a particular attribute having gradually assumed an independent character. Such is the case with the solar gods. There is, moreover, often a want of clearness in the statements of the Vedic poets about the deeds of the gods; for owing to the character of the literature, myths are not related but only alluded to. Nor can thorough consistency be expected in such mythological allusions when it is remembered that they are made by a number of different poets, whose productions extend over a prolonged literary period.

[1] BRI. XIII ff.; P. v. BRADKE, Dyaus Asura, Halle 1885, 2—11; ZDMG. 40, 670. — [2] ORV. 591—4. — [3] L. v. SCHROEDER, WZKM. 9, 125—6; cp. BRI. 25.

Works on Vedic Mythology in general: R. ROTH, Die höchsten Götter der arischen Völker, ZDMG. 6, 67—77; 7, 607; BÖHTLINGK and ROTH, Sanskritwörterbuch, 7 vols., St. Petersburg 1852—75; J. MUIR, Original Sanskrit Texts on the Origin and History of the People of India, their Religion and Institutions, 5 vols., especially vols. 4² revised (1873) and 5³ (1884); GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch zum Ṛig-Veda, Leipzig 1873; Ṛig-Veda übersetzt und mit kritischen und erläuternden Anmerkungen versehen, 2 vols., Leipzig 1876—7; W. D. WHITNEY, Oriental and Linguistic Studies, 2, 149 ff.; JAOS. 3, 291 ff. 331 ff.; P. WURM, Geschichte der indischen Religion, Basel 1874, pp. 21—54; A. BERGAIGNE, La Religion Védique d'après les Hymnes du Ṛigveda, 3 vols., Paris 1878—83; A. LUDWIG, Der Rigveda oder die heiligen Hymnen der Brāhmaṇa. Zum ersten Male vollständig ins Deutsche übersetzt. Mit Commentar und Einleitung. Prag, Wien, Leipzig 1876—88; F. MAX MÜLLER, Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, London 1878; A. KAEGI, Der Rigveda, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1881; English Translation by R. ARROWSMITH, Boston 1886; A. BARTH, The Religions of India, London 1882; A. KUHN, Mythologische Studien. I²: Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks, Gütersloh 1886; L. v. SCHRÖDER, Indiens Litteratur und Kultur, Leipzig 1887, pp. 45—145; P. D. CHANTEPIE DE LA SAUSSAYE, Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte, Freiburg i. B., 1887, 1, pp. 346—69; PISCHEL and GELDNER, Vedische Studien. vol. I, Stuttgart 1889, vol. II, part I 1892; A. HILLEBRANDT, Vedische Mythologie, vol. I, Soma und verwandte Götter, Breslau 1891; P. REGNAUD, Le Rig-Véda et les Origines de la Mythologie indo-européenne, Paris 1892 (the author follows principles of interpretation altogether opposed to those generally accepted). E. HARDY, Die Vedisch-brahmanische Periode der Religion des alten Indiens, Münster i. W. 1893; H. OLDENBERG, Die Religion des Veda, Berlin 1894; P. DEUSSEN, Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Religionen, vol. I, part 1, Philosophie des Veda bis auf die Upanishad's, Leipzig 1894; E. W. HOPKINS, The Religions of India, Boston and London 1895.

§ 3. Sources of Vedic Mythology. — By far the most important source of Vedic Mythology is the oldest literary monument of India, the Rigveda. Its mythology deals with a number of coördinate nature gods of varying importance. This polytheism under the influence of an increasing

tendency to abstraction at the end of the Rigvedic period, exhibits in its latest book the beginnings of a kind of monotheism and even signs of pantheism. The hymns of this collection having been composed with a view to the sacrificial ritual, especially that of the Soma offering, furnish a disproportionate presentment of the mythological material of the age. The great gods who occupy an important position at the Soma sacrifice and in the worship of the wealthy, stand forth prominently; but the mythology connected with spirits, with witchcraft, with life after death, is almost a blank, for these spheres of belief have nothing to do with the poetry of the Soma rite. Moreover, while the character of the gods is very completely illustrated in these hymns, which are addressed to them and extol their attributes, their deeds, with the exception of their leading exploits, are far less definitely described. It is only natural that a collection of sacrificial poetry containing very little narrative matter, should supply but a scattered and fragmentary account of this side of mythology. The defective information given by the rest of the RV. regarding spirits, lesser demons, and the future life, is only very partially supplied by its latest book. Thus hardly any reference is made even here to the fate of the wicked after death. Beside and distinguished from the adoration of the gods, the worship of dead ancestors, as well as to some extent the deification of inanimate objects, finds a place in the religion of the Rigveda.

The Sāmaveda, containing but seventy-five verses which do not occur in the RV., is of no importance in the study of Vedic mythology.

The more popular material of the Atharvaveda deals mainly with domestic and magical rites. In the latter portion it is, along with the ritual text of the Kauśika sūtra, a mine of information in regard to the spirit and demon world. On this lower side of religion the Atharvaveda deals with notions of greater antiquity than those of the Rigveda. But on the higher side of religion it represents a more advanced stage. Individual gods exhibit a later phase of development and some new abstractions are deified, while the general character of the religion is pantheistic[1]. Hymns in praise of individual gods are comparatively rare, while the simultaneous invocation of a number of deities, in which their essential nature is hardly touched upon, is characteristic. The deeds of the gods are extolled in the same stereotyped manner as in the RV.; and the AV. can hardly be said to supply any important mythological trait which is not to be found in the older collection.

The Yajurveda represents a still later stage. Its formulas being made for the ritual, are not directly addressed to the gods, who are but shadowy beings having only a very loose connexion with the sacrifice. The most salient features of the mythology of the Yajurveda are the existence of one chief god, Prajāpati, the greater importance of Viṣṇu, and the first appearance of an old god of the Rigveda under the new name of Śiva. Owing, however, to the subordinate position here occupied by the gods in comparison with the ritual, this Veda yields but little mythological material.

Between it and the Brāhmaṇas, the most important of which are the Aitareya and the Śatapatha, there is no essential difference. The sacrifice being the main object of interest, the individual traits of the gods have faded, the general character of certain deities has been modified, and the importance of others increased or reduced. Otherwise the pantheon of the Brāhmaṇas is much the same as that of the RV. and the AV., and the worship of inanimate objects is still recognized. The main difference between the mythology of the RV. and the Brāhmaṇas is the recognized position of Prajāpati or the Father-god as the chief deity in the latter. The pantheism of the

Brāhmaṇas is, moreover, explicit. Thus Prajāpati is said to be the All (ŚB. 1, 3, 5[10]) or the All and everything (ŚB. 1, 6, 4[2]; 4, 5, 7[2]).

The gods having lost their distinctive features, there is apparent a tendency to divide them into groups. Thus it is characteristic of the period that the supernatural powers form the two hostile camps of the Devas or gods on the one hand and the Asuras or demons on the other. The gods are further divided into the three classes of the terrestrial Vasus, the aerial Rudras, and the celestial Ādityas (§ 45). The most significant group is the representative triad of Fire, Wind, and Sun. The formalism of these works further shows itself in the subdivision of individual deities by the personification of their various attributes. Thus they speak of an 'Agni, lord of food', 'Agni, lord of prayer' and so forth[2].

The Brāhmaṇas relate numerous myths in illustration of their main subject-matter. Some of these are not referred to in the Saṃhitās. But where they do occur in the earlier literature, they appear in the Brāhmaṇas only as developments of their older forms, and cannot be said to shed light on their original forms, but only serve as a link between the mythological creations of the oldest Vedic and of the post-Vedic periods.

[1] HRI. 153. — [2] BRI. 42; HRI. 182.

§ 4. Method to be pursued. — Vedic mythology is the product of an age and a country, of social and climatic conditions far removed and widely differing from our own. We have, moreover, here to deal not with direct statements of fact, but with the imaginative creations of poets whose mental attitude towards nature was vastly different from that of the men of to-day. The difficulty involved in dealing with material so complex and representing so early a stage of thought, is further increased by the character of the poetry in which this thought is imbedded. There is thus perhaps no subject capable of scientific treatment, which, in addition to requiring a certain share of poetical insight, demands caution and sobriety of judgment more urgently. Yet the stringency of method which is clearly so necessary, has largely been lacking in the investigation of Vedic mythology. To this defect, no less than to the inherent obscurity of the material, are doubtless in considerable measure due the many and great divergences of opinion prevailing among Vedic scholars on a large number of important mythological questions.

In the earlier period of Vedic studies there was a tendency to begin research at the wrong end. The etymological equations of comparative mythology were then made the starting point. These identifications, though now mostly rejected, have continued to influence unduly the interpretation of the mythological creations of the Veda. But even apart from etymological considerations, theories have frequently been based on general impressions rather than on the careful sifting of evidence, isolated and secondary traits thus sometimes receiving coördinate weight with what is primary. An unmistakable bias has at the same time shown itself in favour of some one particular principle of interpretation[1]. Thus an unduly large number of mythological figures have been explained as derived from dawn, lightning, sun, or moon respectively. An *à priori* bias of this kind leads to an unconsciously partial utilization of the evidence.

Such being the case, it may pove useful to suggest some hints with a view to encourage the student in following more cautious methods. On the principle that scientific investigations should proceed from the better known to the less known, researches which aim at presenting a true picture of the character and actions of the Vedic gods, ought to begin not with the meagre

and uncertain conclusions of comparative mythology, but with the information supplied by Indian literature, which contains a practically continuous record of Indian mythology from its most ancient source in the RV. down to modern times[2]. All the material bearing on any deity or myth ought to be collected, grouped, and sifted by the comparison of parallel passages, before any conclusion is drawn[3]. In this process the primary features which form the basis of the personification should be separated from later accretions.

As soon as a person has taken the place of a natural force in the imagination, the poetical fancy begins to weave a web of secondary myth, into which may be introduced in the course of time material that has nothing to do with the original creation, but is borrowed from elsewhere. Primary and essential features, when the material is not too limited, betray themselves by constant iteration. Thus in the Indra myth his fight with Vṛtra, which is essential, is perpetually insisted on, while the isolated statement that he strikes Vṛtra's mother with his bolt (1, 32⁹) is clearly a later touch, added by an individual poet for dramatic effect. Again, the epithet 'Vṛtra-slaying', without doubt originally appropriate to Indra alone, is in the RV. several times applied to the god Soma also. But that it is transferred from the former to the latter deity, is sufficiently plain from the statement that Soma is 'the Vṛtra-slaying intoxicating plant' (6, 17¹¹), the juice of which Indra regularly drinks before the fray. The transference of such attributes is particularly easy in the RV. because the poets are fond of celebrating gods in couples, when both share the characteristic exploits and qualities of each other (cp. § 44). Attributes thus acquired must of course be eliminated from the essential features. A similar remark applies to attributes and cosmic powers which are predicated, in about equal degree, of many gods. They can have no cogency as evidence in regard to a particular deity[4]. It is only when such attributes and powers are applied in a predominant manner to an individual god, that they can be adduced with any force. For in such case it is possible they might have started from the god in question and gradually extended to others. The fact must, however, be borne in mind in this connexion, that some gods are celebrated in very many more hymns than others. The frequency of an attribute applied to different deities must therefore be estimated relatively. Thus an epithet connected as often with Varuṇa as with Indra, would in all probability be more essential to the character of the former than of the latter. For Indra is invoked in about ten times as many hymns as Varuṇa. The value of any particular passage as evidence may be affected by the relative antiquity of the hymn in which it occurs. A statement occurring for the first time in a late passage may of course represent an old notion; but if it differs from what has been said on the same point in a chronologically earlier hymn, it most probably furnishes a later development. The tenth and the greater part of the first book of the RV.[5] are therefore more likely to contain later conceptions than the other books. Moreover, the exclusive connexion of the ninth book with Soma Pavamāna may give a different complexion to mythological matter contained in another book. Thus Vivasvat and Trita are here connected with the preparation of Soma in quite a special manner (cp. §§ 18, 23). As regards the Brāhmaṇas, great caution should be exercised in discovering historically primitive notions in them; for they teem with far-fetched fancies, speculations, and identifications[6].

In adducing parallel passages as evidence, due regard should be paid to the context. Their real value can often only be ascertained by a minute and complex consideration of their surroundings and the association of ideas

which connects them with what precedes and follows. After a careful estimation of the internal evidence of the Veda, aided by such corroboration as the later phases of Indian literature may afford, further light should be sought from the closely allied mythology of the Iranians. Comparison with it may confirm the results derived from the Indian material, or when the Indian evidence is inconclusive, may enable us either to decide what is old and new or to attain greater definiteness in regard to Vedic conceptions. Thus without the aid of the Avesta, it would be impossible to arrive at anything like certain conclusions about the original nature of the god Mitra.

The further step may now be taken of examining the results of comparative mythology, in order to ascertain if possible, wherein consists the Vedic heritage from the Indo-European period and what is the original significance of that heritage. Finally, the teachings of ethnology cannot be neglected, when it becomes necessary to ascertain what elements survive from a still remoter stage of human development. Recourse to all such evidence beyond the range of the Veda itself must prove a safeguard against on the one hand assuming that various mythological elements are of purely Indian origin, or on the other hand treating the Indo-European period as the very starting point of all mythological notions. The latter view would be as far from the truth as the assumption that the Indo-European language represents the very beginnings of Aryan speech[7].

[1] OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 49, 173. — [2] PVS. XXVI—VIII. — [3] BLOOMFIELD, ZDMG. 48, 542. — [4] HRI. 51. — [5] Cp. OLDENBERG, Die Hymnen des Ṛigveda I, Berlin 1888; E. V. ARNOLD, KZ. 34, 297. 344; HOPKINS, JAOS. 17, 23—92. — [6] HRI. 183. 194; v. SCHRÖDER, WZKM. 9, 120. — [7] ORV. 26—33.

Cp. also LUDWIG, Über Methode bei Interpretation des Ṛgveda, Prag 1890; HILLEBRANDT, Vedainterpretation, Breslau 1895.

§ 5. The Avesta and Vedic Mythology. — We have seen that the evidence of the Avesta cannot be ignored by the student of Vedic mythology. The affinity of the oldest form of the Avestan language with the dialect of the Vedas is so great in syntax, vocabulary, diction, metre, and general poetic style, that by the mere application of phonetic laws, whole Avestan stanzas may be translated word for word into Vedic, so as to produce verses correct not only in form but in poetic spirit[1]. The affinity in the domain of mythology is by no means so great. For the religious reform of Zarathuṣtra brought about a very considerable displacement and transformation of mythological conceptions. If therefore we possessed Avestan literature as old as that of the RV., the approximation would have been much greater in this respect. Still, the agreements in detail, in mythology no less than in cult, are surprisingly numerous. Of the many identical terms connected with the ritual it is here only necessary to mention Vedic *yajña* = Avestan *yasna*, sacrifice, *hotṛ* = *zaotar*, priest, *atharvan* = *āthravan*, fire-priest, *ṛta* = *aṣa* order, rite, and above all *soma* = *haoma*, the intoxicating juice of the Soma plant, in both cults offered as the main libation, pressed, purified by a sieve, mixed with milk, and described as the lord of plants, as growing on the mountains, and as brought down by an eagle or eagles (cp. § 37). It is rather with the striking correspondences in mythology that we are concerned. In both religions the term *asura* = *ahura* is applied to the highest gods, who in both are conceived as mighty kings, drawn through the air in their war chariots by swift steeds, and in character benevolent, almost entirely free from guile and immoral traits. Both the Iranians and the Indians observed the cult of fire, though under the different names of *Agni* and *Ātar*. The Waters, *āpaḥ* = *āpo*, were invoked by both, though not frequently[2]. The Vedic Mitra is the Avestan Mithra, the sun god. The Āditya Bhaga corresponds to *bagha*, a god in general; Vāyu, Wind is *vayu*, a genius of

air; Apāṃ napāt, the Son of Waters = Apām napāṭ; Gandharva = Gandarewa and Kṛśānu = Kereśāni are divine beings connected with *soma* = *haoma*. To Trita Āptya correspond two mythical personages named Thrita and Āthwya, and to Indra Vṛtrahan the demon Indra and the genius of victory Verethragna. Yama, son of Vivasvat, ruler of the dead, is identical with Yima, son of Vīvaṅhvant, ruler of paradise. The parallel in character, though not in name, of the god Varuṇa is Ahura Mazda, the wise spirit. The two religions also have in common as designations of evil spirits the terms *druh* = *druj* and *yātu*[3].

[1] BARTHOLOMAE in GEIGER and KUHN's Grundriss der iranischen Philologie, vol. I, p. I. — [2] SPIEGEL, Die Arische Periode, Leipzig 1887, p. 155. — [3] SPIEGEL, op. cit. 225—33; GRUPPE, Die griechischen Culte und Mythen, I, 86—97; ORV. 26—33; HRI, 167—8.

§ 6. Comparative Mythology. — In regard to the Indo-European period we are on far less certain ground. Many equations of name once made in the first enthusiasm of discovery and generally accepted, have since been rejected and very few of those that remain rest on a firm foundation. Dyaús = Ζεύς is the only one which can be said to be beyond the range of doubt. Varuṇa = Οὐρανος though presenting phonetic difficulties, seems possible. The rain-god Parjanya agrees well in meaning with the Lithuanian thunder-god Perkunas, but the phonetic objections are here still greater. The name of Bhaga is identical with the Slavonic *bogu* as well as the Persian *bagha*, but as the latter two words mean only 'god', the Indo-European word cannot have designated any individual deity. Though the name of Uṣas is radically cognate to Aurora and Ἠώς, the cult of Dawn as a goddess is a specially Indian development. It has been inferred from the identity of mythological traits in the thunder-gods of the various branches of the Indo-European family, that a thunder-god existed in the Indo-European period in spite of the absence of a common name. There are also one or two other not improbable equations based on identity of character only. That the conception of higher gods, whose nature was connected with light (√*div*, to shine) and heaven (*div*) had already been arrived at in the Indo-European period, is shown by the common name *deivos* (Skt. *deva-s*, Lith. *deva-s*, Lat. *deu-s*), god. The conception of Earth as a mother (common to Vedic and Greek mythology) and of Heaven as a father (Skt. *Dyaùṣ pitar*, Gk. Ζεῦ πάτερ, Lat. *Jūpiter*) appears to date from a still remoter antiquity. For the idea of Heaven and Earth being universal parents is familiar to the mythology of China and New Zealand and may be traced in that of Egypt[2]. The practice of magical rites and the worship of inanimate objects still surviving in the Veda, doubtless came down from an equally remote stage in the mental development of mankind, though the possibility of a certain influence exercised by the primitive aborigines of India on their Aryan conquerors cannot be altogether excluded.

[1] GRUPPE op. cit. I, 97—121; ORV. 33—8; HRI. 168—9. — [2] TYLOR, Primitive Culture I, 326; LANG, Mythology. Encyclopaedia Britannica, p. 150—1.

II. VEDIC CONCEPTIONS OF THE WORLD AND ITS ORIGIN.

§ 7. Cosmology. — The Universe, the stage on which the actions of the gods are enacted, is regarded by the Vedic poets as divided into the three domains[1] of earth, air or atmosphere, and heaven[2]. The sky when regarded as the whole space above the earth, forms with the latter the entire universe consisting of the upper and the nether world. The vault (*nāka*) of the sky is regarded as the limit dividing the visible upper world from the

third or invisible world of heaven, which is the abode of light and the dwelling place of the gods. Heaven, air, and earth form the favourite triad of the RV., constantly spoken of explicitly or implicitly (8, 10^{6}. 90^{6} &c.). The solar phenomena which appear to take place on the vault of the sky, are referred to heaven, while those of lightning, rain, and wind belong to the atmosphere. But when heaven designates the whole space above the earth both classes of phenomena are spoken of as taking place there. In a passage of the AV. (4, 14^{3} = VS. 17, 67) the 'vault of the sky' comes between the triad of earth, air, heaven and the world of light, which thus forms a fourth division[3]. Each of the three worlds is also subdivided. Thus three earths, three atmospheres, three heavens are sometimes mentioned; or when the universe is looked upon as consisting of two halves, we hear of six worlds or spaces (*rajāṃsi*). This subdivision probably arose from the loose use of the word *pṛthivī* 'earth' (1, 108$^{9.10}$; 7, 104^{11})[4] in the plural to denote the three worlds (just as the dual *pitarau*, 'two fathers' regularly denotes 'father and mother').

The earth is variously called *bhūmi*, *kṣam*, *kṣā*, *gmā*, the great (*mahī*), the broad (*pṛthivī* or *urvī*), the extended (*uttānā*), the boundless (*apārā*), or the place here (*idam*) as contrasted with the upper sphere (1, 22^{17}. 154$^{1.3}$).

The conception of the earth being a disc surrounded by an ocean does not appear in the Saṃhitās. But it was naturally regarded as circular, being compared with a wheel (10, 89^{4}) and expressly called circular (*parimaṇḍala*) in the ŚB.[6]

The four points of the compass are already mentioned in the RV. in an adverbial form (7, 72^{5}; 10, 36^{14}. 42^{11}) and in the AV. as substantives (AV. 15, 2^{1} ff.). Hence 'four quarters' (*pradiśaḥ*) are spoken of (10, 19^{8}), a term also used as synonymous with the whole earth (1, 164^{42}), and the earth is described as 'four-pointed' (10, 58^{3}). Five points are occasionally mentioned (9, 86^{29}; AV. 3, 24^{3} &c.), when that in the middle (10, 42^{11}), where the speaker stands, denotes the fifth. The AV. also refers to six (the zenith being added) and even seven points[5]. The same points may be meant by the seven regions (*diśaḥ*) and the seven places (*dhāma*) of the earth spoken of in the RV. (9, 114^{3}; 1, 22^{16}).

Heaven or *div* is also commonly termed *vyoman*, sky, or as pervaded with light, the 'luminous space', *rocana* (with or without *divaḥ*). Designations of the dividing firmament besides the 'vault' are the 'summit' (*sānu*), 'surface' (*viṣṭap*), 'ridge' (*pṛṣṭha*), as well as the compound expressions 'ridge of the vault' (1, 125^{5} cp. 3, 2^{12}) and 'summit of the vault' (8, 92^{2})[3]. Even a 'third ridge in the luminous space of heaven' is mentioned (9, 86^{27}). When three heavens are distinguished they are very often called the three luminous spaces (*trī rocanā*), a highest (*uttama*), a middle, and a lowest being specified (5, 60^{6}). The highest is also termed *uttara* and *pārya* (4, 26^{6}; 6, 40^{5}). In this third or highest heaven (very often *parame rocane* or *vyoman*) the gods, the fathers, and Soma are conceived as abiding.

Heaven and earth are coupled as a dual conception called by the terms *rodasī*, *kṣoṇī*, *dvyāvāpṛthivī* and others (§ 44), and spoken of as the two halves (2, 27^{15}). The combination with the semi-spherical sky causes the notion of the earth's shape to be modified, when the two are called 'the two great bowls (*camvā*) turned towards each other' (3, 55^{20}). Once they are compared to the wheels at the two ends of an axle (10, 89^{4}).

The RV. makes no reference to the supposed distance between heaven and earth, except in such vague phrases as that not even the birds can soar to the abode of Viṣṇu (1, 155^{5}). But the AV. (10, 8^{18}) says that 'the two wings of the yellow bird (the sun) flying to heaven are 1000 days' journey

apart'. A similar notion is found in the AB., where it is remarked ($2, 17^{8}$) that '1000 days' journey for a horse the heavenly world is distant from here'. Another Brāhmaṇa states that the heavenly world is as far from this world as 1000 cows standing on each other (PB. $16, 8^{6}$; $21, 1^{9}$).

The air or intermediate space (*antarikṣa*) is hardly susceptible of personification. As the region of mists and cloud, it is also called *rajas* which is described as watery ($1, 124^{5}$ cp. $5, 85^{2}$) and is sometimes thought of as dark, when it is spoken of as 'black' ($1, 35^{2.4.9}$; $8, 43^{6}$). The triple subdivision is referred to as the three spaces or *rajāṃsi* ($4, 53^{5}$; $5, 69^{1}$). The highest is then spoken of as *uttama* ($9, 22^{5}$), *parama* ($3, 30^{2}$), or *tṛtīya*, the third ($9, 74^{6}$; $10, 45^{3}. 123^{8}$), where the waters and Soma are and the celestial Agni is produced. The two lower spaces are within the range of our perception, but the third belongs to Viṣṇu ($7, 99^{1}$ cp. $1, 155^{5}$). The latter seems to be the 'mysterious' space once referred to elsewhere ($10, 105^{7}$). The twofold subdivision of the atmosphere is commoner. Then the lower (*upara*) or terrestrial (*pārthiva*) is contrasted with the heavenly (*divyam* or *divaḥ*) space ($1, 62^{5}$; $4, 53^{3}$). The uppermost stratum, as being contiguous with heaven (*div*) in the twofold as well as the triple division, seems often to be loosely employed as synonymous with heaven in the strict sense. Absolute definiteness or consistency in the statements of different poets or even of the same poet could not reasonably be expected in regard to such matters.

The air being above the earth in the threefold division of the universe, its subdivisions, whether two or three, would naturally have been regarded as above it also; and one verse at least ($1, 81^{5}$ cp. 90^{7}) clearly shows that the 'terrestrial space' is in this position. Three passages, however, of the RV. ($6, 9^{1}$; $7, 80^{1}$; $5, 81^{4}$) have been thought to lend themselves to the view[7] that the lower atmosphere was conceived as under the earth, to account for the course of the sun during the night. The least indefinite of these three passages ($5, 81^{4}$) is to the effect that Savitṛ, the sun, goes round night on both sides (*ubhayataḥ*). This may, however, mean nothing more than that night is enclosed between the limits of sunset and sunrise. At any rate, the view advanced in the AB. ($3, 44^{4}$) as to the sun's course during the night is, that the luminary shines upwards at night, while it turns round so as to shine downwards in the daytime. A similar notion may account for the statement of the RV. that the light which the sun's steeds draw is sometimes bright and sometimes dark ($1, 115^{5}$), or that the *rajas* which accompanies the sun to the east is different from the light with which he rises ($10, 37^{3}$).

There being no direct reference to the sun passing below the earth, the balance of probabilities seems to favour the view that the luminary was supposed to return towards the east the way he came, becoming entirely darkened during the return journey. As to what becomes of the stars during the daytime, a doubt is expressed ($1, 24^{10}$), but no conjecture is made.

The atmosphere is often called a sea (*samudra*) as the abode of the celestial waters. It is also assimilated to the earth, inasmuch as it has mountains ($1, 32^{2}$ &c.) and seven streams which flow there ($1, 32^{12}$ &c.), when the conflict with the demon of drought takes place. Owing to the obvious resemblance the term 'mountain' (*parvata*) thus very often in the RV. refers to clouds[8], the figurative sense being generally clear enough. The word 'rock' (*adri*) is further regularly used in a mythological sense for 'cloud' as enclosing the cows released by Indra and other gods[9].

The rainclouds as containing the waters, as dripping, moving and roaring, are peculiarly liable to theriomorphism as cows[10], whose milk is rain.

The cosmic order or law prevailing in nature is recognised under the name of *ṛta*[11] (properly the 'course' of things), which is considered to be under the guardianship of the highest gods. The same word also designates 'order' in the moral world as truth and 'right', and in the religious world as sacrifice or 'rite'.

[1] ROTH, ZDMG. 6, 68. — [2] Cp. SP.AP. 122; KRV. 34, note 118. — [3] HOPKINS, AJP. 4, 189. — [4] BOLLENSEN, ZDMG. 41, 494. — [5] BLOOMFIELD, AJP. 12, 432. — [6] Cp. WEBER, IS. 10, 358—64. — [7] AIL. 357—9. — [8] KHF. 178; DELBRÜCK, ZVP. 1865, pp. 284—5. — [9] KHF. 187; Zft. f. deutsche Mythologie, 3, 378. — [10] GW., s. v. *go*; WVB. 1894, p. 13. — [11] LUDWIG, Religiöse und philosophische Anschauungen des Veda (1875), p. 15; LRV. 3, 284—5; HARLEZ, JA. (1878), 11, 105—6; DARMESTETER, Ormazd et Ahriman, 13—4; OGR. 198. 243; KRV. 28; BRV. 3, 220; WC. 91—7. 100; SP.AP. 139; ORV. 195—201; JACKSON, Trans. of 10th Or. Congress, 2, 74.

BRUCE, Vedic conceptions of the Earth, JRAS. 1862, p. 321 ff.; BRV. I, 1—3; WALLIS, Cosmology of the Rigveda (London 1887), 111—17.

§ 8. Cosmogony. — The cosmogonic mythology of the RV. fluctuates between two theories, which are not mutually exclusive, but may be found combined in the same verse. The one regards the universe as the result of mechanical production, the work of the carpenter's and joiner's skill; the other represents it as the result of natural generation.

The poets of the RV. often employ the metaphor of building in its various details, when speaking of the formation of the world. The act of measuring is constantly referred to. Thus Indra measured the six regions, made the wide expanse of earth and the high dome of heaven (6, 47[3. 4]). Viṣṇu measured out the terrestrial spaces and made fast the abode on high (1, 154[1]). The measuring instrument, sometimes mentioned (2, 15[3]; 3, 38[3]), is the sun, with which Varuṇa performs the act (5, 85[5]). The Fathers measured the two worlds with measuring rods and made them broad (3, 38[3] cp. 1, 190[2]). The measurement naturally begins in front or the east. Thus Indra measured out as it were a house with measures from the front (2, 15[3] cp. 7, 99[2]). Connected with this idea is that of spreading out the earth, an action attributed to Agni, Indra, the Maruts, and others. As the Vedic house was built of wood, the material is once or twice spoken of as timber. Thus the poet asks: 'What was the wood, what the tree out of which they fashioned heaven and earth?' (10, 31[7] = 10, 81[4]). The answer given to this question in a Brāhmaṇa is that Brahma was the wood and the tree (TB. 2, 8, 9[6]). Heaven and earth are very often described as having been supported (*skabh* or *stabh*) with posts (*skambha* or *skambhana*), but the sky is said to be rafterless (2, 15[2]; 4, 56[3]; 10, 149[1]), and that it never falls is a source of wonder (5, 29[4]; 6, 17[7]; 8, 45[6]). The framework of a door is called *ātā;* in such a frame of heaven Indra fixed the air (1, 56[5]). The doors of the cosmic house are the portals of the east through which the morning light enters (1, 113[4]; 4, 51[2]; 5, 45[1]). Foundations are sometimes alluded to. Thus Savitṛ made fast the earth with bands (10, 149[1]), Viṣṇu fixed it with pegs (7, 99[3]), and Bṛhaspati supports its ends (4, 50[1] cp. 10, 89[1]). The agents in the construction of the world are either the gods in general or various individual gods; but where special professional skill seemed to be required in details, Tvaṣṭṛ, the divine carpenter, or the deft-handed Ṛbhus are mentioned. Little is said as to their motive; but as man builds his house to live in, so of Viṣṇu at least it is indicated that he measured or stretched out the regions as an abode for man (6, 49[13]. 69[5], cp. 1, 155[4]).

The notion of parentage as a creative agency in the universe, chiefly connected with the birth of the sun at dawn and with the production of rain

after drought, has three principle applications in the RV. The first is temporal, as involving the idea of priority. One phenomenon preceding another is spoken of as its parent. Thus the dawns generate (*jan*) the sun and the morning sacrifice (7, 78 3), while Dawn herself is born of Night (1, 123 9). As the point of view is changed, contradictions with regard to such relationships naturally arise (cp. p. 48). When the rising of the dawn is ascribed to the sacrifice of the Fathers, the explanation is to be found in this notion of priority. Secondly, a local application frequently occurs. The space in which a thing is contained or produced is its father or mother. Illustrations of this are furnished by purely figurative statements. Thus the quiver is called the father of the arrows (6, 75 5) or the bright steeds of the sun are termed the daughters of his car (1, 50 9). This idea of local parentage is especially connected with heaven and earth. Paternity is the characteristic feature in the personification of Dyaus (see § 11), and Dawn is constantly called the 'daughter of Heaven'. Similarly the Earth, who produces vegetation on her broad bosom (5, 84 3), is a mother (1, 89 4 &c.). Heaven and earth are, however, more often found coupled as universal parents, a conception obvious enough from the fact that heaven fertilizes the earth by the descent of moisture and light, and further developed by the observation that both supply nourishment to living beings, the one in the form of rain, the other in that of herbage. They are characteristically the parents of the gods (§ 44). As the latter are often said to have created heaven and earth, we thus arrive at the paradox of the Vedic poets that the children produced their own parents; Indra, for instance, being described as having begotten his father and mother from his own body (1, 159 2; 10, 54 3). Again, the raincloud cow is the mother of the lightning calf, or the heavenly waters, as carrying the embryo of the aerial fire, are its mothers, for one of the forms of the fire-god is 'the son of waters' (§ 24). 'Son of the steep' also appears to be a name of lightning in the AV. (1, 13 2. 3; cp. 26 3 and RV. 10, 142 2). Thirdly, the notion of parentage arises from a generic point of view: he who is the chief, the most prominent member of a group, becomes their parent. Thus Vāyu, Wind, is father of the Storm-gods (1, 134 4), Rudra, father of the Maruts or Rudras, Soma, father of plants, while Sarasvatī is mother of rivers.

There are also two minor applications of the idea of paternity in the RV. As in the Semitic languages, an abstract quality is quite frequently employed in a figurative sense (which is sometimes mythologically developed) to represent the parent of sons who possess or bestow that quality in an eminent degree. Thus the gods in general are sons (*sūnavaḥ* or *putrāḥ*) of immortality[1] as well as sons of skill, *dakṣa* (8, 25 5; cp. § 19). Agni is the 'son of strength' or of 'force' (§ 35). Pūṣan is the 'child of setting free'[2]. Indra is the 'son of truth' (8, 58 4), the 'child of cow-getting' (4, 32 22), and the 'son of might' (*śavasaḥ*, 4, 24 1; 8, 81 14, his mother twice being called *śavasī*, 8, 45 5. 66 2). Mitra-Varuṇa are the 'children of great might'. Another application is much less common. As a father transmits his qualities to his son, his name is also occasionally transferred, something like a modern surname. Thus *viśvarupa*, an epithet of Tvaṣṭṛ, becomes the proper name of his son. Analogously the name of Vivasvat is applied to his son Manu in the sense of the patronymic *Vaivasvata* (Vāl. 4 1).

A mythological account of the origin of the universe, involving neither manufacture nor generation, is given in one of the latest hymns of the RV., the well-known *puruṣa-sūkta* (10, 90). Though several details in this myth point to the most recent period of the RV., the main idea is very primitive,

as it accounts for the formation of the world from the body of a giant. With him the gods performed a sacrifice, when his head became the sky, his navel the air, and his feet the earth. From his mind sprang the moon, from his eye the sun, from his mouth Indra and Agni, from his breath, wind. The four castes also arose from him. His mouth became the *brāhmaṇa*, his arms the *rājanya* or warrior, his thighs the *vaiśya*, and his feet the *śūdra*. The interpretation given in the hymn itself is pantheistic, for it is there said (v. 2) that Puruṣa is 'all this, both what has become and what shall be'. In the AV. (10, 17) and the Upaniṣads (Muṇḍ. Up. 2, 1[10]) Puruṣa is also pantheistically interpreted as identical with the universe. He is also identified with Brahma (Chānd. Up. 1, 7[5]). In the ŚB. (11, 1, 6[1]) he is the same as Prajāpati, the creator.

There are in the last book of the RV. some hymns which treat the origin of the world philosophically rather than mythologically. Various passages show that in the cosmological speculation of the RV. the sun was regarded as an important agent of generation. Thus he is called the soul (*ātmā*) of all that moves and stands (1, 115[1]). Statements such as that he is called by many names though one (1, 164[46]; 10, 114[5] cp. Vāl. 10[2]) indicate that his nature was being tentatively abstracted to that of a supreme god, nearly approaching that of the later conception of Brahmā. In this sense the sun is once glorified as a great power of the universe under the name of the 'golden embryo', *hiraṇya-garbha*, in RV. 10, 121.[3] It is he who measures out space in the air and shines where the sun rises (vv. [5. 6]). In the last verse of this hymn, he is called Prajāpati[4], 'lord of created beings', the name which became that of the chief god of the Brāhmaṇas. It is significant that in the only older passage of the RV. in which it occurs (4, 53[2]), *prajāpati* is an epithet of the solar deity Savitṛ, who in the same hymn (v. [6]) is said to rule over what moves and stands[5].

There are two other cosmogonic hymns which both explain the origin of the universe as a kind of evolution of the existent (*sat*) from the non-existent (*asat*). In 10, 72[6] it is said that Brahmaṇaspati forged together this world like a smith. From the non-existent the existent was produced. Thence in succession arose the earth, the spaces, Aditi with Dakṣa; and after Aditi the gods were born. The gods then brought forward the sun. There were eight sons of Aditi, but the eighth, Mārtāṇḍa, she cast away; she brought him to be born and to die (i. e. to rise and set). Three stages can be distinguished in this hymn: first the world is produced, then the gods, and lastly the sun.

In RV. 10, 129, a more abstract and a very sublime hymn, it is affirmed that nothing existed in the beginning, all being void. Darkness and space enveloped the undifferentiated waters (cp. 10, 82[6]. 121[7], AV. 2, 8). The one primordial substance (*ekam*) was produced by heat. Then desire (*kāma*), the first seed of mind (*manas*) arose. This is the bond between the non-existent and the existent. By this emanation the gods came into being. But here the poet, overcome by his doubts, gives up the riddle of creation as unsolvable. A short hymn of three stanzas (10, 190) forms a sequel to the more general evolution of that just described. Here it is stated that from heat (*tapas*) was produced order (*ṛta*); then night, the ocean, the year; the creator (*dhātā*) produced in succession sun and moon, heaven and earth, air and ether.

In a similar strain to RV. 10, 129 a Brāhmaṇa passage declares that 'formerly nothing existed, neither heaven nor earth nor atmosphere, which being non-existent resolved to come into being' (TB. 2, 2, 9[1] ff.). The regular cosmogonic view of the Brāhmaṇas requires the agency of a creator, who is

not, however, always the starting point. The creator here is Prajāpati or the personal Brahmā, who is not only father of gods, men, and demons, but is the All. Prajāpati is here an anthropomorphic representation of the desire which is the first seed spoken of in RV. 10, 129. In all these accounts the starting point is either Prajāpati desiring offspring and creating, or else the primeval waters, on which floated Hiraṇyagarbha the cosmic golden egg, whence is produced the spirit that desires and creates the Universe. This fundamental contradiction as to the priority of Prajāpati or of the waters appears to be the result of combining the theory of evolution with that of creation. Besides this there are many minor conflicts of statement, as, for instance, that the gods create Prajāpati and that Prajāpati creates the gods[7]. The account given in the Chāndogya Brāhmaṇa (5, 19) is that not-being became being; the latter changed into an egg, which after a year by splitting in two became heaven and earth; whatever was produced is the sun, which is Brahma[8] (cp. Ch. Up. 3, 19[1—4]). Again, in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad (5, 6[1]), the order of evolution is thus stated: In the beginning waters were this (universe); they produced the real (*satyam*); from this was produced Brahma, from Brahma Prajāpati, from Prajāpati the gods.

The All-god appears as a creator in the AV. under the new names of Skambha, Support, Prāṇa[9], the personified breath of life (AV. 11, 4), Rohita, as a name of the sun, Kāma, Desire, and various others[10]. The most notable cosmogonic myth of the Brāhmaṇas describes the raising of the submerged earth by a boar, which in post-Vedic mythology developed into an Avatār of Viṣṇu.[11].

[1] OST. 5, 52. — [2] OST. 5, 175, note 271; BRV. 2, 422 ff.; Darmesteter, Haurvatāṭ et Ameretāṭ, 83; ORV. 232, note 2. — [3] SPH. 27—8; HRI. 208. — [4] SPH. 29. — [5] OGR. 295; WC. 50—1. — [6] OST. 5, 48. — [7] OST. 4, 20 ff.; HRI. 208—9. — [8] Weber, IS. 1, 261. — [9] SPH. 69—72. — [10] HRI. 209. — [11] Macdonell, JRAS. 1895, pp. 178—89.

Haug, Die Kosmogonie der Inder, Allgemeine Zeitung, 1873, p. 2373 ff.; Weber, IS. 9, 74; Ludwig, Die philosophischen und religiösen Anschauungen des Veda; AIL. 217; BRI. 30—1; Scherman, Philosophische Hymnen aus der Ṛig- und Atharvaveda Saṃhitā, München 1887; Lukas, Die Grundbegriffe in den Kosmogonien der alten Völker, Leipzig 1893, pp. 65—99.

§ 9. Origin of gods and men. — As most of the statements contained in the Vedas about the origin of the gods have already been mentioned, only a brief summary need here be added. In the philosophical hymns the origin of the gods is mostly connected with the element of water[1]. In the AV. (10, 7[25]) they are said to have arisen from the non-existent. According to one cosmogonic hymn (10, 129[6]) they were born after the creation of the universe. Otherwise they are in general described as the children of Heaven and Earth. In one passage (10, 63[2]) a triple origin, apparently corresponding to the triple division of the universe, is ascribed to the gods, when they are said to have been 'born from Aditi, from the waters, from the earth' (cp. 1, 139[11]). According no doubt to a secondary conception, certain individual gods are spoken of as having begotten others. Thus the Dawn is called the mother of the gods (1, 113[19]) and Brahmaṇaspati (2, 26[3]), as well as Soma (9, 87[2]), is said to be their father. A group of seven or eight gods, the Ādityas, are regarded as the sons of Aditi. In the AV. some gods are spoken of as fathers, others as sons[2] (AV. 1, 30[2]).

The Vedic conceptions on the subject of the origin of man are rather fluctuating, but the human race appear generally to have been regarded as descended from a first man. The latter is called either Vivasvat's son Manu, who was the first sacrificer (10, 63[7]) and who is also spoken of as father

Manus (1, 80[16]); or he is Yama Vaivasvata, Vivasvat's son, who with his twin sister Yamī produced the human race. The origin of men, when thought of as going back beyond this first ancestor, seems to have been conceived as celestial. Vivasvat (§ 18) is the father of the primeval twins, while once the celestial Gandharva and the water nymph are designated as their highest kin (10, 10[4]). Men's relationship to the gods is sometimes also alluded to[3]; and men must have been thought of as included among the offspring of Heaven and Earth, the great parents of all that exists. Again, Agni is said to have begotten the offspring of men (1, 96[2,4]), and the Aṅgirases, the semi-divine ancestors of later priestly families, are described as his sons. Various other human families are spoken of as independently descended from the gods through their founders Atri, Kaṇva, and others (1, 139[9]). Vasiṣṭha (7, 33[11]) was miraculously begotten by Mitra and Varuṇa, the divine nymph Urvaśī having been his mother. To quite a different order of ideas belongs the conception of the origin of various classes of men from parts of the world giant Puruṣa[4] (§ 8, p. 13).

[1] SPH. 32. — [2] OST. 5, 13 f., 23 f., 38 f. — [3] BRV. 1, 36. — [4] ORV. 275—7. 125—8.

III. THE VEDIC GODS.

§ 10. General character and classification. — Indefiniteness of outline and lack of individuality characterize the Vedic conception of the gods. This is mainly due to the fact that they are nearer to the physical phenomena which they represent, than the gods of any other Indo-European people. Thus the ancient Vedic interpreter Yāska[1] (Nir. 7, 4) speaking of the nature of the gods, remarks that what is seen of them is not anthropomorphic at all, as in the case of the Sun, the Earth, and others. The natural bases of the Vedic gods have, to begin with, but few specific characteristics, while they share some of the attributes of other phenomena belonging to the same domain. Thus Dawn, Sun, Fire have the common features of being luminous, dispelling darkness, appearing in the morning. The absence of distinctiveness must be still greater when several deities have sprung from different aspects of one and the same phenomenon. Hence the character of each Vedic god is made up of only a few essential traits combined with a number of other features common to all the gods, such as brilliance, power, beneficence, and wisdom. Certain great cosmical functions are predicated of nearly every leading deity individually. The action of supporting or establishing heaven and earth is so generally attributed to them, that in the AV. (19, 32) it is even ascribed to a magical bunch of *darbha* grass. Nearly a dozen gods are described as having created the two worlds, and rather more are said to have produced the sun, to have placed it in the sky, or to have prepared a path for it. Four or five are also spoken of as having spread out the earth, the sky, or the two worlds. Several (Sūrya, Savitṛ, Pūṣan, Indra, Prajanya, and the Ādityas) are lords of all that moves and is stationary.

Such common features tend to obscure what is essential, because in hymns of prayer and praise they naturally assume special prominence. Again, gods belonging to different departments, but having prominent functions in common, are apt to be approximated. Thus Agni, primarily the god of terrestrial fire, dispels the demons of darkness with his light, while Indra, the aerial god of the thunderstorm, slays them with his lightning. Into the conception of the fire-god further enters his aspect as lightning in the atmosphere. The assimilation is increased by such gods often being invoked in pairs.

These combinations result in attributes peculiar to the one god attaching themselves to the other, even when the latter appears alone. Thus Agni comes to be called Soma-drinker, Vṛtra-slayer, winner of cows and waters, sun and dawns, attributes all primarily belonging to Indra.

The indefiniteness of outline caused by the possession of so many common attributes, coupled with the tendency to wipe out the few distinctive ones by assigning nearly every power to every god, renders identification of one god with another easy. Such identifications are as a matter of fact frequent in the RV.[1] Thus a poet addressing the fire-god exclaims: 'Thou at thy birth, O Agni, art Varuṇa; when kindled thou becomest Mitra, in thee, O son of strength, all gods are centred; thou art Indra to the worshipper' (5, 3^{1}). Reflexions in particular on the nature of Agni, so important a god in the eyes of a priesthood devoted to a fire cult, on his many manifestations as individual fires on earth, and on his other aspects as atmospheric fire in lightning and as celestial fire in the sun, aspects which the Vedic poets are fond of alluding to in riddles, would suggest the idea that various deities are but different forms of a single divine being. This idea is found in more than one passage of the RV. 'The one being priests speak of in many ways; they call it Agni, Yama, Mātariśvan' (1, 164^{46}; cp. AV. 10, 8^{28}. 13, 4^{15}). 'Priests and poets with words make into many the bird (= the sun) that is but one' (10, 114^{5}). Thus it appears that by the end of the Rigvedic period a kind of polytheistic monotheism had been arrived at. We find there even the incipient pantheistic conception of a deity representing not only all the gods but nature as well. For the goddess Aditi is identified not only with all the gods, but with men, all that has been and shall be born, air, and heaven (1, 89^{10}); and Prajāpati is not only the one god above all gods, but embraces all things (10, $121^{8.10}$). This pantheistic view becomes fully developed in the AV. (10, $7^{14.25}$) and is explicitly accepted in the later Vedic literature[2].

In the older parts of the RV. individual gods are often invoked as the highest, but this notion is not carried out to its logical conclusion. The fact that the Vedic poets frequently seem to be engrossed in the praise of the particular deity they happen to be invoking, that they exaggerate his attributes to the point of inconsistency, has given rise to the much discussed theory which MAX MÜLLER originated and to which he has given the name of Henotheism or Kathenotheism[3]. According to this theory, 'the belief in individual gods alternately regarded as the highest', the Vedic poets attribute to the god they happen to be addressing all the highest traits of divinity, treating him for the moment as if he were an absolutely independent and supreme deity, alone present to the mind. Against this theory it has been urged[4] that Vedic deities are not represented 'as independent of all the rest', since no religion brings its gods into more frequent and varied juxtaposition and combination, and that even the mightiest gods of the Veda are made dependent on others. Thus Varuṇa and Sūrya are subordinate to Indra (1, 101^{3}), Varuṇa and the Aśvins submit to the power of Viṣṇu (1, 156^{4}), and Indra, Mitra-Varuṇa, Aryaman, Rudra cannot resist the ordinances of Savitṛ (2, 38^{9}). It has been further pointed out that in the frequent hymns addressed to the *viśvedevāḥ*, or All-gods, all the deities, even the lesser ones, are praised in succession, and that as the great mass of the Vedic hymns was composed for the ritual of the Soma offering, which included the worship of almost the entire pantheon, the technical priest could not but know the exact relative position of each god in that ritual. Even when a god is spoken of as unique or chief (*eka*), as is natural enough in laudations, such statements

rose their temporarily monotheistic force through the modifications or corrections supplied by the context or even by the same verse. Thus a poet says that 'Agni alone, like Varuṇa, is lord of wealth'. It should also be remembered that gods are constantly invoked in pairs, triads, and larger groups, even the exalted Varuṇa being mostly addressed in conjunction with one other god (as in 6, 67) or with several other gods (as in 2, 28). Henotheism is therefore an appearance rather than a reality, an appearance produced by the indefiniteness due to undeveloped anthropomorphism, by the lack of any Vedic god occupying the position of a Zeus as the constant head of the pantheon, by the natural tendency of the priest or singer in extolling a particular god to exaggerate his greatness and to ignore other gods, and by the growing belief in the unity of the gods (cf. the refrain of 3, 55), each of whom might be regarded as a type of the divine. Henotheism might, however, be justified as a term to express the tendency of the RV. towards a kind of monotheism.

The Vedic gods, as has been shown, had a beginning in the view of the Vedic poets, since they are described as the offspring of heaven and earth or sometimes of other gods. This in itself implies different generations of gods, but earlier (*pūrve*) gods are also expressly referred to in several passages (7, 21[7] &c.). An earlier or first age of the gods is also spoken of (10, 72[2, 3]). The AV. (11, 8[10]) speaks of ten gods as having existed before the rest. The gods, too, were originally mortal[5]. This is expressly stated in the AV. (11, 5[19]; 4, 11[6]). The Brāhmaṇas state this both of all the gods (ŚB. 10, 4, 3[3]) and of the individual gods Indra (AB. 8, 14[4]), Agni (AB. 3, 4), and Prajāpati (ŚB. 10, 1, 3[1])[6]. That they were originally not immortal is implied in the RV. For immortality was bestowed on them by Savitṛ (4, 54[2] = VS. 33, 54) or by Agni (6, 7[4]; AV. 4, 23[6]). They are also said to have obtained it by drinking Soma (9, 106[8] cp. 109[2, 3]), which is called the principle of immortality (ŚB. 9, 5, 1[8]). In another passage of the RV. (10, 53[10]), they are said to have acquired immortality, but by what means is not clear. According to a later conception Indra is stated to have conquered heaven by *tapas* or austerity (10, 167[1]). The gods are said to have attained divine rank by the same means (TB. 3, 12, 3[1]), or to have overcome death by continence and austerity (AV. 11, 5[19]) and to have acquired immortality through Rohita (AV. 13, 1[7]). Elsewhere the gods are stated to have overcome death by the performance of a certain ceremony (TS. 7, 4, 2[1]). Indra and several other gods are said to be unaging (3, 46[1] &c.), but whether the immortality of the gods was regarded by the Vedic poets as absolute, there is no evidence to show. According to the post-Vedic view their immortality was only relative, being limited to a cosmic age.

The physical appearance of the gods is anthropomorphic, though only in a shadowy manner; for it often represents only aspects of their natural bases figuratively described to illustrate their activities[7]. Thus head, face, mouth, cheeks, eyes, hair, shoulders, breast, belly, arms, hands, fingers, feet are attributed to various individual gods. Head, breast, arms, and hands are chiefly mentioned in connexion with the warlike equipment of Indra and the Maruts. The arms of the sun are simply his rays, and his eye is intended to represent his physical aspect. The tongue and limbs of Agni merely denote his flames. The fingers of Trita are referred to only in order to illustrate his character as a preparer of Soma, and the belly of Indra only to emphasize his powers of drinking Soma[8]. Two or three gods are spoken of as having or assuming all forms (*viśvarūpa*). It is easy to understand that in the case of deities whose outward shape was so vaguely conceived

and whose connexion with natural phenomena was in many instances still clear, no mention of either images (§ 66 c) or temples is found in the RV.

Some of the gods are spoken of as wearing garments. Thus Dawn is described as decked in gay attire. Some of the gods are equipped with armour in the shape of coats of mail or helmets. Indra is regularly armed with a bolt *(vajra)*, while to others spears, battle-axes, bows and arrows are assigned. The gods in general are described as driving luminous cars, nearly every individual deity being also said to possess one. The car is usually drawn by steeds, but in the case of Pūṣan by goats, of the Maruts perhaps by spotted deer as well as horses, and of Uṣas, by cows as well as horses.

In their cars the gods are frequently represented as coming to seat themselves on the layer of strewn grass at the sacrifice, which, however, from another point of view, is supposed also to be conveyed to them in heaven by Agni (§ 35). The beverage of the gods is Soma. What they eat is the favourite food of men and is of course represented by what is offered to them at the sacrifice. It consists of milk in its various forms, butter, barley, and (though perhaps not in the oldest Vedic period) rice; cattle, goats, and sheep, with a preference for the animal which in some way is most closely connected with a deity's peculiar qualities. Thus the bull or the buffalo, to which Indra is so often compared, is offered to him and eaten by him, sometimes in extraordinary numbers (§ 22). Analogously, Indra's steeds are supposed to eat grain[9]. The abode of the gods is variously described as heaven, the third heaven, or the highest step of Viṣṇu, where they live a joyous life exhilerated by Soma. The gods on the whole are conceived as dwelling together in harmony and friendship[10]. The only one who ever introduces a note of discord is the warlike and overbearing Indra. He once appears to have fought against the gods in general (4, 30[3.5])[11]; he slew his own father (§ 22), and shattered the car of Dawn (§ 20). He seems also to have threatened on one occasion to slay his faithful companions the Maruts (§ 29).

The gods representing the chief powers of nature, such as fire, sun, thunderstorm, appeared to the successful and therefore optimistic Vedic Indian as almost exclusively beneficent beings, bestowers of prosperity. The only deity in whom injurious features are at all prominent is Rudra. Evils closely connected with human life, such as disease, proceed from lesser demons, while the greater evils manifested in nature, such as drought and darkness, are produced by powerful demons like Vṛtra. The conquest of these demons brings out the beneficent nature of the gods all the more prominently. The benevolence of the gods resembles that of human beings. They are preëminently the receivers of sacrifice, the hymns to them being recited while the Soma is pressed, the offering is cast in the fire, and priests attend to the intricate details of the ritual[12]. They are therefore the friends of the sacrificer, but are angry with and punish the niggard. This is especially the case with Indra, who at the same time is not altogether free from arbitrariness in the distribution of his favours[13].

The character of the Vedic gods is also moral. All the gods[14] are 'true' and 'not deceitful', being throughout the friends and guardians of honesty and righteousness. It is, however, the Ādityas, especially Varuṇa, who are the chief upholders of the moral law. The gods are angry with the evil-doer, but it is Varuṇa's wrath which is most closely connected with the conception of guilt and sin. Agni also is invoked to free from guilt, but this is only one of many prayers addressed to him, not their chief purport as in the case of Varuṇa. Indra too is a punisher of sin, but this trait is only super-

ficially connected with his character. The standard of divine morality of course reflects only an earlier stage of civilization. Thus even the alliance of Varuṇa with righteousness is not of such a nature as to prevent him from employing craft against the hostile and deceitful man. But towards the good and pious the faithfulness of Varuṇa is unswerving. Indra, however, is occasionally not above practising deceitful wiles even without the justification of a good end[15].

Moral elevation does not, however, occupy so high a position as power among the attributes of the Vedic gods. Epithets such as 'true' and 'not deceitful' are far less prominent than such as 'great' and 'mighty'. The gods can do whatever they will. On them depends the fulfilment of wishes. They have dominion over all creatures; and no one can thwart their ordinances or live beyond the time the gods appoint[16].

The RV. as well as the AV. states the gods to be 33 in number (3, 6[9] &c.; AV. 10, 7[13]), this total being several times expressed as 'thrice eleven' (8, 35[3] &c.). In one passage (1, 139[11]) eleven of the gods are addressed as being in heaven, eleven on earth, and eleven in the waters (= air). The AV. (10, 9[12]) similarly divides the gods into dwellers in heaven, air, and earth, but without specifying any number. The aggregate of 33 could not always have been regarded as exhaustive, for in a few passages (1, 34[11]. 45[2]; 8, 35[3]. 39[9]) other gods are mentioned along with the 33. In one verse (3, 9[9] = 10, 52[6] = VS. 33, 7) the number of the gods is by way of a freak stated to be 3339. They are also spoken of in a more general way as forming three troops (6, 51[2]). A threefold division is implied when the gods are connected with heaven, earth, and waters (7, 35[11]; 10, 49[2]. 65[9]). The Brāhmaṇas also give the number of the gods as 33. The SB. and the AB. agree in dividing them into three main groups of 8 Vasus, 11 Rudras, 12 Ādityas, but while the ŚB. adds to these either (4, 5, 7[2]) Dyaus and Pṛthivī (Prajāpati being here a 34th) or Indra and Prajāpati (11, 6, 3[5]), the AB. (2, 18[8]) adds Vaṣaṭkāra and Prajāpati, to make up the total of 33.

Following the triple classification of RV. 1, 139[11] Yāska (Nir. 7, 5) divides the different deities or forms of the same deity enumerated in the fifth chapter of the Naighaṇṭuka, into the three orders of *pṛthivīsthāna*, terrestrial (Nir. 7, 14—9. 43), *antarikṣasthāna*, *madhyamasthāna*, aerial or intermediate (10, 1—11. 50), and *dyusthāna*, celestial (12, 1—46). He further remarks that in the opinion of his predecessors who expounded the Veda (*nairuktāḥ*) there are only three deities[17], Agni on earth, Vāyu or Indra in air[18], Sūrya in heaven[19]. (This view may be based on such passages as RV. 10, 158[1]: 'May Sūrya protect us from heaven, Vāta from air, Agni from the earthly regions'.) Each of these he continues has various appellations according to differences of function, just as the same person may act in the capacity of *hotṛ*, *adhvaryu*, *brahman*, *udgātṛ*. Yāska himself does not admit that all the various gods are only forms or manifestations of the three representative deities, though he allows that those forming each of the three orders are allied in sphere and functions. The fifth chapter of the Naighaṇṭuka on which Yāska comments, contains in its enumeration of gods a number of minor deities and deified objects, so that the total far exceeds eleven in each division. It is worthy of note that in this list of gods the names of Tvaṣṭṛ and Pṛthivī appear in all the three spheres, those of Agni and Uṣas in both the terrestrial and the aerial, and those of Varuṇa, Yama, and Savitṛ in the aerial as well as the celestial.

An attempt might be made to classify the various Vedic gods according to their relative greatness. Such a division is in a general way alluded to

in the RV. where they are spoken of as great and small, young and old (1, 27[13]). It is probable that this statement represents the settled view of the Vedic poets as to gradation of rank among the gods (cp. pp. 14. 17). It is only a seeming contradiction when in one passage (8, 30[1]) it is said with reference to the gods, 'none of you is small or young; you are all great'; for a poet addressing the gods directly on this point could hardly have expressed himself differently. It is certain that two gods tower above the rest as leading deities about equal in power, Indra as the mighty warrior and Varuṇa as the supreme moral ruler. The older form of Varuṇa became, owing to the predominance of his ethical qualities, the supreme god of Zoroastrianism as Ahura Mazda, while in India Indra developed into the warrior god of the conquering Aryans. Varuṇa appears as preëminent only when the supreme laws of the physical and moral world are contemplated, and cannot be called a popular god. It has been held by various scholars that Varuṇa and the Ādityas were the highest gods of an older period, but were later displaced by Indra (p. 28). There is at any rate no evidence to show that Indra even in the oldest Rigvedic period occupied a subordinate position. It is true that Ahura Mazda is the highest god and Indra only a demon in the Avesta. But even if Indra originally possessed coördinate power with Varuṇa in the Indo-Iranian period, he was necessarily relegated to the background when the reform of the Avestan religion made Ahura Mazda supreme[20] (cp. p. 28). Next to Indra and Varuṇa come the two great ritual deities Agni and Soma. These two along with Indra are, judged by the frequency of the hymns addressed to them, the three most popular deities of the RV. For, roughly speaking, three-fifths of its hymns are dedicated to their praise. The fact that the hymns to Agni and Indra always come first in the family books, while the great majority of the hymns to Soma have a whole book, the ninth, to themselves, confirms this conclusion[21]. Following the number of the hymns dedicated to each of the remaining deities, combined with the frequency with which their names are mentioned in the RV., five classes of gods may be distinguished: 1) Indra, Agni, Soma; 2) Aśvins, Maruts, Varuṇa; 3) Uṣas, Savitṛ, Bṛhaspati, Sūrya, Pūṣan; 4) Vāyu, Dyāvāpṛthivī, Viṣṇu, Rudra; 5) Yama, Parjanya[22]. The statistical standard can of course be only a partial guide. For Varuṇa is celebrated (mostly together with Mitra) in only about thirty hymns, his name being mentioned altogether about 250 times, while the Aśvins can claim over 50 hymns and are named over 400 times. Yet they cannot be said to approach Varuṇa in greatness. Their relative prominence is doubtless owing to their closer connexion with the sacrifice as deities of morning light. Again, the importance of the Maruts is due to their association with Indra. Similar considerations would have to enter into an estimate of the relative greatness of other deities in the list. Such an estimate involves considerable difficulties and doubts. A classification according to gradations of rank would therefore not afford a satisfactory basis for an account of the Vedic gods.

Another but still less satisfactory classification, might take as its basis the relative age of the mythological conception, according as it dates from the period of separate national Indian existence, from the Indo-Iranian, or the Indo-European epoch. Thus Bṛhaspati, Rudra, Viṣṇu may be considered the creations of purely Indian mythology; at least there is no adequate evidence to show that they go back to an earlier age. It has already been indicated (§ 5) that a number of mythological figures date from the Indo-Iranian period. But as to whether any of the Vedic gods besides Dyaus may be traced back to the Indo-European period, considerable doubt is justified.

A classification according to the age of the mythological creation would therefore rest on too uncertain a foundation.

The stage of personification which the various deities represent, might furnish a possible basis of classification. But the task of drawing a clear line of demarcation would involve too many difficulties.

On the whole, the classification of the Vedic deities least open to objection, is that founded on the natural bases which they represent. For though in some cases there may be a doubt as to what the physical substrate really is, and a risk is therefore involved of describing a particular deity in the wrong place, this method offers the advantage of bringing together deities of cognate character and thus facilitating comparison. It has therefore been adopted in the following pages. The various phenomena have been grouped according to the triple division suggested by the RV. itself and adhered to by its oldest commentator.

[1] OST. 5, 219; BRI. 26; BDA. 12—14; ORV. 100. — [2] HRI. 138—40. — [3] MM., ASL. 526. 532. 546; Chips 1, 28; OGR. 266. 285. 298 f. 312 ff.; Science of Religion 52; PhR. 180 ff.; OST. 5. 6 f. 12 f. 125; OO. 3, 449; BÜHLER, OO. 1, 227; LRV. 3, XXVII f.; KRV. 33; note 113; ZIMMER, ZDA. 19(7), 175; HILLEBRANDT, Varuṇa und Mitra, 105; BRI. 26. — [4] WHITNEY, PAOS., Oct. 1881; ORV. 101; HOPKINS, Henotheism in the Rigveda, in Classical studies in honour of H. Drisler (New York 1894), 75—83; HRI. 139 &c. — [5] SVL. 134; cp. ZDMG. 32, 300. — [6] MUIR, JRAS. 20, 41—5; OST. 4, 54—8; 5, 14—17; cp. AV. 3, 22^{3}; 4, 14^{1}; ŚB. 1, 7, 3^{1}; AB. 6, 20^{8}; TS. 1, 7, 1^{3}; 6, 5, 3^{1}; HRI. 187. — [7] NIRUKTA 7, 6. 7. — [8] WC. 9. — [9] ORV. 347. 353. 355. 357—8. — [10] ORV. 93. — [11] OST. 5, 18. — [12] ORV. 238. — [13] BRV. 3, 203—4. — [14] BRV. 3, 199. — [15] ORV. 282. — [16] OST. 5, 18—20; ORV. 97—101; 281—7. 293—301. — [17] KĀTYĀYANA, Sarvānukramaṇī, Introd. § 2, 8; Sāyaṇa on RV. 1, 139^{11}. — [18] 'Indra and Vāyu are closely allied' (TS. 6, 6, 8^{3}). Cp. HRI. 89. — [19] Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya are sons of Prajāpati (MS. 4, 2^{12}). — [20] ORV. 94—8. — [21] HRI. 90. — [22] These classes and the statistics fournished below in the account given of the single gods, are based on data derived from LRV., GW., GRV. (2, 421—3), and AUFRECHT's RV. II^{2}, 668—71.

A. THE CELESTIAL GODS.

§ 11. Dyaus.—By far the most frequent use of the word *dyaus* is as a designation of the concrete 'sky', in which sense it occurs at least 500 times in the RV. It also means 'day'[1] about 50 times. When personified as the god of heaven, Dyaus is generally coupled with Earth in the dual compound *dyāvāpṛthivī*, the universal parents. No single hymn of the RV. is addressed to Dyaus alone. When he is mentioned separately the personification is limited almost entirely to the idea of paternity. The name then nearly always appears in the nominative or genitive case. The latter case, occurring about 50 times, is more frequent than all the other cases together. The genitive is regularly connected with the name of some other deity who is called the son or daughter of Dyaus. In about three-fourths of these instances Uṣas is his daughter, while in the remainder the Aśvins are his offspring (*napātā*), Agni is his son (*sūnu*) or child (*śiśu*), Parjanya, Sūrya, the Ādityas, the Maruts, and the Aṅgirases are his sons (*putra*). Out of its thirty occurrences in the nominative the name appears only eight times alone, being otherwise generally associated with Pṛthivī or mentioned with various deities mostly including Pṛthivī. In these eight passages he is three times styled a father (1, 90^{7}. 164^{33}; 4, 1^{10}), once the father of Indra (4, 72^{3}), once he is spoken of as rich in seed (*suretāḥ*) and as having generated Agni (4, 17^{4}); in the remaining three he is a bull (5, 36^{5}) or a red bull that bellows downwards (5, 58^{6}), and is said to have approved when Vṛtra was slain (6, 72^{3}). In the dative the name is found eight times. In these passages

he is mentioned only three times quite alone, once being called the 'great father' (1, 71[5]), once 'lofty' (1, 54[3]), and once the 'lofty abode' (5, 47[7]). In two of the four occurrences in the accusative Dyaus is mentioned with Pṛthivī, once alone and without any distinctive statement (1, 174[3]), and once (1, 31[4]) Agni is said to have made him roar for man. Thus it appears that Dyaus is seldom mentioned independently and in only one-sixth of over ninety passages is his paternity not expressly stated or implied by association with Pṛthivī. The only essential feature of the personification in the RV. is in fact his paternity. In a few passages Dyaus is called a bull (1, 160[3]; 5, 36[5]) that bellows (5, 58[6]). Here we have a touch of theriomorphism inasmuch as he is conceived as a roaring animal that fertilizes the earth. Dyaus is once compared with a black steed decked with pearls (10, 68[11]), an obvious allusion to the nocturnal sky. The statement that Dyaus is furnished with a bolt (*aśanimat*) looks like a touch of anthropomorphism. He is also spoken of as smiling through the clouds (2, 4[6]), the allusion being doubtless to the lightening sky[2]. Such passages are, however, quite isolated, the conception of Dyaus being practically free from theriomorphism and anthropomorphism, excepting the notion of paternity. As a father he is most usually thought of in combination with Earth as a mother[3]. This is indicated by the fact that his name forms a dual compound with that of Pṛthivī oftener than it is used alone in the singular (§ 44), that in a large proportion of its occurrences in the singular it is accompanied by the name of Pṛthivī, and that when regarded separately he is not sufficiently individualized to have a hymn dedicated to his praise, though in conjunction with Pṛthivī he is celebrated in six. Like nearly all the greater gods[4] Dyaus is sometimes called *asura*[5] (1, 122[1]. 131[1]; 8, 20[17]) and he is once (6, 51[5]) invoked in the vocative as 'Father Heaven' (*dyauṣ pitar*) along with 'Mother Earth' (*pṛthivi mātar*). In about 20 passages the word *dyaus* is feminine, sometimes even when personified[6]. Dyaus, as has been pointed out (§ 6) goes back to the Indo-European period. There is no reason to assume that the personification in that period was of a more advanced type and that the RV. has in this case relapsed to a more primitive stage. On the contrary there is every ground for supposing the reverse to be the case. Whatever higher gods may have existed in that remote age must have been of a considerably more rudimentary type and can hardly in any instance have been conceived apart from deified natural objects[7]. As the Universal Father who with Mother Earth embraced all other deified objects and phenomena, he would have been the greatest among the deities of a chaotic polytheism. But to speak of him as the supreme god of the Indo-European age is misleading, because this suggests a ruler of the type of Zeus and an incipient monotheism for an extremely remote period, though neither of these conceptions had been arrived at in the earlier Rigvedic times.

The word is derived from the root *div*, to shine, thus meaning 'the bright one' and being allied to *deva*, god[8].

[1] v. Schröder, WZKM. 8, 126—7. — [2] PVS. 1, 111; SBE. 46, 205. — [3] HRL 171. — [4] BDA. 119—23. — [5] BDA. 86. — [6] BDA. 114; cf. GW. s. v. *div*; Osthoff, IF. 5, 286, n. — [7] BDA. 111. — [8] Cp. KZ. 27, 187; BB. 15, 17; IF. 3, 301.
OST. 5, 21—3; OGR. 209; LRV. 3, 312—3; BRV. 1, 4—5; Sp. AP. 160; JAOS. 16, CXLV.

§ 12. Varuṇa.—Varuṇa, as has been shown (p. 20), is by the side of Indra, the greatest of the gods of the RV. The number of hymns dedicated to his praise is not a sufficient criterion of his exalted character. Hardly a dozen hymns celebrate him exclusively. Judged by the statistical standard he would rank only as a third class deity; and even if the two dozen hymns

in which he is invoked along with his double Mitra are taken into account, he would only come fifth in order of priority, ranking considerably below the Aśvins and about on an equality with the Maruts (cp. p. 20).

The anthropomorphism of Varuṇa's personality is more fully developed on the moral than the physical side. The descriptions of his person and his equipment are scanty, more stress being laid on his activity. He has a face, an eye, arms, hands, and feet. He moves his arms, walks, drives, sits, eats and drinks. The poet regards the face (*anīkam*) of Varuṇa as that of Agni (7, 88[2] cp. 87[6]). The eye of Mitra and Varuṇa is the sun (1, 115[1]; 6, 51[1]; 7, 61[1]. 63[1]; 10, 37[1]). The fact that this is always mentioned in the first verse of a hymn, suggests that it is one of the first ideas that occur when Mitra and Varuṇa are thought of. The eye with which Varuṇa is said in a hymn to Sūrya (1, 50[6]) to observe mankind, is undoubtedly the sun. Together with Aryaman, Mitra and Varuṇa are called sun-eyed (7, 66[10]), a term applied to other gods also. Varuṇa is far-sighted (1, 25[5. 16]; 8, 90[2]) and thousand-eyed (7, 34[10]). Mitra and Varuṇa stretch out their arms (5, 64[2]; 7, 62[5]) and they drive with the rays of the sun as with arms (8, 90[2]). Like Savitṛ and Tvaṣṭṛ they are beautiful-handed (*supāṇi*). Mitra and Varuṇa hasten up with their feet (5, 64[7]), and Varuṇa treads down wiles with shining foot (8, 41[8]). He sits on the strewn grass at the sacrifice (1, 26[4]; 5, 72[2]), and like other gods he and Mitra drink Soma (4, 41[3] &c.). Varuṇa wears a golden mantle (*drāpi*) and puts on a shining robe (1, 25[13]). But the shining robe of ghee with which he and Mitra are clothed (5, 62[4]; 7, 64[1]) is only a figurative allusion to the sacrificial offering of melted butter. The glistening garments which they wear (1, 152[1]) probably mean the same thing. In the ŚB. (13, 3, 6[5]) Varuṇa is represented as a fair, bald, yellow-eyed old man[1]. The only part of Varuṇa's equipment which is at all prominent is his car. It is described as shining like the sun (1, 122[15]), as having thongs for a pole (ibid.), a car-seat and a whip (5, 62[7]), and as drawn by well-yoked steeds (5, 62[4]). Mitra and Varuṇa mount their car in the highest heaven (5, 63[1]). The poet prays that he may see Varuṇa's car on the earth (1, 25[18]).

Mitra and Varuṇa's abode is golden and situated in heaven (5, 67[2]; 1, 136[2]) and Varuṇa sits in his mansions (*pastyāsu*) looking on all deeds (1, 25[10. 11]). His and Mitra's seat (*sadas*) is great, very lofty, firm with a thousand columns (5, 68[5]; 2, 41[5]) and their house has a thousand doors (7, 88[5]). The all-seeing sun rising from his abode, goes to the dwellings of Mitra and Varuṇa to report the deeds of men (7, 60[1. 3]), and enters their dear dwelling (1, 152[4]). It is in the highest heaven that the Fathers behold Varuṇa (10, 14[8]). According to the ŚB. (11, 6, 1) Varuṇa, conceived as the lord of the Universe, is seated in the midst of heaven, from which he surveys the places of punishment situated all around him[1].

The spies (*spaśaḥ*) of Varuṇa are sometimes mentioned. They sit down around him (1, 24[13]). They behold the two worlds; acquainted with sacrifice they stimulate prayer (7, 87[3]). Mitra's and Varuṇa's spies whom they send separately into houses (7, 61[3]), are undeceived and wise (6, 67[5]). In the AV. (4, 16[4]) it is said that Varuṇa's messengers descending from heaven, traverse the world; thousand-eyed they look across the whole world. The natural basis of these spies is usually assumed to be the stars; but the RV. yields no evidence in support of this view. The stars are there never said to watch, nor are the spies connected with night. The conception may very well have been suggested by the spies with whom a strict ruler on earth is surrounded[2]. Nor are spies peculiar to Varuṇa and Mitra, for they are also attributed to Agni (4, 4[3]), to Soma (9, 73[4. 7]. here perhaps suggested by the

previous mention of Varuṇa), to demons combated by Indra (1, 33[8]), and to the gods in general (10, 10[8]). In one passage the Ādityas are said to look down like spies from a height (8, 47[11]). That these spies were primarily connected with Mitra and Varuṇa is to be inferred from the fact that the Iranian Mithra also has spies, who are, moreover, called by the same name (*spaś*) as in the Veda[3]. The golden-winged messenger (*dūta*) of Varuṇa once mentioned in the RV. (10, 123[6]), is doubtless the sun.

Varuṇa alone, or conjointly with Mitra, is often called a king (*rājā*), like the other leading deities and Yama (1, 24[7.8] &c.)[4]. He is king of all, both gods and men (10, 132[4]; 2, 27[10]), of the whole world (5, 85[3]), and of all that exists (7, 87[6]). Varuṇa is also a self-dependent ruler (2, 28[1]), a term generally applied to Indra. Much more frequently Varuṇa, alone or mostly in association with Mitra, is called a universal monarch (*samrāj*). This term is also applied to Agni a few times and oftener to Indra. Counting the passages in which Varuṇa and Mitra together are so called, it is connected with Varuṇa nearly twice as often as with Indra. Considering that for every eight or ten hymns celebrating Indra only one is dedicated to Varuṇa in the RV., the epithet may be considered peculiarly appropriate to Varuṇa.

The attribute of sovereignty (*kṣatra*) is in a predominant manner appropriated to Varuṇa, generally with Mitra and twice with Aryaman also. Otherwise it is applied only once respectively to Agni, Bṛhaspati, and the Aśvins. Similarly the term 'ruler' (*kṣatriya*) in four of its five occurrences refers to Varuṇa or the Ādityas and once only to the gods in general. The epithet *asura* (§ 67) is connected with Varuṇa, alone or accompanied by Mitra, oftener than with Indra and Agni; and, taking account of the proportion of hymns, it may be said to be specially applicable to Varuṇa[5]. Mitra and Varuṇa are also called the mysterious and noble lords (*asurā aryā*) among the gods (7, 65[1]).

The divine dominion of Varuṇa and Mitra is often referred to with the word *māyā*[6]. This term signifies occult power, applicable in a good sense to gods or in a bad sense to demons. It has an almost exact parallel in the English word 'craft', which in its old signification meant 'occult power, magic', then 'skilfulness, art' on the one hand and 'deceitful skill, wile' on the other. The good sense of *māyā*, like that of *asura* (which might be rendered by 'mysterious being') is mainly connected with Varuṇa and Mitra, while its bad sense is reserved for demons. By occult power Varuṇa standing in the air measures out the earth with the sun as with a measure (5, 85[5]), Varuṇa and Mitra send the dawns (3, 61[7]), make the sun to cross the sky and obscure it with cloud and rain, while the honied drops fall (5, 63[4]); or (ibid. [3.7]) they cause heaven to rain and they uphold the ordinances by the occult power of the Asura (here = Dyaus or Parjanya)[7]. And so the epithet *māyin*, 'crafty', is chiefly applied to Varuṇa among the gods (6, 48[14]; 7, 28[4]; 10, 99[10]. 147[5]).

In marked contrast with Indra, Varuṇa has no myths related of him, while much is said about him (and Mitra) as upholder of physical and moral order. Varuṇa is a great lord of the laws of nature. He established heaven and earth and dwells in all the worlds (8, 42[1]). The three heavens and the three earths are deposited within him (7, 87[5]). He and Mitra rule over the whole world (5, 63[7]) or encompass the two worlds (7, 61[4]). They are the guardians of the whole world (2, 27[4] &c.). By the law of Varuṇa heaven and earth are held apart (6, 70[1]; 7, 86[1]; 8, 41[10]). With Mitra he supports earth and heaven (5, 62[3]), or heaven, earth, and air (5, 69[1.4]). He made the golden swing (the sun) to shine in heaven (7, 87[5]). He placed fire in

the waters, the sun in the sky, Soma on the rock (5, 85[2]). He has made a wide path for the sun (1, 24[8]; 7, 87[1]). Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman open paths for the sun (7, 60[4]). The order (*ṛta*) of Mitra and Varuṇa is established where the steeds of the sun are loosed (5, 62[1]). The wind which resounds through the air is Varuṇa's breath (7, 87[2]).

By Varuṇa's ordinances (*vratāni*) the moon shining brightly moves at night, and the stars placed up on high are seen at night but disappear by day (1, 24[10]). In another passage (8, 41[3]) it is said that Varuṇa has embraced (*pari ṣasvaje*) the nights, and by his occult power has established the mornings or days (*usraḥ*). This can hardly indicate a closer connexion with night than that he regulates or divides night and day (cp. 7, 66[11]). In fact it is the sun that is usually mentioned with him, and not the moon or night. Thus in the oldest Veda Varuṇa is the lord of light both by day and by night, while Mitra, as far as can be judged, appears as the god of the celestial light of day only.

In the later Vedic period of the Brāhmaṇas Varuṇa comes to be specially connected with the nocturnal heaven[8]. Thus Mitra is said to have produced the day and Varuṇa the night (TS. 6, 4, 8[3]); and the day is said to belong to Mitra and the night to Varuṇa (TS. 2, 1, 7[4])[9]. This view may have arisen from a desire to contrast Mitra, who was still felt to be related to the sun, with Varuṇa whose natural basis was more obscure. The antithesis between the two is differently expressed by the ŚB. (12, 9, 2[12]), which asserts that this world is Mitra, that (the celestial) world is Varuṇa.

Varuṇa is sometimes referred to as regulating the seasons. He knows the twelve months (1, 25[8])[10]; and the kings Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman are said to have disposed the autumn, the month, day and night (7, 66[11]).

Even in the RV. Varuṇa is often spoken of as a regulator of the waters. He caused the rivers to flow; they stream unceasingly according to his ordinance (2, 28[4]). By his occult power the rivers swiftly pouring into the ocean do not fill it with water (5, 85[6]). Varuṇa and Mitra are lords of rivers (7, 64[2]). Varuṇa is already found connected with the sea in the RV., but very rarely, perhaps owing to its unimportance in that collection. Varuṇa going in the oceanic waters is contrasted with the Maruts in the sky, Agni on earth, and Vāta in air (1, 161[14])[11]. The statement that the seven rivers flow into the jaws of Varuṇa as into a surging abyss (8, 58[12]), may refer to the ocean[12]. Varuṇa is said to descend into the sea (*sindhum*) like Dyaus (7, 87[6])[13]. It is rather the aerial waters that he is ordinarily connected with. Varuṇa ascends to heaven as a hidden ocean (8, 41[8]). Beholding the truth and falsehood of men, he moves in the midst of the waters which drop sweetness and are clear (7, 49[3]). Varuṇa clothes himself in the waters (9, 90[2] cp. 8, 69[11. 12]). He and Mitra are among the gods most frequently thought of and prayed to as bestowers of rain. Varuṇa makes the inverted cask (of the cloud) to pour its waters on heaven, earth, and air, and to moisten the ground, the mountains then being enveloped in cloud (5, 85[3. 4]). Mitra and Varuṇa have kine yielding refreshment and streams flowing with honey (5, 69[2]). They have rainy skies and streaming waters (5, 68[5]). They bedew the pasturage with ghee (= rain) and the spaces with honey (3, 62[16]). They send rain and refreshment from the sky (7, 64[2]). Rain abounding in heavenly water comes from them (8, 25[6]). Indeed, one entire hymn (5, 63) dwells on their powers of bestowing rain. It is probably owing to his connexion with the waters and rain, that in the fifth chapter of the Naighaṇṭuka Varuṇa is enumerated among the deities of the atmospheric as well as those of the celestial world. In the Brāhmaṇas Mitra and Varuṇa are also gods of rain[14]. In the AV. Varuṇa appears divested of his powers

as a universal ruler, retaining only the control of the department of waters. He is connected with the waters as Soma with the mountains (AV. 3, 3[3]). As a divine father he sheds rain-waters (AV. 4, 15[12]). His golden house is in the waters (AV. 7, 83[1]). He is the overlord of waters, he and Mitra are lords of rain (AV. 5, 24[4. 5]). In the YV. he is spoken of as the child (*śiśu*) of waters, making his abode within the most motherly waters (VS. 10, 7). The waters are wives of Varuṇa (TS. 5, 5, 4[1]). Mitra and Varuṇa are the leaders of waters (TS. 6, 4, 3[2]).

Varuṇa's ordinances are constantly said to be fixed, the epithet *dhṛta-vrata* being preëminently applicable to him, sometimes conjointly with Mitra. The gods themselves follow Varuṇa's ordinances (8, 41[7]) or those of Varuṇa, Mitra, and Savitṛ (10, 36[13]). Even the immortal gods cannot obstruct the fixed ordinances of Mitra and Varuṇa (5, 69[4] cp. 5, 63[7]). Mitra and Varuṇa are lords of order (*ṛta*) and light, who by means of order are the upholders of order (1, 23[5]). The latter epithet is mostly applied either to them and sometimes the Ādityas or to the gods in general. They are cherishers of order or right (1, 2[8]). Varuṇa or the Ādityas are sometimes called guardians of order (*ṛtasya gopā*), but this term is also applied to Agni and Soma. The epithet 'observer of order' (*ṛtāvan*), predominantly used of Agni, is also several times connected with Varuṇa and Mitra.

Varuṇa's power is so great that neither the birds as they fly nor the rivers as they flow, can reach the limit of his dominion, his might, and his wrath (1, 24[6]). Neither the skies nor the rivers have reached (the limit of) the godhead of Mitra and Varuṇa (1, 151[9]). He embraces the All and the abodes of all beings (8, 41[1. 7]). The three heavens and the three earths are deposited in him (7, 87[5]). Varuṇa is omniscient. He knows the flight of birds in the sky, the path of ships in the ocean, the course of the far-travelling wind, and beholds all the secret things that have been or shall be done (1, 25[7. 9. 11]). He witnesses men's truth and falsehood (7, 49[3]). No creature can even wink without him (2, 28[6]). The winkings of men's eyes are all numbered by Varuṇa, and whatever man does, thinks, or devises, Varuṇa knows (AV. 4, 16[2. 5]). He perceives all that exists within heaven and earth, and all that is beyond: a man could not escape from Varuṇa by fleeing far beyond the sky (AV. 4, 16[4. 5]). That Varuṇa's omniscience is typical is indicated by the fact that Agni is compared with him in this respect (10, 11[1]).

As a moral governor Varuṇa stands far above any other deity. His wrath is roused by sin, the infringement of his ordinances, which he severely punishes (7, 86[3. 4]). The fetters (*pāśāḥ*) with which he binds sinners, are often mentioned (1, 24[15]. 25[21]; 6, 74[4]; 10, 85[24]). They are cast sevenfold and threefold, ensnaring the man who tells lies, passing by him who speaks truth (AV.4,16[6]). Mitra and Varuṇa are barriers, furnished with many fetters, against falsehood (7, 65[3]). Once Varuṇa, coupled with Indra, is said to tie with bonds not formed of rope (7, 84[2]). The term *pāśa* is only once used in connexion with another god, Agni, who is implored to loosen the fetters of his worshippers (5, 2[7]). It is therefore distinctive of Varuṇa. According to BERGAIGNE the conception of Varuṇa's fetters is based on the tying up of the waters, according to HILLEBRANDT on the fetters of night[15]. But is seems to be sufficiently accounted for by the figurative application of the fetters of criminals to moral guilt. Together with Mitra, Varuṇa is said to be a dispeller, hater, and punisher of falsehood (1, 152[1]; 7, 60[5]. 66[13]). They afflict with disease[16] those who neglect their worship (1, 122[9]). On the other hand, Varuṇa is gracious to the penitent. He unties like a rope and removes sin

(2, 28[5]; 5, 85[7.8]). He releases not only from the sins which men themselves commit, but from those committed by their fathers (7, 86[5]). He spares the suppliant who daily transgresses his laws (1, 25[1]) and is gracious to those who have broken his laws by thoughtlessness (7, 89[5]). There is in fact no hymn to Varuṇa (and the Ādityas) in which the prayer for forgiveness of guilt does not occur, as in the hymns to other deities the prayer for worldly goods.

Varuṇa has a hundred, a thousand remedies, and drives away death as well as releases from sin (1, 24[9]). He can take away or prolong life (1, 24[11]. 25[12]; 7, 88[4]. 89[1]). He is a wise guardian of immortality (8, 42[2]), and the righteous hope to see in the next world Varuṇa and Yama, the two kings who reign in bliss (10, 14[7]).

Varuṇa is on a footing of friendship with his worshipper (7, 88[4—6]), who communes with him in his celestial abode and sometimes sees him with the mental eye (1, 25[18]; 7, 88[2]).

What conclusions as to the natural basis of Varuṇa can be drawn from the Vedic evidence which has been adduced? It is clear from this evidence, in combination with what is said below about Mitra (§ 13), that Varuṇa and Mitra are closely connected with the sun, but that the former is the much more important deity. Mitra has in fact been so closely assimilated to the greater god that he has hardly an independent trait left. Mitra must have lost his individuality through the predominant characteristics of the god with whom he is almost invariably associated. Now, chiefly on the evidence of the Avesta, Mitra has been almost unanimously acknowledged to be a solar deity (§ 13). Varuṇa must therefore have originally represented a different phenomenon. This according to the generally received opinion, is the encompassing sky. The vault of heaven presents a phenomenon far more vast to the eye of the observer than the sun, which occupies but an extremely small portion of that expanse during its daily course. The sky would therefore appear to the imagination as the greater deity. The sun might very naturally become associated with the sky as the space which it traverses every day and apart from which it is never seen. The conception of the sun as the eye of heaven is sufficiently obvious. It could not very appropriately be termed the eye of Mitra till the original character of the latter had become obscured and absorbed in that of Varuṇa. Yet even the eye of Sūrya is several times spoken of in the RV. (p. 30). The attribute of 'far-seeing', appropriate to the sun, is also appropriate to the sky, which might naturally be conceived as seeing not only by day but even at night by means of the moon and stars. No real difficulty is presented by the notion of Varuṇa, who has become quite separate from his physical basis[17], mounting a car in the height of heaven with Mitra. For such a conception is easily explicable from his association with a solar deity; besides every leading deity in the RV. drives in a car. On the other hand, the palace of Varuṇa in the highest heavens and his connexion with rain are particularly appropriate to a deity originally representing the vault of heaven. Finally, no natural phenomenon would be so likely to develope into a sovereign ruler, as the sky. For the personification of its vast expanse, which encompasses and rises far above the earth and on which the most striking phenomena of regular recurrence, the movements of the luminaries, are enacted, would naturally be conceived as watching by night and day all the deeds of men and as being the guardian of unswerving law. This development has indeed actually taken place in the case of the Zeus (= Dyaus) of Hellenic mythology. What was at first only an appellative of the sky has here become the supreme ruler of the gods dwelling in the serene

heights of heaven, who gathers the clouds, who wields the thunderbolt, and whose will is law.

The phenomena with which the two greatest gods of the RV. were originally connected, largely accounts for the difference in their personality. Varuṇa as concerned with the regularly recurring phenomena of celestial light, is the supreme upholder of law in the moral as well as the physical world. His character as such afforded no scope for the development of myths. Indra as the god fighting in the strife of the elements, was conceived by the militant Vedic Indian as a sovereign of the warrior type. Owing to his close connexion with the meteorological phenomena of the thunderstorm, which are so irregular in time and diversified in feature, the character of Indra on the one hand shows traits of capriciousness, while on the other he becomes the centre of more myths than any other deity of the RV. The theory of ROTH as to the supersession of Varuṇa by Indra in the Rigvedic period, is dealt with below (§ 22).

With the growth of the conception of Prajāpati (§ 39) as a supreme deity, the characteristics of Varuṇa as a sovereign god naturally faded away, and the dominion of the waters, only a part of his original sphere, alone remained to him. Thus he ultimately became in post-Vedic mythology an Indian Neptune, god of the Sea.

The hypothesis recently advanced by OLDENBERG[18] that Varuṇa primarily represented the moon, cannot be passed over here. Starting from the assertion that the characteristic number of the Ādityas was seven and that their identity with the Ameṣaspentas of the Avesta is an assured fact, he believes that Varuṇa and Mitra were the moon and sun, the lesser Ādityas representing the five planets, and that they were not Indo-European deities, but were borrowed during the Indo-Iranian period from a Semitic people more skilled in astronomy than the Aryans. The character of Varuṇa when borrowed must further have lost much of its original significance and have already possessed a highly ethical aspect. For otherwise a distinctly lunar deity could hardly have thrown Mitra, who was clearly understood to be the sun, into the shade in the Indo-Iranian period, or have developed so highly abstract a character as to account for the supreme position, as a moral ruler, of Ahura Mazda in the Avesta and of Varuṇa in the Veda. This hypothesis does not seem to account at all well for the actual characteristics of Varuṇa in the RV. It also requires the absolute rejection of any connection between Varuṇa and οὐρανός[19].

It has already been mentioned that Varuṇa goes back to the Indo-Iranian period (§ 5), for the Ahura Mazda of the Avesta agrees with him in character[20] though not in name. The name of *Váruṇa* may even be Indo-European. At least, the long accepted identification of the word with the Greek οὐρανός, though presenting phonetic difficulties, has not been rejected by some recent authorities on comparative philology[21].

But whether the word is Indo-European or the formation of a later period[22], it is probably derived from the root *var*, to cover[23], thus meaning 'the encompasser'. Sāyaṇa (on RV. 1, 89[3]) connects it with this root in the sense of enveloping or confining the wicked with his bonds[24], or commenting on TS. 1, 8, 16[1], in that of enveloping 'like darkness' (cp. TS. 2, 1, 7[4]). If the word is Indo-European, it may have been an attribute of *dyaus*, the ordinary name of 'sky', later becoming the regular appellative of sky in Greece, but an exalted god of the sky in India[25].

[1] WEBER, ZDMG. 9, 242; 18, 268. — [2] ORV. 286, n. 2. — [3] Cp. ROTH, ZDMG. 6, 72; EGGERS, Mitra 54—7; OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 50, 48. — [4] OST. 5, 60.

— 5 BDA. 120—1; ORV. 163. — 6 BRV. 3, 81; v. BRADKE, ZDMG. 48, 499—501; ORV. 163. 294. — 7 Cf. BDA. 55. 60. — 8 OST. 5, 70; ROTH, PW. s. v. Varuṇa; BRV. 3, 116 ff.; v. SCHROEDER, WZKM. 9, 119. — 9 Cf. TB. 1, 7, 10[1]; Sāyaṇa on RV. 1, 89[3]; 2, 38[8]; 7, 87[1]; TS. 1, 8, 16[1]. — 10 Cp. WVB. 1894, p. 38. — 11 BOLLENSEN, OO. 2, 467. — 12 ROTH, Nirukta, Erl. 70—1. — 13 Cp. ROTH, ZDMG. 6, 73. — 14 HILLEBRANDT, Varuṇa und Mitra 67, note. — 15 Cp. HRI. 68. — 16 Varuṇa's later connexion with dropsy is traced by HILLEBRANDT, p. 63 f. and ORV. 203 even in the RV., a view opposed by BRV. 3, 155. — 17 Cp. OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 50, 61. — 18 ORV. 285—98. — 19 Cp. v. SCHROEDER, WZKM. 9, 116—28; MACDONELL, JRAS. 27, 947—9. — 20 ROTH, ZDMG. 6, 69 ff. (cp. OST. 5, 72); WHITNEY, JAOS. 3, 327; but WINDISCHMANN (Zoroastrische Studien p. 122) held Ahura Mazda to be purely Iranian, and SPIEGEL, Av. Transl. 3, introd. iii., sees no similarity between Ahura Mazda and Varuṇa; cp. SP.AP. 181. — 21 BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 154; PRELLWITZ, Etym. Wörterbuch d. gr. Spr. — 22 Cp. v. SCHROEDER, WZKM. 9, 127. — 23 HILLEBRANDT 9—14; v. SCHROEDER, WZKM. 9, 118, n. 1; HRI. 66, note; 70; cp. also SONNE, KZ. 12, 364—6; ZDMG. 32, 716 f.; BOLLENSEN, ZDMG. 41, 504 f.; GELDNER, BB. 11, 329; MM., Chips 4[2], xxiii f. — 24 Cp. GVS. 2, 22, note; OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 50, 60. — 25 MACDONELL, JRAS. 26, 628.

ROTH, ZDMG. 6, 70—4; 7, 607; JAOS. 3, 341—2. WEBER, IS. 17, 212 f.; OST. 5, 58—75; LRV. 3, 314—6; GRV. 1, 34; HILLEBRANDT, Varuṇa und Mitra, Breslau 1877; BRV. 3, 110—49; MM., India 197—200; BRI. 16—9; GPVS. I, 142. 188; WC. 98—103; KERBAKER, Varuṇa e gli Aditya, Napoli 1889; BOHNENBERGER, Der altindische Gott Varuṇa, Tübingen 1893; ORV. 189—95. 202—3. 293—8. 336, n. 1; ZDMG. 50, 43—68; HRI. 61—72; JAOS. 16, CXLVIII ff.; 17, 81, note; FOY, Die königliche Gewalt, Leipzig 1895, p. 80—6 (Die Späher Varuṇa's).

§ 13. Mitra. — The association of Mitra with Varuṇa is so predominant that only one single hymn of the RV. (3, 59) is addressed to him alone. The praise of the god is there rather indefinite, but the first verse at least contains something distinctive about him. Uttering his voice (*bruvāṇaḥ*) he brings men together (*yātayati*) and watches the tillers with unwinking eye (*animiṣā*, said also of Mitra-Varuṇa in 7, 60[6]).

In another passage (7, 36[2]) almost the same words are applied to Mitra who 'brings men together, uttering his voice', in contrast with Varuṇa who is here called 'a mighty, infallible guide'. This seems a tolerably clear reference to Mitra's solar character, if we compare with it another verse (5, 82[9]) where it is said that the sun-god Savitṛ 'causes all creatures to hear him and impels them'. In the fifth verse of the hymn to Mitra the god is spoken of as the great Āditya 'bringing men together'. This epithet (*yātayaj-jana*) is found in only three other passages of the RV. In one of these it is applied to Mitra-Varuṇa in the dual (5, 72[2]), in another to Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman (1, 136[3]), and in the third (8, 91[12]) to Agni, who 'brings men together like Mitra'. The attribute therefore seems to have properly belonged to Mitra. The hymn to Mitra further adds that he supports heaven and earth, that the five tribes of men obey him, and that he sustains all the gods. Savitṛ is once (5, 81[4]) identified with Mitra because of his laws, and elsewhere (Vāl. 4[3]) Viṣṇu is said to take his three steps by the laws of Mitra. These two passages appear to indicate that Mitra regulates the course of the sun. Agni who goes at the head of the dawns produces Mitra for himself (10, 8[4]); Agni when kindled is Mitra (3, 5[4]); Agni when born is Varuṇa, when kindled is Mitra[1] (5, 3[1]). In the AV. (13, 3[13]) Mitra at sunrise is contrasted with Varuṇa in the evening, and (AV. 9, 3[18]) Mitra is asked to uncover in the morning what has been covered up by Varuṇa[2]. These passages point to the beginning of the view prevailing in the Brāhmaṇas, that Mitra is connected with day and Varuṇa with night. That view must have arisen from Mitra having been predominantly conceived as allied to the sun, Varuṇa by antithesis becoming god of night[3]. The same contrast between Mitra as god of day and Varuṇa as god of night is implied in the ritual literature, when it is prescribed that Mitra should

receive a white and Varuṇa a dark victim at the sacrificial post (TS. 2, 1, 7^{4}. 9^{1}; MS. 2, 5^{7})[4]. The somewhat scanty evidence of the Veda showing that Mitra is a solar deity, is corroborated by the Avesta and Persian religion in general. Here Mithra is undoubtedly a sun-god or a god of light specially connected with the sun[5].

The etymology of the name is uncertain[6]. However, as the word also often means 'friend' in the RV. and the kindly nature of the god is often referred to in the Veda, Mitra even appearing as a god of peace (TS. 2, 1, 8^{4})[7], while in the Avesta Mithra is on the ethical side of his character the guardian of faithfulness[8], it must have originally signified 'ally' or 'friend' and have been applied to the sun-god in his aspect of a beneficent power of nature.

[1] EGGERS 16—19. — [2] HILLEBRANDT 67. — [3] OLDENBERG thinks that the special connexion of Varuṇa with night is old: ZDMG. 50, 64—5. — [4] HILLEBRANDT 67. 90; ORV. 192, note. — [5] Sp.AP. 183; ORV. 48. 190; EGGERS 6—13. [6] HILLEBRANDT 113—4; EGGERS 70. — [7] EGGERS 42—3. — [8] EGGERS 53—6.

KHF. 13; ROTH, ZDMG. 6, 70 ff.; PW.; OST. 5, 69—71; WINDISCHMANN, Mithra, Leipzig 1859; GW. s. v. Mitra; HILLEBRANDT, Varuṇa und Mitra 111—36; BRV. 3, 110—29; BOLLENSEN, ZDMG. 41, 503—4; WEBER, IS. 17, 212; BRI. 17; ORV. 190—2; BOHNENBERGER 85; A. EGGERS, Der arische Gott Mitra, Dorpat 1894 (Dissertation); v. SCHROEDER, WZKM. 9, 118; HRI. 71; OLDENBERG, SBE. 46, 241. 287.

§ 14. **Sūrya.** — Ten entire hymns of the RV. may be said to be devoted to the celebration of Sūrya specifically. It is impossible to say how often the name of the god occurs, it being in many cases doubtful whether only the natural phenomenon is meant or its personification. Since his name designates the orb of the sun as well, Sūrya is the most concrete of the solar deities, his connexion with the luminary never being lost sight of. The adorable light of Sūrya in the sky is as the face (*anīka*) of great Agni (10, 7^{3}). The eye of Sūrya is mentioned several times (5, 40^{8} &c.), but he is himself equally often called the eye of Mitra and Varuṇa (p. 23) or of Agni as well (1, 115^{1}); and once (7, 77^{3}) Dawn is said to bring the eye of the gods. The affinity of the eye and the sun is indicated in a passage where the eye of the dead man is conceived as going to Sūrya (10, 16^{3} cp. 90^{3}. $158^{3.4}$). In the AV. he is called the 'lord of eyes' (AV. 5, 24^{9}) and is said to be the one eye of created beings and to see beyond the sky, the earth, and the waters (AV. 13, 1^{45}). He is far-seeing (7, 35^{8}; 10, 37^{1}), all-seeing (1, 50^{2}), is the spy (*spaś*) of the whole world (4, 13^{3}), beholds all beings and the good and bad deeds of mortals (1, 50^{7}; 6, 51^{2}; 7, 60^{2}. 61^{1}. $63^{1.4}$). Aroused by Sūrya men pursue their objects and perform their work (7, 63^{4}). Common to all men, he rises as their rouser (7, $63^{2.3}$). He is the soul or the guardian of all that moves or is stationary (1, 115^{1}; 7, 60^{2}). He has a car which is drawn by one steed, called *etaśa* (7, 63^{2}), or by an indefinite number of steeds (1, 115^{3}; 10, 37^{3}. 49^{7}) or mares (5, 29^{5}) or by seven horses (5, 45^{9}) or mares called *haritaḥ* (1, $50^{8.9}$; 7, 60^{3}) or by seven swift mares (4, 13^{3}).

Sūrya's path is prepared for him by Varuṇa (1, 24^{8}; 7, 87^{1}) or by the Ādityas Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman (7, 60^{4}). Pūṣan is his messenger (6, 58^{3}). The Dawn or Dawns reveal or produce Sūrya as well as Agni and the sacrifice (7, 80^{2}. 78^{3}). He shines forth from the lap of the dawns (7, 63^{3}). But from another point of view Dawn is Sūrya's wife (7, 75^{5}).

He also bears the metronymic Āditya, son of Aditi (1, 50^{12}. 191^{9}; 8, 90^{11}) or Āditeya (10, 88^{11}), but he is elsewhere distinguished from the Ādityas (8, 35^{13-15}). His father is Dyaus (10, 37^{1}). He is god-born (ibid.). The gods raised him who had been hidden in the ocean (10, 72^{7}). As a form of Agni

he was placed by the gods in heaven (10, 88[11]). According to another order of ideas he is said to have arisen from the eye of the world-giant Puruṣa (10, 90[3]). In the AV. (4, 10[5]) the sun (*divākara*) is even described as having sprung from Vṛtra.

Various individual gods are said to have produced the sun. Indra generated him (2, 12[4] &c.), caused him to shine or raised him to heaven (3, 44[2]; 8, 78[7]). Indra-Viṣṇu generated him (7, 99[4]). Indra-Soma brought up Sūrya with light (6, 72[2]); Indra-Varuṇa raised him to heaven (7, 82[3]). Mitra-Varuṇa raised or placed him in heaven (4, 13[2]; 5, 63[4. 7]). Soma placed light in the Sun (6, 44[23]; 9, 97[41]), generated Sūrya (9, 96[5]. 110[5]), caused him to shine (9, 63[7]), or raised him in heaven (9, 107[7]). Agni establishes the brightness of the sun on high (10, 3[2]) and caused him to ascend to heaven (10, 156[4]). Dhātṛ, the creator, fashioned the sun as well as the moon (10, 190[3]). The Aṅgirases by their rites caused him to ascend the sky (10, 62[3]). In all these passages referring to the generation of Sūrya the notion of the simple luminary doubtless predominates.

In various passages Sūrya is conceived as a bird traversing space. He is a bird (10, 177[1. 2]), or a ruddy bird (5, 47[3]), is represented as flying (1, 191[9]), is compared with a flying eagle (7, 63[5]) and seems to be directly called an eagle (5, 45[9])[1]. He is in one passage called a bull as well as a bird (5, 47[3]) and in another a mottled bull[2] (10, 189[1] cp. 5, 47[3]). He is once alluded to as a white and brilliant steed[3] brought by Uṣas (7, 77[3]). Sūrya's horses represent his rays (which are seven in number: 8, 61[16]), for the latter (*ketavaḥ*), it is said, bring (*vahanti*) him. His seven mares are called the daughters of his car (1, 50[9]).

Elsewhere Sūrya is occasionally spoken of as an inanimate object. He is a gem of the sky (7, 63[4] cp. 6, 51[1]) and is alluded to as the variegated stone placed in the midst of heaven (5, 47[3] cp. ŚB. 6, 1, 2[3]). He is a brilliant weapon (*āyudha*) which Mitra-Varuṇa conceal with cloud and rain (5, 63[4]), he is the felly (*pavi*) of Mitra-Varuṇa (5, 62[2]), or a brilliant car placed in heaven by Mitra-Varuṇa (5, 63[7]). The sun is also called a wheel (1, 175[4]; 4, 30[4]) or the 'wheel of the sun' is spoken of (4, 28[2]; 5, 29[10]).

Sūrya shines for all the world (7, 63[1]), for men and gods (1, 50[5]). He dispels the darkness with his light (10, 37[4]). He rolls up the darkness as a skin (7, 63[1]). His rays throw off the darkness as a skin into the waters (4, 13[4]). He triumphs over beings of darkness and witches (1, 191[8. 9] cp. 7, 104[24]). There are only two or three allusions to the sun's burning heat (7, 34[19]; 9, 107[20]); for in the RV. the sun is not a maleficent power[4], and for this aspect of the luminary only passages from the AV. and the literature of the Brāhmaṇas can be quoted[5].

Sūrya measures the days (1, 50[7]) and prolongs the days of life (8, 48[7]). He drives away sickness, disease, and every evil dream (10, 37[4]). To live is to see the Sun rise (4, 25[4]; 6, 52[5]). All creatures depend on Sūrya (1, 164[14]). and the sky is upheld by him (10, 85[1]). The epithet 'all-creating' (*viśva-karman*) is also applied to him (10, 170[4]; cp. § 39). By his greatness he is the divine priest (*asuryaḥ purohitaḥ*) of the gods (8, 90[12]). At his rising he is prayed to declare men sinless to Mitra-Varuṇa and other gods (7, 60[1]. 62[2]). He is said, when rising, to go to the Vṛtra-slayer Indra and is even styled a Vṛtra-slayer himself when invoked with Indra (8, 82[1. 2. 4]).

The only myth told about Sūrya is that Indra vanquished him (10, 43[5]) and stole his wheel (1, 175[4]; 4, 30[4]). This may allude to the obscuration of the sun by a thunderstorm.

In the Avesta, the sun, *hvare* (= Vedic *svar*, of which *sūrya*[6] is a de-

rivative and to which Gk. ἠέλιος[7] is allied) has swift horses, like Sūrya, and is called the eye of Ahura Mazda[8].

[1] Cp. ZDMG. 7, 475—6. — [2] Otherwise HVM. 1, 345, note 3. — [3] Cp. ZDMG. 2. 223; 7, 82. — [4] BRV. 1, 6; 2, 2. — [5] Ehni, Yama 134. — [6] KZ. 12, 358; J. Schmidt, KZ. 26, 9. — [7] Brugmann, Grundriss 1, 218. — [8] Sp.AP. 1, 190—1; cp. Oldenberg, ZDMG. 50, 49.

Nirukta 12, 14—16; OST. 5, 151—61; GKR. 55—6; BRI. 20; KRV. 54—5. 145; BRV. 1, 7; HVM. 1, 45; HVBP. 29—30; ORV. 240—1; HRI. 40—6.

§ 15. Savitṛ. — Savitṛ is celebrated in eleven whole hymns of the RV. and in parts of others, his name being mentioned about 170 times. Eight or nine of these are in the family books, while all but three of those to Sūrya are in the first and tenth. Savitṛ is preëminently a golden deity, nearly all his members and his equipment being described by that epithet. He is golden-eyed (1, 35^{8}), golden-handed (1, $35^{9.10}$), golden-tongued (6, 71^{3}), all these epithets being peculiar to him. He has golden arms (6, $71^{1.5}$; 7, 45^{2}), and is broad-handed (2, 38^{2}) or beautiful-handed (3, 33^{6}). He is also pleasant-tongued (6, 71^{4}) or beautiful-tongued (3, 54^{11}), and is once called iron-jawed (6, 71^{4}). He is yellow-haired (10, 139^{1}), an attribute of Agni and Indra also. He puts on a tawny garment (4, 53^{2}). He has a golden car with a golden pole (1, $35^{2.5}$), which is omniform (1, 35^{3}), just as he himself assumes all forms (5, 81^{2}). His car is drawn by two radiant steeds or by two or more brown, white-footed horses (1, $35^{2.5}$; 7, 45^{1}).

Mighty splendour (*amati*) is preëminently attributed to Savitṛ, and mighty golden splendour to him only (3, 38^{8}; 7, 38^{1}). This splendour he stretches out or diffuses. He illumines the air, heaven and earth, the world, the spaces of the earth, the vault of heaven (1, $35^{7.8}$; 4, 14^{2}. 53^{4}; 5, 81^{2}). He raises aloft his strong golden arms, with which he blesses and arouses all beings and which extend to the ends of the earth (2, 38^{2}; 4, $53^{3.4}$; 6, $71^{1.5}$; 7, 45^{2}). The raising of his arms is characteristic, for the action of other gods is compared with it. Agni is said to raise his arms like Savitṛ (1, 95^{7}); the dawns extend light as Savitṛ his arms (7, 79^{2}), and Bṛhaspati is implored to raise hymns of praise as Savitṛ his arms (1, 190^{3}). He moves in his golden car, seeing all creatures, on a downward and an upward path (1, $35^{2.3}$). He impels the car of the Aśvins before dawn (1, 34^{10}). He shines after the path of the dawn (5, 81^{2}). He has measured out the earthly spaces, he goes to the three bright realms of heaven and is united with the rays of the sun (5, $81^{3.4}$). The only time the epithet *sūrya-raśmi* is used in the RV. it is applied to Savitṛ: 'Shining with the rays of the sun, yellow-haired, Savitṛ raises up his light continually from the east' (10, 139^{1}). He thrice surrounds the air, the three spaces, the three bright realms of heaven (4, 53^{5}: cp. Viṣṇu, § 17). His ancient paths in the air are dustless and easy to traverse, on them he is besought to protect his worshippers (1, 35^{11}). He is prayed to convey the departed spirit to where the righteous dwell (10, 17^{4}). He bestows immortality on the gods as well as length of life on man (4, 54^{2}). He also bestowed immortality on the Ṛbhus, who by the greatness of their deeds went to his house (1, $110^{2.3}$). Like Sūrya, he is implored to remove evil dreams (5, 82^{4}) and to make men sinless (4, 54^{3}). He drives away evil spirits and sorcerers (1, 35^{10}; 7, 38^{7}).

Like many other gods Savitṛ is called *asura* (4, 53^{1}). He observes fixed laws (4, 53^{4}; 10, 34^{8}. 139^{3}). The waters and the wind are subject to his ordinance (2, 38^{2}). He leads the waters and by his propulsion they flow broadly (3, 33^{6} cp. Nir. 2, 26). The other gods follow his lead (5, 81^{3}). No being, not even Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Rudra, can resist his will and independent

dominion (2, $38^{7.9}$; 5, 82^{2}). His praises are celebrated by the Vasus, Aditi, Varuṇa, Mitra and Aryaman (7, $38^{3.4}$). Like Pūṣan and Sūrya, he is lord of that which moves and is stationary (4, 53^{6}). He is lord of all desirable things, and sends blessings from heaven, air, earth (1, 24^{3}; 2, 38^{11}). He is twice (1, 123^{3}; 6, 71^{4}) even spoken of as 'domestic' (*damūnas*), an epithet otherwise almost entirely limited to Agni. Like other gods, he is a supporter of the sky (4, 53^{2}; 10, 149^{4}). He supports the whole world (4, 54^{4}). He fixed the earth with bonds and made firm the sky in the rafterless space (10, 149^{1}).

Savitṛ is at least once (1, 22^{6}) called 'child of Waters' (*apāṃ napāt*), an epithet otherwise exclusively belonging to Agni. It is probably also applied to him in 10, 149^{2} [2]. Yāska (Nir. 10, 32) commenting on this verse regards Savitṛ here as belonging to the middle region (or atmosphere) because he causes rain, adding that the sun (*Āditya*, who is in heaven) is also called Savitṛ[3]. It is probably owing to this epithet and because Savitṛ's paths are once (1, 35^{11}) said to be in the atmosphere, that this deity occurs among the gods of the middle region as well as among those of heaven in the Naighaṇṭuka. Savitṛ is once called the *prajāpati* of the world (4, 53^{2}). In the ŚB. (12, 3, 5^{1}) people are said to identify Savitṛ with Prajāpati; and in the TB. (1, 6, 4^{1}) it is stated that Prajāpati becoming Savitṛ created living beings[4]. Savitṛ is alone lord of vivifying power and by his movements (*yāmabhiḥ*) becomes Pūṣan (5, 82^{5}). In his vivifying power Pūṣan marches, beholding all beings as a guardian (10, 139^{1}). In two consecutive verses (3, $62^{9.10}$) Pūṣan and Savitṛ are thought of as connected. In the first the favour of Pūṣan who sees all beings is invoked, and in the second, Savitṛ is besought to stimultae (cp. Pūṣan, p. 36) the thoughts of worshippers who desire to think of the excellent brilliance of god Savitṛ. The latter verse is the celebrated *Sāvitrī*, with which Savitṛ was in later times invoked at the beginning of Vedic study[5]. Savitṛ is also said to become Mitra by reason of his laws (5, 81^{4}). Savitṛ seems sometimes (5, $82^{1.3}$; 7, $38^{1.6}$) to be identified with Bhaga also, unless the latter word is here only an epithet of Savitṛ. The name of Bhaga (the good god bestowing benefits) is indeed often added to that of Savitṛ so as to form the single expression *Savitā Bhagaḥ* or *Bhagaḥ Savitā*[6]. In other texts, however, Savitṛ is distinguished from Mitra, Pūṣan, and Bhaga. In several passages Savitṛ and Sūrya appear to be spoken of indiscriminately to denote the same deity. Thus a poet says: 'God Savitṛ has raised aloft his brilliance, making light for the whole world; Sūrya shining brightly has filled heaven and earth and air with his rays' (4, 14^{2}). In another hymn (7, 63) Sūrya is (in verses 1. 2. 4) spoken of in terms (e. g. *prasavitṛ*, vivifier) usually applied to Savitṛ, and in the third verse Savitṛ is apparently mentioned as the same god. In other hymns also (10, 158^{1-4}; 1, 35^{1-11}. 124^{1}) it is hardly possible to keep the two deities apart. In passages such as the following, Savitṛ is, however, distinguished from Sūrya. 'Savitṛ moves between both heaven and earth, drives away disease, impels (*veti*) the sun' (1, 35^{9}). Savitṛ declares men sinless to the sun (1, 123^{3}). He combines with the rays of the sun (5, 81^{4}) or shines with the rays of the sun (10, 139^{1} cp. 181^{3}; 1, 157^{1}; 7, $35^{8.10}$). With Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, Savitṛ is besought to vivify the worshipper when the sun has risen (7, 66^{4}).

According to Yāska (Nir. 12, 12), the time of Savitṛ's appearance is when darkness has been removed. Sāyaṇa (on RV. 5, 81^{4}) remarks that before his rising the sun is called Savitṛ, but from his rising to his setting, Sūrya. But Savitṛ is also sometimes spoken of as sending to sleep (4, 53^{6}; 7, 45^{1}), and must therefore be connected with evening as well as morning. He is, indeed,

extolled as the setting sun in one hymn (2, 38); and there are indications that most of the hymns addressed to him are meant for either a morning or an evening sacrifice[7]. He brings all two-footed and four-footed beings to rest and awakens them (6, 71^2 cp. 4, 53^3; 7, 45^1). He unyokes his steeds, brings the wanderer to rest; at his command night comes; the weaver rolls up her web and the skilful man lays down his unfinished work (2, $38^{3.4}$). Later the west was wont to be assigned to him (ŚB. 3, 2, 3^{18}), as the east to Agni and the south to Soma.

The name Savitṛ has all the appearance of being a word of purely Indian formation. This is borne out by the fact that the root *sū*, from which it is derived, is continually used along with it in a manner which is unique in the RV. Some other verb would nearly always be used to express the same action in connexion with any other god. In the case of Savitṛ not only is the root itself used, but also several derivatives (such as *prasavitṛ* and *prasava*) constituting a perpetual play on the name[8]. These frequent combinations show clearly that the root has the sense of stimulating, arousing, vivifying. A few examples may here be given in illustration of this peculiar usage. 'God Savitṛ has aroused (*prāsāvīt*) each moving thing' (1, 157^1). 'Thou alone art the lord of stimulation' (*prasavasya*: 5, 81^5). 'Savitṛ bestowed (*āsuvat*) that immortality on you' (1, 110^3). 'God Savitṛ has arisen to arouse (*savāya*) us' (2, 38^1). 'Thrice a day Savitṛ sends down (*soṣavīti*) boons from the sky' (3, 56^6). 'Do thou, o Savitṛ, constitute (*suvatāt*) us sinless' (4, 54^3). 'May we being sinless towards Aditi through the influence (*save*) of Savitṛ possess all boons' (5, 82^6). 'Send away (*parā sava*) evil dream, send away all calamities, bestow (*āsuva*) what is good (ib. $^{4.5}$). 'May Savitṛ remove (*apa sāviṣat*) sickness' (10, 100^8). With this verb Savitṛ is specially often besought to bestow wealth (2, 56^6 &c.). This use of *sū* is almost peculiar to Savitṛ; but it is two or three times applied to Sūrya (7, $63^{2.4}$; 10, 37^4). It also occurs with Uṣas (7, 77^1), with Varuṇa (2, 28^9), with the Ādityas (8, 18^1), and with Mitra, Aryaman coupled with Savitṛ (7, 66^4). This employment being so frequent, Yāska (Nir. 10, 31) defines Savitṛ as *sarvasya prasavitā*, 'the stimulator of everything'.

The fact that in nearly half its occurrences the name is accompanied by *deva*, god, seems to show that is has not yet lost the nature of an epithet, meaning 'the stimulator god'. At any rate, the word appears to be an epithet of Tvaṣṭṛ in two passages (3, 55^{19}; 10, 10^5), where the juxtaposition of the words *devas tvaṣṭā savitā viśvarūpa* and the collocation with *deva* indicate that Savitṛ is here identical with Tvaṣṭṛ.

We may therefore conclude that Savitṛ was originally an epithet of Indian origin applied to the sun as the great stimulator of life and motion in the world, representing the most important movement which dominates all others in the universe, but that as differentiated from Sūrya he is a more abstract deity. He is in the eyes of the Vedic poets the divine power of the sun personified, while Sūrya is the more concrete deity, in the conception of whom the outward form of the sun-body is never absent owing to the identity of his name with that of the orb (cp. 1, 35^9. 124^1).

Oldenberg[9], reversing the order of development generally recognized, thinks that Savitṛ represents an abstraction of the idea of stimulation and that the notion of the sun, or of the sun in a particular direction, is only secondary in his character[10].

1 HRI. 44. — 2 Cp. v. Bradke, ZDMG. 40. 355; HRI. 48. — 3 Cp. Roth, Nirukta Erl. 143; OST. 4, 96. 111. — 4 Weber, Omina und Portenta 386. 392. — 5 Whitney in Colebrooke's essays. rev. ed. 2, 111. — 6 BRV. 3, 39. — 7 HRI.

46. — [8] ROTH, op. cit. 76. — [9] ORV. 64—5. — [10] MACDONELL, JRAS. 27, 951—2; v. SCHROEDER, WZKM. 9, 125.

WHITNEY, JAOS. 3, 324; OST. 5, 162—70; ROTH, PW.; ZDMG. 24, 306—8; GRV. I, 49; GW. s. v.; KRV. 56; BRV. 3, 38—64; HVBP. 33.

§ 16. Pūṣan. — The name of Pūṣan is mentioned about 120 times in the RV. and he is celebrated in eight hymns (five of them occurring in the sixth, two in the first, and one in the tenth book). He is also lauded as a dual divinity in one hymn (6, 57) with Indra and in another with Soma (2, 40). Thus statistically he occupies a somewhat higher position than Viṣṇu (§ 17). In the later Vedic and the post-Vedic periods his name is mentioned with increasing rareness. His individuality is indistinct and his anthropomorphic traits are scanty. His foot is referred to when he is asked to trample on the brand of the wicked. His right hand is also mentioned (6, 54[10]). He has (like Rudra) braided hair (6, 55[2]) and a beard (10, 26[7]). He wields a golden spear (1, 42[6]) and carries an awl (6, 53[5. 6. 8]) or a goad (53[9]. 58[2]). The wheel, the felly, and the seat of his car (6, 54[3]) are spoken of and he is called the best charioteer (6, 56[2. 3]). His car is drawn by goats[1] (*ajāśva*) instead of horses (1, 38[4]; 6, 55[3. 4]). He eats, for his food is gruel (6, 56[1] cp. 3, 52[7]). It is probably for this reason that he is said to be toothless in the SB. (1, 7, 4[7]).

Pūṣan sees all creatures clearly and at once (3, 62[9]), these identical words being applied to Agni also (10, 187[4]). He is 'the lord of all things moving and stationary' almost the same words with which Sūrya is described (1, 115[1]; 7, 60[2]). He is the wooer of his mother (6, 55[5]) or the lover of his sister (ib. [4. 5]), similar expressions being used of Sūrya (1, 115[2]) and of Agni (10, 3[3]). The gods are said to have given him, subdued by love, to the sun-maiden Sūryā in marriage (6, 58[4]). Probably as the husband of Sūryā, Pūṣan is connected with the marriage ceremonial in the wedding hymn (10, 85), being besought to take the bride's hand and lead her away and to bless her in her conjugal relation[2] (v. 37). In another passage (9, 67[10]) he is besought to give his worshippers their share of maidens. With his golden ships which move in the aerial ocean, subdued by love he acts as the messenger[3] of Sūrya (6, 58[3]). He moves onward beholding the universe (2, 40[5]; 6, 58[2]) and makes his abode in heaven (2, 40[4]). He is a guardian, who goes at the instigation of Savitṛ, knowing and beholding all creatures. In a hymn devoted to his praise, Pūṣan is said as best of charioteers to have driven downwards the golden wheel of the sun (6, 56[3]), but the connexion is obscure (cp. Nir. 2, 6). A frequent and exclusive epithet of Pūṣan is 'glowing' (*āghṛṇi*). He is once termed *agohya*, 'not to be concealed', an attribute almost peculiar to Savitṛ.

Pūṣan is born on the far path of paths, on the far path of heaven and of earth; he goes to and returns from both the beloved abodes, knowing them (6, 17[6]). Owing to this familiarity he conducts the dead on the far path to the Fathers, as Agni and Savitṛ take them to where the righteous have gone and where they and the gods abide, and leads his worshippers thither in safety, showing them the way (10, 17[3—5]). The AV. also speaks of Pūṣan as conducting to the world of the righteous, the beautiful world of the gods (AV. 16, 9[2]; 18, 2[53]). So Pūṣan's goat conducts the sacrificial horse (1, 162[2. 3]). Perhaps to Pūṣan's familiarity with the (steep) paths is due the notion that his car is drawn by the sure-footed goat.

As knower of paths, Pūṣan is conceived as a guardian of roads. He is besought to remove dangers, the wolf, the waylayer, from the path (1, 42[1—3]). In this connexion he is called *vimuco napāt*, 'son of deliverance'[4]. The same

epithet is applied to him in another passage (6, 55^{1}) and he is twice (8, 4$^{15.16}$) called *vimocana*, 'deliverer'. As *vimuco napāt* he is invoked to deliver from sin' (AV. 6, 112^{3}). Pūṣan is prayed to disperse foes and make the paths lead to booty (6, 53^{4}), to remove foes, to make the paths good, and to lead to good pasture (1, 42$^{7.8}$). He is invoked to protect from harm on his path (6, 54^{9}) and to grant an auspicious path (10, 59^{7}). He is the guardian of every path (6, 49^{8}) and lord of the road (6, 53^{1}). He is a guide (*prapathya*) on roads (VS. 22, 20). So in the Sūtras, whoever is starting on a journey makes an offering to Pūṣan, the road-maker, while reciting RV. 6, 53; and whoever loses his way, turns to Pūṣan (AGS. 3, 7$^{8.9}$; SSS. 3, 4^{9}). Moreover, in the morning and evening offerings to all gods and beings, Pūṣan the road-maker receives his on the threshold of the house (SGS. 2, 14^{9}).

As knower of ways he can make hidden goods manifest and easy to find (6, 48^{15}). He is in one passage (1, 23$^{14.15}$ cp. TS. 3, 3, 9^{1}) said to have found the king who was lost and hidden in secret (probably Soma), and asked to bring him like a lost beast. So in the Sūtras, Pūṣan is sacrificed to when anything lost is sought (AGS. 3, 7^{9}). Similarly, it is characteristic of Pūṣan that he follows and protects cattle (6, 54$^{5.6.10}$. 58^{2} cp. 10, 26^{3}). He preserves them from injury by falling into a pit, brings them home unhurt, and drives back the lost (6, 54$^{7.10}$). His goad directs cattle straight (6, 53^{9}). Perhaps connected with the idea of guiding straight is the notion that he directs the furrow (4, 57^{7}). Pūṣan also protects horses (6, 54^{5}) and weaves and smooths the clothing of sheep (10, 26^{6}). Hence beasts are said to be sacred to Pūṣan (1, 5$^{1.2}$), and he is called the producer of cattle (MS. 4, 3^{7}; TB. 1, 7, 2^{4}). In the Sūtras verses to Pūṣan are prescribed to be recited when cows are driven to pasture or stray (SGS. 3, 9).

Pūṣan has various attributes in common with other gods. He is called *asura* (5, 51^{11}). He is strong (5, 43^{9}), vigorous (8, 4^{15}), nimble (6, 54^{8}), powerful (1, 138^{1}), resistless (6, 48^{15}). He transcends mortals and is equal to the gods in glory (6, 48^{19}). He is a ruler of heroes (1, 106^{4}), an unconquerable protector and defender (1, 89^{5}), and assists in battle (6, 48^{19}). He is a protector of the world (10, 17^{3} cp. 2, 40^{1}). He is a seer, a protecting friend of the priest, the unshaken friend born of old, of every suppliant (10, 26$^{5.8}$). He is wise (1, 42^{5}) and liberal[5] (2, 31^{4}). His bounty is particularly often mentioned. He possesses all wealth (1, 89^{6}), abounds in wealth (8, 4^{15}), gives increase of wealth (1, 89^{5}), is beneficent (1, 138^{2}), bountiful (6, 58^{4}; 8, 4^{18}), and bestows all blessings (1, 42^{6}). He is the strong friend of abundance, the strong lord and increaser of nourishment (10, 26$^{7.8}$). The term *dasra*, 'wonder-working', distinctive of the Aśvins, is a few times (1, 42^{5}; 6, 56^{4}) applied to him, as well as *dasma*, 'wondrous' (1, 42^{10}. 138^{4}) and *dasma-varcas*, 'of wondrous splendour' (6, 58^{4}), usually said of Agni and Indra. He is also twice (1, 106^{4}; 10, 64^{3}) called Narāśaṃsa 'praised of men', an epithet otherwise exclusively limited to Agni. He is once spoken of as 'all-pervading' (2, 40^{6}). He is termed 'devotion-stimulating' (9, 88^{3}), is invoked to quicken devotion (2, 40^{6}), and his awl is spoken of as 'prayer-instigating' (6, 53^{8}; cp. Savitṛ, p. 33).

The epithets exclusively connected with Pūṣan are *āghṛṇi*, *ajāśva*, *vimocana*, *vimuco napāt*, and once each *puṣṭimbhara*, 'bringing prosperity', *anaṣṭa-paśu*, 'losing no cattle', *anaṣṭavedas*, 'losing no goods', *karambhād*, 'eating gruel'. The latter attribute seems to have been a cause for despising Pūṣan by some (cp. 6, 56^{1}; 1, 138^{4})[6]. *Karambha*, mentioned three times in the RV., is Pūṣan's distinctive food, being contrasted with Soma as Indra's (6, 57^{2}). Indra, however, shares it (3, 52^{7}), and in the only two passages in which the

adjective *karambhin* 'mixed with gruel' occurs, it applies to the libation of Indra (3, 52[1]; 8, 80[2]). Pūṣan is the only god who receives the epithet *paśupā*, 'protector of cattle' (6, 58[2]) directly (and not in comparisons).

The only deities with whom Pūṣan is invoked conjointly in the dual are Soma (2, 40) and Indra (6, 57), whose brother he is once called (6, 55[5]). Next to these two, Pūṣan is most frequently addressed with Bhaga (1, 90[4]; 4, 30[24]; 5, 41[4]. 46[2]; 10, 125[2]; cp. ŚB. 11, 4, 3[3]; KŚS. 5, 13[1]) and Viṣṇu (1, 90[5]; 5, 46[3]; 6, 21[9]; 7, 44[1]; 10, 66[5]), his name in all these passages of the RV. being in juxtaposition with theirs. He is occasionally addressed with various other deities also.

The evidence adduced does not show clearly that Pūṣan represents a phenomenon of nature. But a large number of passages quoted at the beginning point to his being closely connected with the sun. Yāska, too, (Nir. 7, 9) explains Pūṣan to be 'the sun (*Āditya*), the preserver of all beings', and in post-Vedic literature Pūṣan occasionally occurs as a name of the sun. The path of the sun which leads from earth to heaven, the abode of the gods and the pious dead, might account for a solar deity being both a conductor of departed souls (like Savitṛ) and a guardian of paths in general. The latter aspect of his character would explain his special bucolic features as a guide and protector of cattle, which form a part of his general nature as a promoter of prosperity. Mithra, the solar deity of the Avesta, has the bucolic traits of increasing cattle and bringing back beasts that have strayed[7].

Etymologically the word means 'prosperer' as derived from the root *puṣ*, 'to cause to thrive'. This side of his character is conspicuous both in his epithets *viśvavedas, anaṣṭavedas, purūvasu, puṣṭimbhara*, and in the frequent invocations to him to bestow wealth and protection (6, 48[15] &c.). He is lord of great wealth, a stream of wealth, a heap of riches (6, 55[2, 3]). But the prosperitiy he confers is not, as in the case of Indra, Parjanya, and the Maruts, connected with rain, but with light, which is emphasized by his exclusive epithet 'glowing'. The welfare which he bestows results from the protection he extends to men and cattle on earth, and from his guidance of men to the abodes of bliss in the next world. Thus the conception which seems to underlie the character of Pūṣan, is the beneficent power of the sun manifested chiefly as a pastoral deity.

1 KRV. note 120. — 2 IS. 5, 186. 190. — 3 GGA. 1889, p. 8. — 4 OST. 5, 175; GW.; LRV. 4, 444; HVBP. 34, and BRV. (who explains the original meaning differently); 'Sohn der Einkehr' (= unyoking): ROTH, PW. und ORV. 232; 'Son of the cloud': Sāyaṇa and GRIFFITH on RV. 1, 42[1]. — 5 *Puraṃdhi* according to HILLEBRANDT, WZKM. 3, 192—3, means 'active, zealous'. — 6 HRI. 51. — 7 Sp.AP. 184.

WHITNEY, JAOS. 3, 325; OST. 5, 171—80; GUBERNATIS, Letture 82; BRV. 2, 420—30; KRV. 55; PVS. 1, 11; HVM. 1, 456; HVBP. 34; ORV. 230—3 (cp. WZKM. 9, 252); PERRY, Drisler Memorial 241—3; HRI. 50—3.

§ 17. Viṣṇu. — Viṣṇu, though a deity of capital importance in the mythology of the Brāhmaṇas, occupies but a subordinate position in the RV. His personality is at the same time more important there than would appear from the statistical standard alone. According to that he would be a deity only of the fourth rank, for he is celebrated in not more than five whole hymns and in part of another, while his name occurs only about 100 times altogether in the RV. The only anthropomorphic traits of Viṣṇu are the frequently mentioned strides which he takes, and his being a youth vast in body, who is no longer a child (1, 155[6]). The essential feature of his character is that he takes (generally expressed by *vi-kram*) three strides, which are referred to about a dozen times. His epithets *urugāya*, 'wide-going' and *urukrama*,

'wide-striding', which also occur about a dozen times, allude to the same action. With these three steps Viṣṇu is described as traversing the earth or the terrestrial spaces. Two of these steps or spaces are visible to men, but the third or highest step is beyond the flight of birds or mortal ken (1, 155[5]; 7, 99[2]). The same notion seems to be mystically expressed (1, 155[3]) when he is said to bear his third name in the bright realm of heaven. The highest place of Viṣṇu is regarded as identical with the highest place of Agni, for Viṣṇu guards the highest, the third place of Agni (10, 1[3]) and Agni with the loftiest station of Viṣṇu guards the mysterious cows (probably = clouds: 5, 3[3]). The highest step of Viṣṇu is seen by the liberal like an eye fixed in heaven (1, 22[20]). It is his dear abode, where pious men rejoice and where there is a well of honey (1, 154[5]), and where the gods rejoice (8, 29[7]). This highest step[1] shines down brightly and is the dwelling of Indra and Viṣṇu, where are the many-horned swiftly moving cows[2] (probably = clouds), and which the singer desires to attain (1, 154[6]). Within these three footsteps all beings dwell (1, 154[2]), and they are full of honey (1, 154[4]), probably because the third and most important is full of it[3]. Viṣṇu guards the highest abode (*pāthas*)[4], which implies his favourite dwelling-place (3, 55[10]) and is elsewhere expressly stated to be so (1, 154[5]). In another passage (7, 100[5]) Viṣṇu is less definitely said to dwell far from this space. He is once spoken of (1, 156[5]) as having three abodes, *triṣadhastha*, an epithet primarily appropriate to Agni (§ 35).

The opinion that Viṣṇu's three steps refer to the course of the sun is almost unanimous. But what did they originally represent? The purely naturalistic interpretation favoured by most European scholars[5] and by Yāska's predecessor Aurṇavābha (Nir. 12, 19) takes the three steps to mean the rising, culminating, and setting of the sun. The alternative view, which prevails throughout the younger Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas, as well as post-Vedic literature, and was supported by Yāska's predecessor Śākapūṇi and is favoured by Bergaigne and the present writer[8], interprets the three steps as the course of the solar deity through the three divisions of the universe. With the former interpretation is at variance the fact that the third step of Viṣṇu shows no trace of being connected with sunset, but on the contrary is identical with the highest step. The alternative view does not conflict with what evidence the RV. itself supplies, and is supported by the practically unvarying tradition in India beginning with the later Vedas.

That the idea of motion is characteristic of Viṣṇu is shown by other expressions besides the three steps. The epithets 'wide-going' and 'wide-striding' are almost entirely limited to Viṣṇu, as well as the verb ***vi-kram***. The latter is also employed in allusion to the sun, spoken of as the variegated stone placed in the midst of heaven, which took strides (5, 47[3]). Viṣṇu is also swift *eṣa* (otherwise said only once of Bṛhaspati) or 'swift-going' ***evayā***, ***evayāvan*** (otherwise connected only with the Maruts). Coupled with the constant idea of swift and far-extending motion is that of regularity. In taking his three strides Viṣṇu observes laws (1, 22[18]). Like other deities typical of regular recurrence (Agni, Soma, Sūrya, Uṣas), Viṣṇu is the 'ancient germ of order', and an ordainer, who (like Agni, Sūrya, Uṣas) is both ancient and recent (1, 156[2-4]). In the same words as the sun-god Savitṛ (5, 81[3]), he is said (1, 154[1]; 6, 49[13]) to have measured out the earthly spaces. With this may also be compared the statement that Varuṇa measured out the spaces with the sun (p. 11). Viṣṇu is in one passage (1, 155[6] cp. 1, 164[4. 48]) described as setting in motion like a revolving wheel his 90 steeds (= days) with their four names (= seasons). This can hardly refer to anything but

the solar year of 360 days. In the AV. (5, 26[7]) Viṣṇu is besought to bestow heat on the sacrifice. In the Brāhmaṇas Viṣṇu's head when cut off becomes the sun. In post-Vedic literature one of Viṣṇu's weapons is a rolling wheel[8] which is represented like the sun (cp. RV. 5, 63[4]), and his vehicle is Garuḍa, chief of birds, who is of brilliant lustre like Agni, and is also called *garutmat* and *suparṇa*, two terms already applied to the sun-bird in the RV. Finally the post-Vedic *kaustubha* or breast-jewel of Viṣṇu has been explained as the sun by KUHN[9]. Thus though Viṣṇu is no longer clearly connected with a natural phenomenon, the evidence appears to justify the inference that he was originally conceived as the sun, not in his general character, but as the personified swiftly moving luminary, which with vast strides traverses the whole universe. This explanation would be borne out by the derivation from the root *viṣ*[10], which is used tolerably often in the RV. and primarily means 'to be active' (PW.). According to this, Viṣṇu would be the 'active one' as representing solar motion. OLDENBERG, however, thinks that every definite trace of solar character is lacking in Viṣṇu, that he was from the beginning conceived only as a traverser of wide space, and that no concrete natural conception corresponded to the three steps. The number of the steps he attributes simply to the fondness for triads in mythology.

Viṣṇu's highest step, as has been indicated, is conceived as his distinctive abode. The sun would naturally be thought of as stationary in the meridian rather than anywhere else. So we find the name of the zenith in Yāska to be *viṣṇupada*, the step or place of Viṣṇu. Probably connected with the same range of ideas are the epithets 'mountain-dwelling' (*girikṣit*) and 'mountain-abiding' (*giriṣṭhā*) applied to Viṣṇu in the same hymn (1, 154[2. 3]); for in the next hymn (1, 155[1]) Viṣṇu and Indra are conjointly called 'the two undeceivable ones, who have stood on the summit (*sānuni*) of the mountains, as it were with an unerring steed'. This would allude to the sun looking down from the height of the cloud mountains[12] (cp. 5, 87[4]). It is probably owing to such expressions in the RV. that Viṣṇu is later called 'lord of mountains' (TS. 3, 4, 5[1]).

The reason why Viṣṇu took his three steps is a secondary trait. He thrice traversed the earthly spaces for man in distress (6, 49[13]); he traversed the earth to bestow it on man for a dwelling (7, 100[4]); he traversed the earthly spaces for wide-stepping existence (1, 155[4]); with Indra he took vast strides and stretched out the worlds for our existence (6, 69[5. 6]). To this feature in the RV. may ultimately be traced the myth of Viṣṇu's dwarf incarnation which appears in the Epic and the Purāṇas. The intermediate stage is found in the Brāhmaṇas (ŚB. 1, 2, 5[5]; TS. 2, 1, 3[1]; TB. 1, 6, 1[5]), where Viṣṇu already assumes the form of a dwarf, in order by artifice to recover the earth for the gods from the Asuras by taking his three strides[13].

The most prominent secondary characteristic of Viṣṇu is his friendship for Indra, with whom he is frequently allied in the fight with Vṛtra. This is indicated by the fact that one whole hymn (6, 69) is dedicated to the two deities conjointly, and that Indra's name is coupled with that of Viṣṇu in the dual as often as with that of Soma, though the name of the latter occurs vastly oftener in the RV. The closeness of their alliance is also indicated by the fact that in hymns extolling Viṣṇu alone, Indra is the only other deity incidentally associated with him either explicitly (7, 99[5. 6]; 1, 155[2]) or implicitly (7, 99[4]; 1, 154[6]. 155[1]; cp. 1, 61[7])[14]. Viṣṇu strode his three steps by tha energy (*ojasā*) of Indra (8, 12[27]), who in the preceding verse is described as slaying Vṛtra, or for Indra (Vāl. 4[3]). Indra about to slay Vṛtra says, 'friend Viṣṇu, stride out vastly' (4, 18[11]). In company with Viṣṇu, Indra slew Vṛtra

(6, 20^{2}). Viṣṇu and Indra together triumphed over the Dāsa, destroyed Śambara's 99 castles and conquered the hosts of Varcin (7, 99$^{4.5}$). Viṣṇu is Indra's intimate friend (1, 22^{19}). Viṣṇu accompanied by his friend opens the cows' stall (1, 156^{4}). In the ŚB. (5, 5, 5^{1}) Indra is described as shooting the thunderbolt at Vṛtra, while Viṣṇu follows him (cp. TS. 6, 5, 1^{1}). Viṣṇu is also invoked with Indra in various single verses (4, 2^{4}. 55^{4}; 8, 10^{2}; 10, 66^{4}). When associated with Indra as a dual divinity, Viṣṇu shares Indra's powers of drinking Soma (6,69) as well as his victories (7, 99$^{4-6}$), Indra conversely participating in Viṣṇu's power of striding (6, 69^{5}; 7, 99^{6}). To both conjointly is attributed the action of creating the wide air and of spreading out the spaces (6, 69^{5}) and of producing Sūrya, Uṣas, and Agni (7, 99^{4}). Owing to this friendship Indra drinks Soma beside Viṣṇu (8, 3^{8}. 12^{16}) and thereby increases his strength (8, 3^{8}; 10, 113^{2}). Indra drank the Soma pressed by Viṣṇu in three cups (2, 22^{1} cp. 6, 17^{11}), which recall Viṣṇu's three footsteps filled with honey (1, 154^{4}). Viṣṇu also cooks for Indra 100 buffaloes (6, 17^{11}) or 100 buffaloes and a brew of milk (8, 66^{10} cp. 1, 61^{7}). Along with Mitra, Varuṇa, and the Maruts, Viṣṇu celebrates Indra with songs (8, 15^{9}).

Indra's constant attendants in the Vṛtra-fight, the Maruts, are also drawn into association with Viṣṇu. When Viṣṇu favoured the exhilerating Soma, the Maruts like birds sat down on their beloved altar (1, 85^{7})[15]. The Maruts are invoked at the offering of the swift Viṣṇu (2, 34^{11} cp. 7, 40^{5}). They are the bountiful ones of the swift Viṣṇu (8, 20^{3}). The Maruts supported Indra, while Pūṣan Viṣṇu cooked 100 buffaloes for him (6, 17^{11}). Viṣṇu is the ordainer associated with the Maruts (*māruta*), whose will Varuṇa and the Aśvins follow (1, 156^{4}). Throughout one hymn (5, 87, especially verses $^{4.5}$) he is associated with the Maruts, with whom, when he starts, he speeds along[16].

Among stray references to Viṣṇu in the RV. may be mentioned one (7, 100^{6}) in which different forms of Viṣṇu are spoken of: 'Do not conceal from us this form, since thou didst assume another form in battle'. He is further said to be a protector of embryos (7, 36^{9}) and is invoked along with other deities to promote conception (10, 184^{1}). In the third verse of the *Khila* after 10, 184[17], Viṣṇu is, according to one reading, called upon to place in the womb a male child with a most beautiful form, or, according to another, a male child with Viṣṇu's most beautiful form is prayed for[18].

Other traits of Viṣṇu are applicable to the gods in general. He is beneficent (1, 156^{5}), is innocuous and bountiful (8, 25^{12}), liberal (7, 40^{5}), a guardian (3, 55^{10}), who is undeceivable (1, 22^{18}), and an innoxious and generous deliverer (1, 155^{4}). He alone sustains the threefold (world), heaven and earth, and all beings (1, 154^{4}). He fastened the world all about with pegs (7, 99^{3}). He is an ordainer (1, 156^{4}).

In the Brāhmaṇas Viṣṇu is conceived as taking his three steps in earth, air, and heaven (ŚB. 1, 9, 3^{9}; TB. 3, 1, 2^{7}). These three strides are imitated by the sacrificer, who takes three Viṣṇu strides beginning with earth and ending with heaven[19], for that is the goal, the safe refuge, which is the sun (ŚB. 1, 9, 3$^{10.15}$). The three steps of the Amṣaspands taken from earth to the sphere of the sun, are similarly imitated in the ritual of the Avesta[20]. A special feature of the Brāhmaṇas is the constant identification of Viṣṇu with the sacrifice.

Two myths connected with Viṣṇu, the source of which can be traced to the RV., are further developed in the Brāhmaṇas. Viṣṇu in alliance with Indra is in the RV. described as vanquishing demons. In the Brāhmaṇas the gods and demons commonly appear as two hostile hosts, the former not, as in the RV., uniformly victorious, but often worsted. They therefore have

recourse to artifice, in order to recover the supremacy. In the AB. (6, 15) it is related that Indra and Viṣṇu, engaged in conflict with the Asuras, agreed with the latter that as much as Viṣṇu could stride over in three steps should belong to the two deities. Viṣṇu accordingly strode over these worlds, the Vedas, and speech. The ŚB. (1, 2, 5) tells how the Asuras having overcome the gods began dividing the earth. The gods placing Viṣṇu, the sacrifice, at their head, came and asked for a share in the earth. The Asuras agreed to give up as much as Viṣṇu, who was a dwarf, could lie on. Then the gods by sacrificing with Viṣṇu, who was equal in size to sacrifice, gained the whole earth. The three steps are not mentioned here, but in another passage (ŚB. 1, 9, 3⁹), Viṣṇu is said to have acquired for the gods the all-pervading power which they now possess, by striding through the three worlds. It is further stated in TS. 2, 1, 3¹, that Viṣṇu, by assuming the form of a dwarf whom he had seen, conquered the three worlds (cp. TB. 1, 6, 1⁵). The introduction of the dwarf as a disguise of Viṣṇu is naturally to be accounted for as a stratagem to avert the suspicion of the Asuras[21]. This Brāhmaṇa story forms the transition to the myth of Viṣṇu's Dwarf Incarnation in post-Vedic literature[22].

Another myth of the Brāhmaṇas has its origin in two passages of the RV. (1, 61⁷; 8, 66¹⁰). Their purport is that Viṣṇu having drunk Soma and being urged by Indra, carried off 100 buffaloes and a brew of milk belonging to the boar (= Vṛtra), while Indra shooting across the (cloud) mountain, slew the fierce (*emuṣam*) boar. This myth is in the TS. (6, 2, 4²·³) developed as follows. A boar, the plunderer of wealth, kept the goods of the Asuras on the other side of seven hills. Indra plucking up a bunch of *kuśa* grass and piercing through these hills, slew the boar. Viṣṇu, the sacrifice, carried the boar off as a sacrifice for the gods. So the gods obtained the goods of the Asuras. In the corresponding passage of the Kāṭhaka (IS. XI. p. 161) the boar is called Emūṣa. The same story with slight variations is told in the Caraka Brāhmaṇa (quoted by Sāyaṇa on RV. 8,66¹⁰). This boar appears in a cosmogonic character in the ŚB. (14, 1, 2¹¹) where under the name of Emūṣa he is stated to have raised up the earth from the waters. In the TS. (7, 1, 5¹) this cosmogonic boar, which raised the earth from the primeval waters, is described as a form of Prajāpati. This modification of the myth is further expanded in the TB. (1,1,3⁵). In the post-Vedic mythology of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Purāṇas, the boar which raises the earth, has become one of the Avatārs of Viṣṇu.

The germs of two other Avatārs of Viṣṇu are to be found in the Brāhmaṇas, but not as yet connected with Viṣṇu. The fish which in the ŚB. (1, 8, 1¹) delivers Manu from the flood, appears in the Mahābhārata as a form of Prajāpati, becoming in the Purāṇas an incarnation of Viṣṇu. In the ŚB. (7, 5, 1⁵, cp. TA. 1, 23³) Prajāpati about to create offspring becomes a tortoise moving in the primeval waters. In the Purāṇas this tortoise is an Avatār of Viṣṇu, who assumes this form to recover various objects lost in the deluge[23].

The ŚB. (14, 1, 1) tells a myth of how Viṣṇu, the sacrifice, by first comprehending the issue of the sacrifice, became the most eminent among the gods, and how his head, by his bow starting asunder, was cut off and became the sun (*āditya*). To this story the TA. (5, 1, 1—7) adds the trait that the Aśvins as physicians replaced the head of the sacrifice and that the gods now able to offer it in its complete form conquered heaven (cp. PB. 7, 5⁶).

In the AB. (1, 1) Viṣṇu as the locally highest of the gods is contrasted

with Agni the lowest, all the other deities being placed between them. The same Brāhmaṇa (1, 30) in quoting RV. 1, 156[4], where 'Viṣṇu accompanied by his friend opens the stall', states that Viṣṇu is the doorkeeper of the gods.

[1] The moon according to HVBP. 33. — [2] Stars according to PW., HVBP. and others. — [3] Cp. BRV. 2, 416. — [4] Otherwise SIEG in FaW. (Leipzig 1896), 97—100. — [5] WHITNEY, MAX MÜLLER, HAUG, KAEGI, DEUSSEN, and others. — [6] BRV. 2,414—5. — [7] MACDONELL, JRAS. 27, 170—5. — [8] KHF. 222. — [9] Entwicklungsstufen, 116. — [10] Other derivations in ORV. 229, HRI. 580, BB. 21, 205. — [11] ORV. 228—30. — [12] Cp. ORV. 230, note 2; MACDONELL, JRAS. 27, p. 174, note 2. — [13] JRAS. 27, 188—9. — [14] Ibid. 184. — [15] BERGAIGNE, JA. 1884, p. 472. — [16] MM., SBE. 32, p. 127. 133—7. — [17] AUFRECHT, RV. II[2], 687. — [18] WINTERNITZ, JRAS. 27, 150—1. — [19] HILLEBRANDT, Neu- und Vollmondsopfer, 171 f. — [20] DARMESTETER, French Tr. of the Avesta 1, 401; ORV. 227. — [21] Otherwise A. KUHN, Entwicklungsstufen der Mythenbildung, 128. — [22] JRAS. 27, 168—177. — [23] Ibid. 166—8.

WHITNEY, JAOS. 3, 325; OST. 4, 63—98. 121—9. 298; WEBER, IStr. 2, 226 f.; Omina und Portenta 338; BRV. 2, 414—8; ORV. 227—30; HOPKINS, PAOS. 1894, CXLVII f.; HRI. 56 f.

§ 18. Vivasvat.—Vivasvat is not celebrated in any single hymn of the RV., but his name occurs there about thirty times, generally as Vivásvat, five times also as Vívasvat. He is the father of the Aśvins (10, 17[2]) and of Yama (10, 14[5]. 17[1]). As in post-Vedic literature he is already also in the Vedas the father of Manu (§ 50), the ancestor of the human race, who is once (Vāl. 4[1]) called Vivasvat (= Vaivasvata, p. 12) and receives the patronymic Vaivasvata in the AV. and the ŚB. Men are also directly stated to be the progeny of Vivasvān Ādityaḥ (TS. 6, 5, 6[2]; ŚB. 3, 1, 3[4]). The gods are also once spoken of as the offspring (*janimā*) of Vivasvat (10, 63[1]). Vivasvat's wife is Saraṇyū, daughter of Tvaṣṭṛ (10, 17[1, 2]).

It was to Vivasvat as well as Mātariśvan that Agni was first manifested (1, 31[3]). Vivasvat's messenger is once (6, 8[4]) stated to be Mātariśvan, but is otherwise Agni (1, 58[1]; 4, 7[4]; 8, 39[3]; 10, 21[5]). Agni is once said to be produced from his parents (the fire-sticks) as the sage of Vivasvat (5, 11[3]).

The seat (*sadana*) of Vivasvat is mentioned five times. The gods (10, 12[7]) and Indra delight in it (3, 51[3]) and there singers extol the greatness of Indra (1, 53[1]; 3, 34[7]) or of the waters (10, 75[1]). Perhaps the same notion is referred to when a new hymn is said (1, 139[1]) to be placed in Vivasvat as a centre (*nābhā*).

Indra is connected with Vivasvat in several passages of the RV. He rejoices in the prayer of Vivasvat (8, 6[39]) and placed his treasure beside Vivasvat (2, 13[6]). With the ten[1] (fingers) of Vivasvat Indra pours out the pail from heaven (8, 61[8], cp. 5, 53[6]). Indra being so closely associated with the abode of Vivasvat, Soma is likely to be there. And indeed Soma is in the ninth book brought into intimate relation to Vivasvat. Soma dwells with Vivasvat (9, 26[4]) and is cleansed by the daughters (= fingers) of Vivasvat (9, 14[5]). The prayers of Vivasvat urge the tawny Soma to flow (9, 99[2]). The seven sisters (= waters) urge the wise Soma on the course of Vivasvat (9, 66[8]). The streams of Soma flow through the sieve having obtained (the blessing) of Vivasvat and producing the blessing (*bhagam*) of dawn (9, 10[5]).

The Aśvins who dwell with Vivasvat are besought to come to the offering (1, 46[13]). At the yoking of the Aśvins' car the daughter of the sky is born and the two bright days (probably day and night) of Vivasvat (10, 39[12]; cp. ŚB. 10, 5, 2[4]).

Vivasvat is also mentioned along with Varuṇa and the gods as an object of worship (10, 65[6]). In one passage Vivasvat shows a hostile trait, when the worshippers of the Ādityas pray that the missile, the well-wrought arrow

of Vivasvat, may not slay them before old age[2] (8, 56[20], cp. AV. 19, 9[7]). On the other hand, Vivasvat preserves from Yama (AV. 18, 3[62]).

The word *vivasvat* occurs a few times as an adjective meaning 'brilliant' in connexion with Agni and Uṣas. Agni is said to have produced the children of men and by brilliant sheen heaven and the waters (1, 96[2]). Agni is the wise, boundless, brilliant sage who shines at the beginning of dawn (7, 9[3]). Agni is besought to bring the brilliant gift of dawn (1, 44[1]), and men desire to see the shining face of brilliant dawn (3, 30[13]). The etymological meaning 'shining forth' (*vi* + √ *vas*) is peculiarly appropriate in relation to Uṣas, whose name is derived from the same root and in connexion with whom the words *viuṣ* and *viuṣṭi*, 'shining forth, dawning' are nearly always used. The derivation is given in the ŚB. where it is said that Āditya Vivasvat illumines (*vi-vaste*) night and day (ŚB. 10, 5, 2[4]).

In the YV. (VS. 8, 5; MS. 1, 6[12]) and the Brāhmaṇas Vivasvat is called Āditya and in the post-Vedic literature is a common name of the sun.

He goes back to the Indo-Iranian period, being identical with Vīvaṅhvant (the father of Yima), who is described as the first man that prepared Haoma, Āthwya being the second, and Thrita the third (Yasna, 9, 10). The first and third of these are found connected in the RV. also (Vāl. 4[1]), where Indra is said to have drunk Soma beside Manu Vivasvat and Trita.

As a mythological figure Vivasvat seems to have faded by the time of the RV. like Trita[3]. Considering the etymology, the connexion with the Aśvins, Agni, and Soma, the fact that his seat is the place of sacrifice[4], the most probable interpretation of Vivasvat seems to be that he originally represented the rising sun[5]. Most scholars[6] explain him simply as the sun. Some take him to be the god of the bright sky[7] or the heaven of the sun[8]. BERGAIGNE (1, 88) thinks that Agni alone, of whom the sun is a form, can be responsible for the character of a sacrificer which is prominent in Vivasvat. OLDENBERG[9] comparing the Avestan Vīvaṅhvant, the first mortal that prepared Haoma, believes that the reasons for considering Vivasvat a god of light, are insufficient and that he represents simply the first sacrificer, the ancestor of the human race.

[1] Cp. LRV. 4, 386. — [2] SVL. 148. — [3] ROTH, ZDMG. 4, 424. — [4] PW., BRV. 1, 87, ORV. 275; PVS. I, 242 ('chapel of V.'); FOY, KZ. 34, 228. — [5] The later view of ROTH, PW. ('Morgensonne'); cp. ZDMG. 4, 425 ('das Licht der Himmelshöhe'). — [6] A. KUHN, SP.AP. 248 ff., HVM. 1, 488, HRI. 128. 130, and others. — [7] LRV. 3, 333; 5, 392; EHNI, Yama, 19. 24. — [8] BRI. 9—10. — [9] ORV. 122, ZDMG. 49, 173, SBE. 46, 392. Cp. also ROTH, ZDMG. 4, 432; BRV. 1, 86—8; HVM. 1, 474—88; BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. 15, 176—7.

§ 19. Ādityas.—The group of gods called Ādityas is celebrated in six whole hymns and in parts of two others in the RV. It is rather indefinite both as to the names of the gods it includes and as to their number. Not more than six are anywhere enumerated and that only once: Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, Varuṇa, Dakṣa, Aṃśa (2, 27[1]). In the last books of the RV. the number is once (9, 114[3]) stated to be seven and once (10, 72[8]) eight, Aditi at first presenting only seven to the gods and bringing the eighth, Mārtāṇḍa[1], afterwards (ibid. 9). The names of the Ādityas are not specified in either of these passages. The AV. states that Aditi had eight sons (8, 9[21]), and the TB. (1, 1, 9[1]) mentions these eight by name as Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman, Aṃśa, Bhaga, Dhātṛ, Indra, Vivasvat (the first five occur in RV. 2, 27[1]), and the same list is quoted by Sāyaṇa (on RV. 2, 27[1]) as found in another passage of the Taittirīya branch of the Veda. The SB. in one passage speaks of the Ādityas as having become eight by the addition of Mārtāṇḍa, while in two others (6, 1, 2[8]; 11, 6, 3[8]) they are said to be twelve in number and

are identified with the twelve months. In post-Vedic literature they are regularly twelve sun-gods, evidently connected with the twelve months, Viṣṇu being one of them and the greatest[2]. In addition to the six Ādityas mentioned in RV. 2, 27[1], Sūrya is a few times termed an Āditya (p. 30), which is a common name for the sun in the Brāhmaṇas and later. Under the name of Āditya, identified with Agni, Sūrya is said to have been placed by the gods in the sky (10, 88[11]). Savitṛ is also once mentioned in an enumeration with the four Ādityas Bhaga, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman (8, 18[3]). If therefore the number of the Ādityas was regarded by the poets of the RV. to have been definitely seven, the sun must have been the seventh, the eighth Mārtāṇḍa whom Aditi throws away and brings back (10, 72[8. 9]) probably being the setting sun. In the AV. (13, 2[9. 37]) the sun is called the son of Aditi, the sun and moon Ādityas (8, 2[15]), and Viṣṇu is invoked in an enumeration containing gods who in the RV. are Ādityas: Varuṇa, Mitra, Viṣṇu, Bhaga, Aṃśa besides Vivasvat (11, 6[2]). The mother of the Ādityas is here once (9, 1[4]) said to be not Aditi but the golden-hued Madhukaśā, daughter of the Vasus.

Indra is, however, in the RV. once coupled in the dual as an Āditya with Varuṇa the chief of the Ādityas (7, 85[4]), and in Vāl. 4[7] he is directly invoked as the fourth Āditya. In MS. 2, 1[12] Indra is a son of Aditi, but in the ŚB. (11, 6, 3[5]) he is distinguished from the 12 Adityas. When one god alone is mentioned as an Āditya, it is generally Varuṇa, their chief; but in the hymn in which Mitra is celebrated alone (3, 59), that deity is called an Āditya, as well as Sūrya. When two are mentioned, they are Varuṇa and Mitra, once Varuṇa and Indra; when three, Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman[3]; when five, which is only once the case, the same three together with Savitṛ and Bhaga. Dakṣa occurs only in the enumeration of six mentioned above. The Ādityas are often invoked as a group, the names of Mitra and Varuṇa being generally mentioned at the same time. They also appear frequently along with other groups (§ 45) Vasus, Rudras, Maruts, Aṅgirases, Ṛbhus, Viśvedevas. The term Ādityas seems not infrequently to be used in a wider sense, as an equivalent for the gods generally[4]. Their nature as a class in fact resembles that of the gods in general, not being specifically characterized like that of their two chiefs, Mitra and Varuṇa. In the aggregate sense they are the gods of celestial light, without representing any particular manifestation of that light, such as sun, moon, and stars, or dawn. The hypothesis of OLDENBERG that the Ādityas originally represented sun, moon, and the five planets, is based on their abstract nature and names (such as Bhaga, Aṃśa, Dakṣa) and the supposition that their characteristic number is seven[5], which is also the number of the Iranian Ameṣaspentas[6]. It is here to be noted that the two groups have not a single name in common, even Mithra not being an Ameṣaspenta; that the belief in the Ādityas being seven in number is not distinctly characteristic and old[7]; and that though the identity of the Ādityas and Ameṣaspentas has been generally accepted since ROTH's essay[8], it is rejected by some distinguished Avestan scholars[9].

In some of the hymns of the RV. in which the Ādityas are celebrated (especially in 2, 27), only the three most frequently mentioned together, Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman, seem to be meant. What is distant is near to them; they support all that moves and is stationary, as gods who protect the universe (2, 27[3. 4]). They see what is good and evil in men's hearts and distinguish the honest man from the deceitful (2, 27[3]; 8, 18[15]). They are haters of falsehood and punish sin (2, 27[4]; 7, 52[2]. 60[5]. 66[13]). They are besought to forgive sin (2, 27[14]. 29[5]), to avert its consequences or to

transfer them to Trita Āptya (5, 52[2]; 8, 47[8]). They spread fetters for their enemies (2, 27[16]), but protect their worshippers as birds spread their wings over their young (8, 47[2]). Their servants are protected as with armour, so that no shaft can strike them (ib. [7. 8]). They ward off sickness and distress (8, 18[10]), and bestow various boons such as light, long life, offspring, guidance (2, 27; 8, 18[22]. 56[15. 20]).

The epithets which describe them are: bright (*śuci*), golden (*hiraṇyaya*), many-eyed (*bhūryakṣa*), unwinking (*animiṣa*), sleepless (*asvapnaj*), far-observing (*dīrghadhī*). They are kings, mighty (*kṣatriya*), vast (*uru*), deep (*gabhīra*), inviolable (*ariṣṭa*), having fixed ordinances (*dhṛtavrata*), blameless (*anavadya*), sinless (*avṛjina*), pure (*dhārapūta*), holy (*ṛtāvan*).

The name is clearly a metronymic formation from that of their mother Aditi, with whom they are naturally often invoked. This is also one of the three derivations given by Yāska (Nir. 2, 13, cp. TA. 1, 14[1]).

The greater gods belonging to the group have already been dealt with separately, but the lesser Ādityas having hardly any individuality may best be described here in succession.

Aryaman[10] though mentioned about 100 times in the RV. is so destitute of individual characteristics, that in the Naighaṇṭuka he is passed over in the list of gods. Except in two passages, he is always mentioned with other deities, in the great majority of cases with Mitra and Varuṇa. In less than a dozen passages the word has only the appellative senses of 'comrade' and 'groomsman', which are occasionally also connected with the god. Thus Agni is once addressed with the words: 'Thou art Aryaman when (the wooer) of maidens' (5, 3[2]). The derivative adjective *aryamya*, 'relating to a comrade', once occurs as a parallel to *mitrya*, 'relating to a friend' (5, 85[7]). Thus the conception of Aryaman seems to have differed but little from that of the greater Āditya Mitra, 'the Friend'. The name goes back to the Indo-Iranian period, as it occurs in the Avesta.

One hymn of the RV. (7, 41) is devoted chiefly to the praise of Bhaga[11], though some other deities are invoked in it as well; and the name of the god occurs over sixty times. The word means 'dispenser, giver' and appears to be used in this sense more than a score of times attributively, in several cases with the name of Savitṛ[12]. The god is also regularly conceived in the Vedic hymns as a distributor of wealth, comparisons with Bhaga being generally intended to express glorification of Indra's and Agni's bounty. The word *bhaga* also occurs about twenty times in the RV. with the sense of 'bounty, wealth, fortune', and the ambiguity is sometimes played upon. Thus in one passage (7, 41[2]) where Bhaga is called the distributor (*vidhartā*), it is stated that men say of the god, 'May I share in Bhaga' (*bhagam bhakṣi*). In another verse (5, 46[6]) in which he is termed the 'dispenser' (*vibhaktā*, derived from the same root *bhaj*), he is invoked to be full of bounty (*bhagavān*) to his worshippers.

Dawn is Bhaga's sister (1, 123[5]). Bhaga's eye is adorned with rays (1, 136[2]), and hymns rise up to Viṣṇu as on Bhaga's path (3, 54[14]). Yāska describes Bhaga as presiding over the forenoon (Nir. 12, 13). The Iranian form of the name is *bagha*, 'god', which occurs as an epithet of Ahura Mazda. The word is even Indo-European[13], since it occurs in Old Church Slavonic as *bogŭ* in the sense of 'god'. There is no reason to suppose that it designated any individual god in the Indo-European period, for it cannot have attained a more specialized sense than 'bountiful god', if indeed it meant more than merely 'bountiful giver'.

The word Aṃśa, which occurs less than a dozen times in the RV., is

almost synonymous with *bhaga*, expressing both the concrete sense of 'share, portion' and that of 'apportioner'. It is found but three times as the name of a god[14], only one of these passages stating anything about him besides his name. Agni is here said to be Aṃśa, a bountiful (*bhājayu*) god at the feast' (2, 1[4]).

Dakṣa[15] is mentioned hardly more than half a dozen times in the RV. as the name of a god. The word occurs more frequently as an adjective meaning 'dexterous, strong, clever, intelligent', applied to Agni (3, 14[7]) and Soma (9, 61[18] &c.), or as a substantive in the sense of 'dexterity, strength, cleverness, understanding'. The name of the personification therefore appears to mean the 'dexterous' or 'clever' god. Excepting the verse (2, 27[1]) which enumerates the six Ādityas, he is mentioned only in the first and tenth books. In one passage (1, 89[3]) he is referred to with other Ādityas, and in another (10, 64[5]) with Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman, Aditi also being spoken of in connexion with his birth. In a cosmogonic hymn (10, 72[4.5]) Dakṣa is said to have sprung from Aditi, when it is immediately added that Aditi sprang from him and is his daughter, the gods being born afterwards. In another verse (10, 5[7]) it is stated that the existent and non-existent were in the womb of Aditi, in the birthplace of Dakṣa. Thus the last two passages seem to regard Aditi and Dakṣa as universal parents. The paradox of children producing their own parents has been shown (p. 12) to be not unfamiliar to the poets of the RV. The manner in which it came to be applied in this particular case seems to be as follows. The Ādityas are spoken of as 'gods who have intelligence for their father' (6, 50[2]), the epithet (*dakṣapitarā*) being also applied to Mitra-Varuṇa, who in the same verse (7, 66[2]) are called 'very intelligent' (*sudakṣa*). The expression is made clearer by another passage (8, 25[5]), where Mitra-Varuṇa are termed 'sons of intelligence' (*sūnū dakṣasya*) as well as 'children of great might' (*napātā śavaso mahaḥ*). The juxtaposition of the latter epithets shows that *dakṣa* is here not a personification but the abstract word used as in Agni's epithets 'father of skill' (*dakṣasya pitṛ:* 3, 27[9]) or 'son of strength' (§§ 8, 35). This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that ordinary human sacrificers are called *dakṣápitaraḥ*, 'having skill for their father' (8, 52[10]). Such expressions probably brought about the personification of Dakṣa as the father of the Ādityas and his association with Aditi. In the TS. the gods in general are called *dakṣapitaraḥ*, and in the ŚB. (2, 4, 4[2]) Dakṣa is identified with the creator Prajāpati.

[1] BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. 15, 176 note; SPH. 31. — [2] OST. 4, 117—21. — [3] BOLLENSEN, ZDMG. 41, 503. — [4] Cp. GW., s. v. Āditya. — [5] Cp. v. SCHROEDER, WZKM. 9, 122. — [6] On the Ameṣaspentas see DARMESTETER, Haurvatāṭ et Ameretāṭ (Paris 1875), 1 f.; BARTHOLOMAE, AF. 3, 26. — [7] Cp. MACDONELL, JRAS. 27, 948. — [8] ZDMG. 6, 69 f. — [9] SP.AP. 199; HARLEZ, JA. 1878 (11), 129 ff. — [10] ROTH, ZDMG. 6, 74; BOLLENSEN, ibid. 41, 503; HVBP. 55—6. — [11] ROTH, l. c.; WC. 11—12; BAYNES, The Biography of Bhaga. Transactions of the 8th Oriental Congress, II, 1, 85—9; HRI. 53—6. — [12] Cp. GW. s. v. *bhaga*. — [13] v. SCHROEDER, WZKM. 9, 127. — [14] ROTH, ZDMG. 6, 75; BRI. 19. — [15] OST. 5, 51—2; BRV. 3, 93. 99; WC. 45.

WHITNEY, JAOS. 3, 323—6; OST. 5, 54—7; MM., SBE. 32, 252—4; ORV. 185—9. 286—7; ZDMG. 49, 177—8; 50, 50—4; SBE. 48, 190; HOPKINS, JAOS. 17, 28; IF. 6, 116.

§ 20. Uṣas.—Uṣas, goddess of Dawn, is celebrated in about 20 hymns of the RV. and mentioned more than 300 times. Owing to the identity of name, the personification is but slight, the physical phenomenon of dawn never being absent from the poet's mind, when the goddess is addressed. Uṣas is the most graceful creation of Vedic poetry and there is no more charming figure in the descriptive religious lyrics of any other literature. The brightness of her form has not been obscured by priestly speculation nor has the imagery as a rule been marred by references to the sacrifice. Arraying

herself in gay attire, like a dancer, she displays her bosom (1, 92[4], cp. 6, 64[2]). Like a maiden decked by her mother she shows her form (1, 123[11]). Clothed in light the maiden appears in the east, and unveils her charms (1, 124[3. 4]). Effulgent in peerless beauty she withholds her light from neither small nor great (ib. [6]). Rising resplendent as from a bath, showing her charms she comes with light, driving away the darkness (5, 80[5. 6]). She is young, being born again and again, though ancient; shining with an uniform hue, she wastes away the life of mortals (1, 92[10]). As she has shone in former days, so she shines now and will shine in future, never aging, immortal (1, 113[13. 15]). The maiden coming again awakes before all the world (1, 123[2]). Ever shortening the ages of men, she shines forth, the last of the dawns that have always gone, the first of those to come[1] (1, 124[2]). Like a wheel she revolves ever anew (3, 61[3]). She awakens creatures that have feet and makes the birds to fly up: she is the breath and life of everything (1, 48[5. 10]. 49[3]). She awakens every living being to motion (1, 92[9]; 7, 77[1]). The Dawns waken the sleeping and urge the living, the two-footed and the four-footed, to motion (4, 51[5]). When Uṣas shines forth, the birds fly up from their nests, and men seek nourishment (1, 124[12]). She reveals the paths of men, wakening the five tribes (7, 79[1]). She manifests all beings and bestows new life (7, 80[1. 2]). She drives away evil dreams to Trita Āptya (8, 47[14. 10]). She removes the black robe of night (1, 113[14]). She dispels the darkness (6, 64[3]. 65[2]). She wards off evil spirits and the hated darkness (7, 75[1]). She discloses the treasures concealed by darkness and distributes them bountifully (1, 123[4. 6]). She illumines the ends of the sky when she awakes (1, 92[11]). She opens the gates of heaven (1, 48[15]. 113[4]). She opens the doors of darkness as the cows their stall (1, 92[4]). Her radiant beams appear like herds of cattle (4, 52[2–4]). She is visible afar, spreading out cattle (*paśūn*) as it were (1, 92[12]). The ruddy beams fly up, the ruddy cows yoke themselves, the ruddy dawns weave their web (of light) as of old (ib. [2]). Thus Uṣas comes to be called 'mother of kine'[2] (4, 52[2. 3]; 7, 77[2]).

Day by day appearing at the appointed place, she never infringes the ordinance of order and of the gods (1, 92[12]. 123[9]. 124[2]; 7, 76[5]); she goes straight along the path of order, knowing the way she never loses her direction (5, 80[4]). She renders good service to the gods by causing all worshippers to awake and the sacrificial fires to be kindled (1, 113[9]). She is besought to arouse only the devout and liberal worshipper, leaving the ungodly niggard to sleep on (1, 124[10]; 4, 51[3]). Worshippers are however sometimes spoken of as wakening her instead of being awakened by her (4, 52[4] &c.), and the Vasiṣṭhas claim to have first wakened her with their hymns (7, 80[1]). She is once asked not to delay, that the sun may not scorch her as a thief or an enemy (5, 79[9]). She is besought to bring the gods to drink Soma (1, 48[12]). Hence probably, the gods are often described as 'waking with Uṣas' (1, 14[9] &c.).

Uṣas is borne on a car which is shining (7, 78[1]), brilliant (1, 23[7]), bright (3, 61[2]), well-adorned (1, 49[2]), all-adorning (7, 75[6]), massive (1, 48[10] &c.), and spontaneously-yoked (7, 78[4]). She is also said to arrive on a hundred chariots (1, 48[7]). She is drawn by steeds which are ruddy (7, 75[6] &c.), easily guided (3, 61[2]), regularly-yoked (4, 51[5]), or is said to be resplendent with steeds (5, 79[1–10]). She is also described as being drawn by ruddy kine or bulls (*go:* 1, 92[2]. 124[11]; 5, 80[3]). Both the horses and the cows probably represent the ruddy rays of morning light[3]; but the cows are generally explained as the red morning clouds. The distance the dawns traverse in a day is 30 *yojanas* (1, 123[8]).

As is to be expected, Uṣas is closely associated with the sun. She has opened paths for Sūrya to travel (1, 113[16]). She brings the eye of the gods and leads on the beautiful white horse (7, 77[3]). She shines with the light of the sun (1, 113[9]), with the light of her lover (1, 92[11]). Savitṛ shines after the path of Uṣas (5, 81[2]). Sūrya follows her as a young man a maiden (1, 115[2]). She meets the god who desires her (1, 123[10]). She is the wife of Sūrya (7, 75[5]); the Dawns are the wives of the Sun (4, 5[13]). Thus as followed in space by the sun, she is conceived as his wife or mistress. But as preceding the sun in time she is occasionally thought of as his mother (cp. p. 35). She has generated Sūrya, sacrifice, Agni (7, 78[3]). She has been produced (*prasūtā*) for the production (*savāya*) of Savitṛ, and arrives with a bright child (1, 113[1. 2]). Uṣas is the sister of the Āditya Bhaga (1, 123[5]; cp. p. 45) and the kinswoman (*jāmi*) of Varuṇa (1, 123[5]). She is also the sister (1, 113[2. 3]; 10, 127[3]) or the elder sister (1, 124[8]) of Night; and the names of Dawn and Night are often conjoined as a dual compound (*uṣāsā-naktā* or *naktoṣāsā*). Uṣas is born in the sky (7, 75[1]); and the place of her birth suggests the relationship most frequently mentioned in the RV.: she is constantly called the daughter of heaven (1, 30[22] &c.)[4]. She is once also spoken of as the beloved (*priyā*) of heaven (1, 46[1]).

The sacrificial fire being regularly kindled at dawn, Agni is naturally often associated with Uṣas in this connexion, sometimes not without a side-glance at the sun, the manifestation of Agni which appears simultaneously with the kindling of the sacrificial fire (1, 124[1. 11] &c.)[5]. Agni appears with or before the Dawn. Uṣas causes Agni to be kindled (1, 113[9]). He is thus like the sun sometimes called her lover (1, 69[1]; 7, 10[1], cp. 10, 3[3]). He goes to meet the shining Uṣas as she comes, asking her for fair riches (3, 61[6]). Uṣas is naturally also often connected with the twin gods of the early morning, the Aśvins (1, 44[2] &c.). They accompany her (1, 183[2]) and she is their friend (4, 52[2. 3]). She is invoked to arouse them (8, 9[17]), and her hymn is said to have awakened them (3, 58[1]). When the Aśvins' car is yoked, the daughter of the sky is born (10, 39[12]). Uṣas is once associated with the moon, which being born ever anew goes before the dawns as harbinger of day (10, 85[19]).

Various gods are described as having produced or discovered the dawns. Indra who is characteristically a winner of light, is said to have generated or lighted up Uṣas (2, 12[7] &c.). But he is sometimes also hostile to her, being described as shattering her wain (§ 22). Soma made the dawns bright at their birth (6, 39[3]) and constituted them the wives of a good husband (6, 44[23]), as Agni does (7, 6[5]). Bṛhaspati discovered the Dawn, the sky (*svar*), and Agni, repelling the darkness with light (10, 68[9]). The ancient Fathers, companions of the gods, by efficacious hymns discovered the hidden light and generated Uṣas (7, 76[4]).

The goddess is often implored to dawn on the worshipper or bring to him wealth and children, to bestow protection and long life (1, 30[22]. 48[1] &c.), to confer renown and glory on all the liberal benefactors of the poet (5, 79[6], cp. 1, 48[4]). Her adorers ask from her riches and desire to be to her as sons to a mother (7, 81[4]). The soul of the dead man goes to the sun and to Uṣas (10, 58[8]), and by the ruddy ones in whose lap the Fathers are said to be seated, the Dawns are doubtless meant (10, 15[7]).

Besides the sixteen enumerated in the Naighaṇṭuka (1, 8) Uṣas has many other epithets. She is resplendent, shining, bright, white, ruddy, golden-hued, of brilliant bounty, born in law, most Indra-like, divine, immortal[6]. She is characteristically bountiful (*maghonī*: ZDMG. 50, 440).

The name of Uṣas is derived from the root *vas* to shine and is radically cognate to Aurora and 'Ἠώς (p. 8)[7].

[1] GVS. 1, 265—6. — [2] Cp. KUHN, Entwicklungsstufen, 131. — [3] See the passages quoted above, where the rays of dawn are compared with cattle or cows. — [4] OST. 5, 190; cp. above p. 21. — [5] Ibid. 191. — [6] Ibid. 193—4. — [7] SONNE, KZ. 10, 416.
WHITNEY, JAOS. 3, 321—2; OST. 5, 181—98; MM., LSL. 2, 583—4; GKR. 35—6; KRV. 52—4; BRV. 1, 241—50; BRANDES, Uṣas (Copenhagen 1879, pp. 123).

§ 21. Aśvins.—Next to Indra, Agni, and Soma, the twin deities named the Aśvins are the most prominent in the RV. judged by the frequency with which they are invoked. They are celebrated in more than fifty entire hymns and in parts of several others, while their name occurs more than 400 times. Though they hold a distinct position among the deities of light and their appellation is Indian, their connexion with any definite phenomenon of light is so obscure, that their original nature has been a puzzle to Vedic interpreters from the earliest times. This obscurity makes it probable that the origin of these gods is to be sought in a pre-Vedic period. They are twins (3, 39[3]; 10, 17[2]) and inseparable. The sole purpose of one hymn (2, 39) is to compare them with different twin objects such as eyes, hands, feet, wings, or with animals and birds going in pairs, such as dogs and goats or swans and eagles (cp. 5, 78[1]—[3]; 8, 35[7]—[9]; 10, 106[2]—[10]). There are, however, a few passages which may perhaps point to their originally having been separate. Thus they are spoken of as born separately (*nānā:* 5, 73[4]) and as born here and there (*iheha*), one being called a victorious prince, and the other the son of heaven (1, 181[4]). Yāska also quotes a passage stating that 'one is called the son of night, the other the son of dawn' (Nir. 12, 2). The RV., moreover, in another passage (4, 3[6]) mentions alone 'the encompassing Nāsatya', a frequent epithet otherwise only designating both Aśvins in the dual.

The Aśvins are young (7, 67[10]), the TS. (7, 2, 7[2]) even describing them as the youngest of the gods. They are at the same time ancient (7, 62[5]). They are bright (7, 68[1]), lords of lustre (8, 22[14]; 10, 93[6]), of golden brilliancy (8, 8[2]), and honey-hued (8, 26[6]). They possess many forms (1, 117[9]). They are beautiful (6, 62[5]. 63[1]) and wear lotus-garlands (10, 184[2]; AV. 3, 22[4]; ŚB. 4, 1, 5[16]). They are agile (6, 63[5]), fleet as thought (8, 22[16]), or as an eagle (5, 78[4]). They are strong (10, 24[4]), very mighty (6, 62[5]), and are several times called 'red'[1] (*rudrā,* 5, 75[3] &c.). They possess profound wisdom (8, 8[2]) and occult power (6, 63[5]; 10, 93[7]). The two most distinctive and frequent epithets of the Aśvins are *dasra,* 'wondrous', which is almost entirely limited to them, and *nāsatya,* which is generally explained to mean 'not untrue' (*na-asatya*), but other etymologies[2], such as 'the savers' have been proposed. The latter word occurs as the name of a demon in the Avesta[3], which, however, sheds no further light on it. These two epithets in later times became the separate proper names of the Aśvins[4]. The attribute *rudravartani* 'having a red path'[5] is peculiar to them, and they are the only gods called 'golden-pathed' (*hiraṇyavartani*), an epithet otherwise only used (twice) of rivers.[6]

Of all the gods[7] the Aśvins are most closely connected with honey (*madhu*), with which they are mentioned in many passages. They have a skin filled with honey, and the birds which draw them abound in it (4, 45[3.4]). They poured out 100 jars of honey (1, 117[6]). Their honey-goad (1, 122[3]. 157[4]) with which they bestrew the sacrifice and the worshipper[8], is peculiar to them. Only the car of the Aśvins is described as honey-hued (*madhu-varṇa*) or 'honey-bearing' (*madhu-vāhana*). They only are said to be fond

of honey (*madhūyu, mādhvī*) or drinkers of it (*madhupā*). The priest to whom they are invited to come is called honey-handed (10, 41[3]). They give honey to the bee (1, 112[21] cp. 10, 40[6]) and are compared with bees (10, 106[10]). They are, however, like other gods, fond of Soma (3, 58[7. 9] &c.) and are invited to drink it with Uṣas and Sūrya (8, 35[1]). HILLEBRANDT (VM. 1, 241), however, finds traces showing that the Aśvins were at first excluded from the circle of the Soma-worshipped gods.

The car of the Aśvins is sun-like (8, 8[2]) or golden (4, 44[4. 5]), and all its parts, such as wheels, axle, fellies, reins are golden (1, 180[1]; 8, 5[29. 22 5]). It has a thousand rays (1, 119[1]) or ornaments (8, 8[11. 14]). It is peculiar in construction, being threefold, having three wheels, three fellies, and some other parts triple (1, 118[1. 2] &c.). It moves lightly (8, 9[8]), is swifter than thought (1, 117[2] &c.) or than the twinkling of an eye (8, 62[2]). It was fashioned by the Ṛbhus (10, 39[12]). The Aśvins' car is the only one which is three-wheeled. One of its wheels is said to have been lost when the Aśvins came to the wedding of Sūryā (10, 85[15]; cp. § 37).

The Aśvins' name implies only the possession of horses, there being no evidence to show that they are so called because they ride on horses[10]. Their car is drawn by horses (1, 117[2] &c.), more commonly by birds (*vi*; 6, 63[6] &c. or *patatrin*, 10, 143[5]), swans (4, 45[4]), eagles (1, 118[4]), bird steeds (6, 63[7]) or eagle steeds (8, 5[7]). It is sometimes described as drawn by a buffalo (*kakuha*) or buffaloes (5, 73[7]; 1, 184[3] &c.) or by a single ass (*rāsabha:* 1, 34[9]. 116[2]; 8, 74[7]). In the AB. (4, 7—9) the Aśvins are said at the marriage of Soma and Sūryā to have won a race in a car drawn by asses[11] (cp. RV. 1, 116[7] and Sāyaṇa's comm.). Their car touches the ends of heaven and extends over the five countries (7, 63[2. 3]). It moves round heaven (1, 180[10]). It traverses heaven and earth in a single day (3, 58[8]), as the car of the sun (1, 115[3]) and that of Uṣas (4, 51[5]) are also said to do. It goes round the sun in the distance (1, 112[13]). Frequent mention is also made of their course (*vartis*), a word which with one exception is applicable to them only. The word *parijman*, 'going round' is several times connected with the Aśvins or their car, as it is also with Vāta, Agni, and Sūrya.

The locality of the Aśvins is variously described. They come from afar (8, 5[30]), from heaven (8, 8[7]), heaven and earth (1, 44[5]), from heaven and air (8, 8[4]. 9[2]), from air (8, 8[3]), earth, heaven, and ocean (8, 10[1]), from the air, from far and near (5, 73[1]). They abide in the sea of heaven (8, 26[17]), in the floods of heaven, plants, houses, the mountain top (7, 70[3]). They come from behind, before, below, above (7, 72[5]). Sometimes their locality is inquired about as if unknown[12] (5, 74[2. 3]; 6, 63[1]; 8, 62[4]). They are once (8, 8[23]) said to have three places (*padāni*), possibly because invoked three times a day.

The time of their appearance is often said to be the early dawn[13], when 'darkness still stands among the ruddy cows' (10, 61[4]) and they yoke their car to descend to earth and receive the offerings of worshippers (1, 22[2] &c.). Uṣas awakes them (8, 9[17]). They follow after Uṣas in their car (8, 5[2]). At the yoking of their car Uṣas is born (10, 39[12]). Thus their relative time seems to have been between dawn and sunrise. But Savitṛ is once said to set their car in motion before the dawn (1, 34[10]). Occasionally the appearance of the Aśvins[14], the kindling of the sacrificial fire, the break of dawn, and sunrise seem to be spoken of as simultaneous (1, 157[1]; 7, 72[4]). The Aśvins are invoked to come to the offering not only at their natural time, but also in the evening (8, 22[14]) or at morning, noon, and sunset (5, 76[3]). The appearance of the Aśvins at the three daily sacrifices may have been the

starting-point of the continual play on the word 'three' in the whole of a hymn devoted to their praise (1, 34). As deities of the morning, the Aśvins dispel darkness (3, 39[3]) and are sometimes said to chase away evil spirits (7, 73[4]; 8, 35[16]). In the AB. (2, 15), the Aśvins as well as Uṣas and Agni are stated to be gods of dawn; and in the Vedic ritual they are connected with sunrise[15]. In the ŚB. (5, 5, 4[1]) the Aśvins are described as red-white in colour and therefore a red-white goat is offered to them[16].

The Aśvins are children of Heaven (1, 182[1]. 184[1]; 10, 61[4]), one of them alone being once said to be a son of Heaven (1, 184[4]). They are once (1, 46[2]) said to have the ocean as their mother (*sindhumātarā*). Otherwise they are in one passage (10, 17[2]) said to be the twin sons of Vivasvat and Tvaṣṭṛ's daughter Saraṇyū (p. 42), who appear to represent the rising sun and dawn. On the other hand the solar deity Pūṣan claims them as his fathers (10, 85[14])[17]. By their sister (1, 180[2]) Dawn seems to be meant (cp. p. 48). They are, as male deities of morning light, often associated with the sun conceived as a female called either Sūryā or more commonly the 'daughter of Sūrya'. They are Sūryā's two husbands (4, 43[6] cp. 1, 119[5]), whom she chose (7, 69[4]). Sūryā (5, 73[5]) or the maiden (8, 8[10]) ascended their car. The daughter of the sun mounts their car (1, 34[5]. 116[17]. 118[5]; 6, 63[5]) or chose it (1, 117[13]; 4, 43[2]). They possess Sūryā as their own (7, 68[3]), and the fact that Sūryā accompanies them on their car is characteristic (8, 29[8]). She must be meant by the goddess called Aśvinī and mentioned with others in 5, 46[8]. In a late hymn (10, 85[9]) it is said that when Savitṛ gave Sūryā to her husband (*patye*) Soma was wooer (*vadhūyu*) while the Aśvins were groomsmen (*varā*). In another passage (6, 58[4]) the gods are said to have given Pūṣan to Sūryā. Owing to their connexion with Sūryā the Aśvins are invoked to conduct the bride home on their chariot (10, 85[26]). They are also besought along with several other deities to bestow fertility on the bride (10, 184[2]). They give the wife of the eunuch a child and make the barren cow yield milk (1, 112[3]). They give a husband to the old maid (10, 39[3]) and bestowed a wife on one of their favourites (1, 116[1] &c.). In the AV. (2, 30[2] &c.) they are said to bring lovers together[18].

The Aśvins may originally have been conceived as finding and restoring or rescuing the vanished light of the sun[19]. In the RV. they have come to be typically succouring divinities. They are the speediest helpers and deliverers from distress in general (1, 112[2]. 118[3]). They are constantly praised for such deeds. In particular, they rescue from the ocean in a ship or ships. They are also invoked to bring treasures from the ocean or from heaven (1, 47[6]) and their car approaches from the ocean (4, 43[5]); here, however, the celestial ocean appears to be intended. Their rescue from all kinds of distress is a peaceful manifestation of divine grace, not a deliverance from foes in battle, as is generally the case with Indra (with whom, however, they are once associated in fight, even receiving the epithet of Vṛtra-slayers)[20]. They are thus also characteristically divine physicians (8, 18[8] &c.), who heal diseases with their remedies (8, 22[10] &c.), restoring sight (1, 116[16]), curing the blind, sick, and maimed (10, 39[3]). They are the physicians of the gods and guardians of immortality, who ward off death from the worshipper (AV. 7, 53[1]; TB. 3, 1, 2[11]). Apart from their character as helpers, healers, and wonder-workers, their general beneficence is often praised. They bring their worshipper to old age with seeing eye and reward him with riches and abundance of children (1, 116[25]; 8, 8[13] &c.).

Quite a number of legends illustrating the succouring power of the Aśvins are referred to in the RV. The sage Cyavāna, grown old and deserted,

they released from his decrepit body; they prolonged his life, restored him to youth, rendered him desirable to his wife and made him the husband of maidens (1, 116^{10} &c.: OST. 5, 143). A detailed story of how Cyavāna was restored to youth by the Aśvins is given in the ŚB. (4, 1, 5)[21]. They also renewed the youth of the aged Kali (10, 39^{8}) and befriended him when he had taken a wife (1, 112^{15}). They brought on a car to the youthful Vimada wives (1, 112^{19}) or a wife (1, 116^{1}) named Kamadyū (10, 65^{12}), who seems to have been the beautiful spouse of Purumitra (1. 117^{20}; 10, 39^{7}). They restored Viṣṇāpū, like a lost animal, to the sight of their worshipper Viśvaka, son of Kṛṣṇa (1, 116^{23}. 117^{7}; 10, 65^{12}), who according to the commentator was his father. The story most often referred to is that of the rescue of Bhujyu, son of Tugra, who was abandoned in the midst of the ocean (*samudre*) or in the water-cloud (*udameghe*) and who tossed about in darkness invoked the aid of the youthful heroes. In the ocean which is without support they took him home in a hundred-oared ship. They rescued him with animated, water-tight ships, which traversed the air, with four ships, with an animated winged boat, with three flying cars having a hundred feet and six horses, with their headlong flying steeds, with their well-yoked chariot swift as thought. In one passage Bhujyu is described as clinging to a log (*vṛkṣa*) for support in the midst of the waves[22]. The sage Rebha, stabbed, bound, hidden by the malignant, overwhelmed in the waters for ten nights and nine days, abandoned as dead, was by the Aśvins revived and drawn out as Soma is raised with a ladle[23]. They delivered Vandana from calamity and restored him to the light of the sun (1, 112^{5}. 116^{11}. 117^{5}. 118^{6}), raising him up from a pit in which he lay hidden away as one dead (10, 39^{8}) or restoring him from decrepitude (1, $119^{6.7}$)[24]. They succoured the sage Atri Saptavadhri who along with his companions was plunged in a burning pit by the wiles of a demon. They brought him a cooling and refreshing draught, protected him from the flames, and finally released him in youthful strength. They are also said to have delivered him from darkness. When Agni is spoken of as having rescued Atri from heat (10, 30^{3}), the meaning probably is that Agni spared him through the intervention of the Aśvins[25]. The Aśvins even rescued from the jaws of a wolf a quail which invoked their aid[26].

To Rijrāśva who had been blinded by his father for killing one hundred and one sheep and giving them to a she-wolf to devour, they restored his eyesight at the prayer of the she-wolf (1, 116^{16}. $117^{17.18}$); and cured Parāvṛj of blindness and lameness (1, 112^{8}). When Viśpalā's leg had been cut off in battle like the wing of a bird, the Aśvins gave her an iron one instead[27]. They befriended Ghoṣā when she was growing old in her father's house by giving her a husband (1, 117^{7}; 10, $39^{3.6}$. 40^{5}). To the wife of a eunuch they gave a son called Hiraṇyahasta (1, 116^{13}. 117^{24}; 6, 62^{7}; 10, 39^{7}), who is, however, once called Śyāva (10, 65^{12}). The cow of Śayu, which had left off bearing they caused to give milk (1, 116^{22} &c.). They gave to Pedu a swift, strong, white, incomparable, dragon-slaying steed impelled by Indra, which won him unbounded spoils (1, 116^{6} &.). To Kakṣīvat of the family of Pajra they granted blessings in abundance, causing a hundred jars of wine (*surā*) or of honey to flow from a strong horse's hoof, as from a sieve (1, 116^{7}. 117^{6})[28]. Another miraculous deed of theirs is connected with honey or mead. They placed a horse's head on Dadhyañc, son of Atharvan, who then told them where was the mead (*madhu*) of Tvaṣṭṛ (§ 53)[29]. Besides the persons referred to above, many others are mentioned as having been succoured or befriended by the Aśvins in RV. 1, 112 and 116—19. These may be largely the names of actual persons who were saved or cured in a

remarkable manner. Their rescue or cure would easily have been attributed to the Aśvins, who having acquired the character of divine deliverers and healers, naturally attracted to themselves all stories connected with such miraculous powers. The opinion of BERGAIGNE and others that the various miracles attributed to the Aśvins are anthropomorphized forms of solar phenomena (the healing of the blind man thus meaning the release of the sun from darkness), seems to lack probability[30]. At the same time the legend of Atri (cp. § 56) may be a reminiscence of a myth explaining the restoration of the vanished sun.

As to the physical basis of the Aśvins, the language of the Ṛṣis is so vague that they themselves do not seem to have understood what phenomenon these deities represented. The other gods of the morning, the night-dispelling Agni, the man-waking Uṣas, and the rising Sūrya are much more vividly addressed. They may be called possessors of horses, because the latter are symbolical of rays of light, especially the sun's. But what they actually represented puzzled even the oldest commentators mentioned by Yāska. That scholar remarks (Nir. 12, 1) that some regarded them as Heaven and Earth (as does also the ŚB. 4, 1, 5[16]), others, as Day and Night, others, as sun and moon, while the 'legendary writers' took them to be 'two kings, performers of holy acts'.

Yāska's own opinion is obscure. ROTH thinks he means Indra and the sun, GOLDSTÜCKER, that he means the transition from darkness to light, which represents an inseparable duality corresponding to their twin nature, and agrees with this view. This is also the opinion of MYRIANTHEUS as well as of HOPKINS, who considers it probable that the inseparable twins represent the twin-lights or twilight before dawn, half dark, half light, so that one of them could be spoken of alone as the son of Dyaus, the bright sky. Other scholars[31] favour the identification of the Aśvins with sun and moon. OLDENBERG following MANNHARDT[32] and BOLLENSEN (ZDMG. 41, 496) believes the natural basis of the Aśvins must be the morning star, that being the only morning light beside fire, dawn, and sun. The time, the luminous nature, and the course of the Aśvins round the heavens suit, but not their duality.

The morning star would indeed naturally be thought of in connexion with the evening star, but they are eternally separate, while the Aśvins are joined. The latter are, however, in one or two passages of the RV. spoken of separately; and though the morning in Vedic worship is so important, while sunset plays no part (5, 77[2]), the Aśvins are nevertheless sometimes (8, 22[14]; 10, 39[1]. 40[4]) invoked morning and evening[33]. The Aśvins, sons of Dyaus, who drive across the sky with their steeds and possess a sister, have a parallel in the two famous horsemen of Greek mythology, sons of Zeus (Διὸς κοῦροι)[34], brothers of Helena, and in the two Lettic God's sons who come riding on their steeds to woo the daughter of the sun, either for themselves or the moon. In the Lettic myth the morning star is said to have come to look at the daughter of the sun[35]. As the two Aśvins wed the one Sūryā, so the two Lettic god-sons wed the one daughter of the sun; they too are (like the Διοσκοῦροι) rescuers from the ocean, delivering the daughter of the sun or the sun himself[36]. If this theory is correct, the character of the Aśvins as rescuers may have been derived from the idea of the morning star being a harbinger of deliverance from the distress of darkness. WEBER is also of opinion that the Aśvins represent two stars, the twin constellation of the Gemini[37]. Finally GELDNER thinks that the Aśvins do not represent any natural phenomenon, but are simply succouring saints (Notheilige) of purely Indian origin[38].

The twilight and the morning star theory seem the most probable. In any case, it appears not unlikely that the Aśvins date from the Indo-European period in character though not in name.

[1] According to PVS. 1, 56—8; variously interpreted by others; cp. BRV. 3, 38 note. — [2] BRUNNHOFER, ('savers' from √nas in Gothic nasyan), Vom Aral bis zur Gangā, p. 99; BRV. 2, 434; HRI. 83. — [3] SP.AP. 207; COLINET, BOR. 3, 193. — [4] KRV. note 172. — [5] PVS. 1, 55. — [6] PVS. 56—7, gives a list of the epithets of the Aśvins. — [7] HVM. 1, 237. — [8] According to OLDENBERG, this refers to morning dew; cp. BRV. 2, 433. — [9] HAUG, GGA. 1875, p. 93. — [10] BOLLENSEN, ZDMG. 41, 496; HRI. 80. — [11] On the car and steeds of the Aśvins cp. HOPKINS, JAOS. 15, 269—71. — [12] PVS. 2, 105. — [13] OST. 5, 238—9; HRI. 82. — [14] BRV. 2, 432. — [15] ORV. 208. — [16] HRI. 83. — [17] Cp. IS. 5, 183. 187; EHNI, ZDMG. 33, 168—70. — [18] WEBER, IS. 5. 218. 227. 234. — [19] v. SCHRÖDER, WZKM. 9, 131; HRI. 83. — [20] OST. 5, 248—9. — [21] OST. 5, 250—3; SBE. XXVI, 273ff; BENFEY, OO. 3, 160; MYRIANTHEUS p. 93 (= sun which has set restored in the morning); HVBP. 112. — [22] References in OST. 5, 244—5; SONNE, KZ. 10, 335—6; BENFEY, OO. 3, 159; MYRIANTHEUS 158; HVBP. 112. — [23] OST. 5, 246; BENFEY, OO. 3, 162. 164; MYRIANTHEUS 174; BAUNACK, ZDMG. 50, 264—6. — [24] BAUNACK, ibid. 263—4. — [25] Ibid. 268; SONNE, KZ. 10, 331 (Atri = sun); OST, 5, 247; cp. v. BRADKE, ZDMG. 45, 482—4. — [26] MM, LSL. 2, 525—6; OST. 5, 248; MYRIANTHEUS 78—81. — [27] OST. 5, 245; MYRIANTHEUS 100—12; PVS. 1, 171—3 (Viśpalā, name of a racing mare). Viśpalā is variously interpreted. — [28] MYRIANTHEUS 149f.; KRV. note 185. — [29] BENFEY, OO. 2, 245; MYRIANTHEUS 142—3; HVBP. 113. — [30] OST. 5, 248; HVBP. 112. — [31] LRV. 3, 334; HVM. 1, 535 (against ZIMMER, Archiv f. slav. Philol. 2, 669 ff.); HVBP. 47—9. — [32] Zft. f. Ethnologie 7, 312f. — [33] BRV. 2, 500. — [34] HRI. 78. 80; JRAS. 27, 953—4. — [35] ORV. 212 n. 3. — [36] v. SCHRÖDER, WZKM. 9, 130—1. — [37] WEBER, IS. 5, 234; Rājasūya 100. — [38] GVS. 2, 31 cp. 1. xxvii.

ROTH, ZDMG, 4, 425; WHITNEY, JAOS. 3, 322; MAX MÜLLER, LSL, 2, 607—9; BENFEY, OO. 2, 245; OST. 5, 234—54: GOLDSTÜCKER, ibid. 255—7; GRV. 1, 150; MYRIANTHEUS, Die Aśvins oder Arischen Dioskuren, München 1876; BRV. 2, 431—510; KRV. 49—52, notes 171. 179. 180; HVBP. 47—49. 111—13; ORV. 209—15; HRI. 80—6.

B. THE ATMOSPHERIC GODS.

§ 22. Indra. — Indra is the favourite national god of the Vedic Indians. His importance is indicated by the fact that about 250 hymns celebrate his greatness, more than those devoted to any other god and very nearly one-fourth of the total number of hymns in the RV. If the hymns in parts of which he is praised or in which he is associated with other gods, are taken into account, the aggregate is brought up to at least 300. As the name, which dates from the Indo-Iranian period and is of uncertain meaning, does not designate any phenomenon of nature, the figure of Indra has become very anthropomorphic and much surrounded by mythological imagery, more so indeed than that of any other god in the Veda. The significance of his character is, however, sufficiently clear. He is primarily the thunder-god, the conquest of the demons of drought or darkness and the consequent liberation of the waters or the winning of light forming his mythological essence. Secondarily Indra is the god of battle, who aids the victorious Aryan in the conquest of the aboriginal inhabitants of India.

He is the dominant deity of the middle region. He pervades the air (1, 51[2]). He occurs among the gods of the air alone in the Naighaṇṭuka (5, 4), and is the representative of the air in the triad Agni, Indra (or Vāyu), Sūrya.

Many of Indra's physical features are mentioned. He has a body, a head, arms, and hands (2, 16[2]; 8, 85[3]). His belly is often spoken of in connexion with his powers of drinking Soma (2, 16[2] &c.). It is compared

when full of Soma to a lake (3, 36^{8}). His lips (the probable meaning of *śiprā*) are often referred to, the frequent attributes ***suśipra*** or ***śiprin***, 'fair-lipped', being almost peculiar to him. He agitates his jaws after drinking Soma (8, 65^{10}). His beard is violently agitated when he is exhilerated or puts himself in motion (2, 11^{17}; 10, 23^{1}). He is tawny-haired (10, $96^{5.8}$) and tawny-bearded (10, 23^{4}). His whole appearance is tawny, the changes being rung on that word (*hari*) in every verse of an entire hymn (10, 96) with reference to Indra. He is a few times described as golden (1, 7^{2}; 8, 55^{3}), an attribute distinctive of Savitṛ (p. 32), as golden-armed (7, 34^{4}), and as iron-like (1, 56^{3}; 10, $96^{4.8}$). His arms as wielding the thunderbolt are mentioned particularly often. They are long, far-extended, great (6, 19^{3}; 8. 32^{10}. 70^{1}), strong and well-shaped (SV. 2, 1219). Indra assumes the most beautiful forms and the ruddy brightness of the sun (10, 112^{3}) and takes many different forms at will (3, 48^{4}. 53^{8}; 6, 47^{18}).

The thunderbolt (*vajra*)[1] is the weapon exclusively appropriate to Indra. It is the regular mythological name of the lightning stroke (cp. p. 59). It is generally described as fashioned for him by Tvaṣṭṛ (1, 32^{2} &c.), but Kāvya Uśanā is also said to have made it and given it to him (1, 121^{12}; 5, 34^{2}). In the AB. (4, 1) it is the gods who are said to have provided Indra with his bolt. It lies in the ocean enveloped in water (8, 89^{9}). Its place is below that of the sun (10, 27^{21}). It is generally described as *āyasa* or metallic (1, 52^{8} &c.), but sometimes as golden (1, 57^{2} &c.), tawny (3, 44^{4}; 10, 96^{3}) or bright (3, 44^{5}). It is four-angled (4, 22^{2}), hundred-angled (4, 17^{10}), hundred-jointed (8, 6^{6} &c.), and thousand-pointed (1, 80^{12} &c.). It is sharp (7, 18^{18} &c.). Indra whets it like a knife or as a bull his horns[2] (1, 130^{4}. 55^{1}). It is spoken of as a stone (*aśman*) or rock (*parvata*: 7, 104^{19}). The bolt in Indra's hand is compared with the sun in the sky (8, 59^{2}). Epithets derived from or compounded with ***vajra***, some of which are very frequent, are almost entirely limited to Indra. ***Vajrabhṛt***, 'bearing the bolt', ***vajrivat***, 'armed with the bolt', and ***vajradakṣiṇa***, 'holding the bolt in his right hand' are applied to him exclusively, while ***vajrabāhu*** or ***-hasta***, 'holding the bolt in his arm or hand', and the commonest derivative ***vajrin***, 'armed with the bolt', otherwise occur as attributes of Rudra, the Maruts, and Manyu only once each respectively.

Indra is sometimes said to be armed with a bow and arrows (8, 45^{4}. $66^{6.11}$; 10, $103^{2.3}$). The latter are golden, hundred-pointed, and winged with a thousand feathers (8, $66^{7.11}$). He also carries a hook (*aṅkuśa*) with which he bestows wealth (8, 17^{10}; AV. 6, 82^{3}) or which he uses as a weapon (10, 44^{9}). A net with which he overwhelms all his foes is also attributed to him (AV. 8, 8^{5-8}).

Indra is borne on a car which is golden (6, 29^{2} &c.) and is swifter than thought (10, 112^{2}). The epithet 'car-fighter' (*ratheṣṭhā*) is exclusively appropriated to Indra. His car is drawn by two tawny steeds (*harī*)[3], a term very frequently used and in the great majority of instances referring to Indra's horses. In a few passages a greater number than two, up to a hundred and even a thousand or eleven hundred are mentioned (2, 18^{4-7}; 4. 46^{3}; 6, 47^{18}; 8, $1^{9.24}$). These steeds are sun-eyed (1, $16^{1.2}$). They snort and neigh (1, 30^{16}). They have flowing manes (1, 10^{3} &c.) or golden manes (8, 32^{29}. 82^{24}). Their hair is like peacocks' feathers or tails (3, 45^{1}; 8, 1^{25}). They swiftly traverse vast distances and Indra is transported by them as an eagle is borne by its wings (2, 16^{3}; 8, 34^{9}). They are yoked by prayer (2, 18^{3} &c.), which doubtless means that invocations bring Indra to the sacrifice. Indra is a few times said to be drawn by the horses of Sūrya (10, 49^{7}) or by those of Vāta (10, 22^{4-6}), and Vāyu has Indra for his charioteer (4, 46^{2}. 48^{2}) or his car-com-

panion (7, 91^{6}). Indra's car and his steeds were fashioned by the Ṛbhus (1, 111^{1}; 5, 31^{4}). Indra is once said to be provided with a golden goad (*kaśā*: 8, 33^{11}).

Though the gods in general are fond of Soma (8, 2^{18}. 58^{11}), Indra is preëminently addicted to it (1, 104^{9} &c.). He even stole it in order to drink it (3, 48^{4}; 8, 4^{4}). He is the one Soma-drinker among gods and men (8, 2^{4}), only Vāyu, his companion, coming near him in this respect[4]. It is his favourite nutriment (8, 4^{12}). The frequent epithet 'Soma-drinker' (*soma-pā, -pāvan*) is characteristic of him, being otherwise only applied a few times to Agni and Bṛhaspati when associated with Indra, and once besides to Vāyu alone.

Soma is sometimes said to stimulate Indra to perform great cosmic actions such as supporting earth and sky or spreading out the earth (2, 15^{2}). But it characteristically exhilerates him to carry out his warlike deeds, the slaughter of the dragon or Vṛtra (2, 15^{1}. 19^{2}; 6, $47^{1.2}$) or the conquest of foes (6, 27; 7, 22^{2}; 8, 81^{6}). So essential is Soma to Indra that his mother gave it to him or he drank it on the very day of his birth (3, $48^{2.3}$. $32^{9.10}$; 6, 40^{2}; 7, 98^{3}). For the slaughter of Vṛtra he drank three lakes[5] of Soma (5, 29^{7} cp. 6, 17^{11}), and he is even said to have drunk at a single draught thirty lakes of the beverage (8, 66^{4}). One entire hymn (10, 119) consists of a monologue in which Indra describes his sensations after a draught of Soma. But just as too much Soma is said to produce disease in men, so Indra himself is described as suffering from excessive indulgence in it and having to be cured by the gods with the Sautrāmaṇī ceremony[6]. Indra also drinks milk mixed with honey[7] (8, 4^{8}).

He at the same time eats the flesh of bulls (10, 28^{3}), of one (10, 27^{2}), of twenty (10, 86^{14}), or of a hundred buffaloes (6, 17^{11}; 8, 66^{10}), or 300 buffaloes roasted by Agni (5, 29^{7}). At the sacrifice he also eats an offering of cake (3, $52^{7.8}$), as well as of grain (3, 35^{3}. 43^{4}; 1, 16^{2}), and the latter his steeds are supposed to eat as well (3, 35^{7}. 52^{7}).

Indra is often spoken of as having been born. Two whole hymns (3, 48; 4, 18) deal with the subject of his birth. Once (4, $18^{1.2}$) he is represented as wishing to be born in an unnatural way through the side of his mother[8]. This trait may possibly be derived from the notion of lightning breaking from the side of the storm-cloud. On being born he illuminates the sky (3, 44^{4}). Scarcely born he set the wheel of the sun in motion (1, 130^{9}). He was a warrior as soon as born (3, 51^{8}; 5, 30^{5}; 8, 45^{4}. 66^{1}; 10, 113^{4}) and was irresistible from birth (1, 102^{8}; 10, 133^{2}). Through fear of him when he is born, the firm mountains, heaven and earth are agitated (1, 61^{14}). At his birth heaven and earth trembled through fear of his wrath (4, 17^{2}) and all the gods feared him (5, 30^{5})[9]. His mother is often mentioned (3, $48^{2.3}$ &c.)[10]. She is once (4, 18^{10}) spoken of as a cow (*gṛṣṭi*), he being her calf; and he is spoken (10, 111^{2}) of as a bull, the offspring of a cow (*gārṣṭeya*). He is once (10, 101^{12}) called the son of Niṣṭigrī, whom Sāyaṇa regards as synonymous with Aditi (cp. § 41). According to the AV. (3, $10^{12.13}$) Indra's (and Agni's) mother is Ekāṣṭakā, daughter of Prajāpati. Indra has the same father as Agni (6, 59^{2}), who is the son of Dyaus and Pṛthivī (§ 35). According to one interpretation of a verse in a hymn (4, 17^{4}) in which his father is twice mentioned, the latter is Dyaus. A similar inference may be drawn from a verse in an Indra hymn (10, 120^{1}) where it is said that 'among the worlds that was the highest from which this fierce (god) was born', and from a few other passages (cp. 6, 30^{5}; 8, 36^{4} with 10, 54^{3}, and 10, 138^{6} with 1, 164^{11}). His father is said to have made his thunderbolt (2, 17^{6}), which is elsewhere generally described as fashioned by Tvaṣṭṛ (§ 38). Indra drank Soma in

the house of his father, where it was given to him by his mother (3, 48^{2}). He drank Soma in the house of Tvaṣṭṛ (4, 18^{3}), Indra having at his birth overcome Tvaṣṭṛ and having stolen the Soma, drank it in the cups (3, 48^{4}). Indra seizing his father by the foot crushed him, and he is asked in the same verse who made his mother a widow (4, 18^{12}). From these passages it is clearly to be inferred that Indra's father whom he slays in order to obtain the Soma, is Tvaṣṭṛ[11] (cp. 1, 80^{14}). The hostility of the gods, who in one passage (4, 30^{3}) are said to have fought against him, is perhaps connected with the notion of his trying to obtain Soma forcibly.[12].

A few different accounts are given of the origin of Indra. He is said to have been generated by the gods as a destroyer of fiends (3, 49^{1}), but the verb *jan* is here no doubt only used in the figurative sense of 'to constitute' (cp. 2, 13^{5}; 3, 51^{8}). Soma is once spoken of as the generator of Indra and some other gods (9, 96^{5}). In the Puruṣa hymn Indra and Agni are said to have sprung from the mouth of the world-giant (10, 90^{13}). According to the ŚB. (11, 1, 6^{14}) Indra, as well as Agni, Soma, and Parameṣṭhin, is said to have been created from Prajāpati. The TB. (2, 2, 10^{1}) states that Prajāpati created Indra last of the gods.

Agni is Indra's twin brother (6, 59^{2}) and Pūṣan is also his brother (6, 55^{5}). The sons of Indra's brother are once mentioned (10, 55^{1}), but who are meant by them is uncertain.

Indra's wife is several times referred to (1, 82$^{5.6}$; 3, 53$^{4.6}$; 10, 86$^{9.10}$). Her name is Indrāṇī in a hymn in which she is represented as conversing with Indra (10, 86$^{11.12}$) and occurs in a few other passages which contain enumerations of goddesses (1, 22^{12}; 2, 32^{8}; 5, 46^{8}). The ŚB. expressly states Indrāṇī to be Indra's wife (14, 2, 1^{8}). The AB. (3, 22^{7}), however, mentions Prāsahā and Senā as Indra's wives[13]. These two are identified with Indrāṇī (TB. 2, 4, 2$^{7.8}$; MS. 3, 8^{4}; 4, 12^{1})[14]. PISCHEL (VS. 2, 52) thinks that Śacī is the Proper name of Indra's wife in the RV. as well as in post-Vedic literature[15]. The AV. (7, 38^{2}) refers to an Asura female who drew Indra down from among the gods; and the Kāṭhaka (IS. 3, 479) states that Indra enamoured of a Dānavī named Vilistengā, went to live among the Asuras, assuming the form of a female among females and of a male among males.

Indra is associated with various other gods. His chief friends and allies are the Maruts, who in innumerable passages are described as assisting him in his warlike exploits (§ 29). His connexion with these deities is so close that the epithet *marutvat*, 'accompanied by the Maruts', though sometimes applied to other gods, is characteristic of Indra, this epithet, as well as *marudgaṇa* 'attended by the Marut host', being sufficient to designate him (5, 42^{6}; 9, 65^{10}). With Agni Indra is more frequently coupled as a dual divinity than with any other god (§ 44)[16]. This is natural, as lightning is a form of fire. Indra is also said to have produced Agni between two stones (2, 12^{3}) or to have found Agni hidden in the waters (10, 32^{6}). Indra is further often coupled with Varuṇa and Vāyu, less frequently with Soma, Bṛhaspati, Pūṣan, and Viṣṇu (§ 44). The latter is a faithful friend of Indra and sometimes attends him in his conflict with the demons (§§ 17. 44)[17].

Indra is in three or four passages more or less distinctly identified with Sūrya[18]. Speaking in the first person (4, 26^{1}) Indra asserts that he was once Manu and Sūrya. He is once directly called Sūrya (10, 89^{2}); and Sūrya and Indra are both invoked in another verse (8, 82^{4}) as if they were the same person. In one passage Indra receives the epithet Savitṛ (2, 30^{1}). The ŚB. (1, 6, 4^{18}), too, once identifies Indra with the sun, Vṛtra being the moon.

The gigantic size of Indra is dwelt upon in many passages. When Indra

grasped the two boundless worlds, they were but a handful to him (3, 30[5]). He surpasses in greatness heaven, earth, and air (3, 46[3]). The two worlds are but equal to the half of him (6, 30[1]; 10, 119[7]). Heaven and earth do not suffice for his girdle (1, 173[6]). If the earth were ten times as large, Indra would be equal to it (1, 52[11]). If Indra had a hundred heavens and a hundred earths, a thousand suns would not equal him nor both worlds (8, 59[5]).

His greatness and power are lauded in the most unstinted terms. He has no parallel among those born or to be born (4, 18[4]). No one, celestial or terrestrial, has been born or shall be born, like to him (7, 32[23]). No one, god or man, either surpasses or equals him (6, 30[4]). Neither former, later, nor recent beings have attained to his valour (5, 42[6]). Neither gods nor men nor waters have attained to the limit of his might (1, 100[15]). No one like him is known among the gods; no one born, past or present, can rival him (1, 165[9]). He surpasses the gods (3, 46[3]). All the gods yield to him in might and strength (8, 51[7]). Even the former gods subordinated their powers to his divine glory and kingly dignity (7, 21[7]). All the gods are unable to frustrate his deeds and counsels (2, 32[4]). Even Varuṇa and Sūrya are subject to his command (1, 101[3] cp. 2, 38[9] p. 16). He is besought to destroy the foes of Mitra, Aryaman, and Varuṇa (10, 89[8. 9]) and is said to have acquired by battle ample space for the gods (7, 98[3]). Indra alone is king of the whole world (3, 46[2]). He is the lord of all that moves and breathes (1, 101[5]). He is the king of things moving and of men (5, 30[5]); he is the eye of all that moves and sees (10, 102[12]). He is the leader of human races and divine (3, 34[2]). He is several times called a universal monarch (4, 19[2] &c.) and still oftener a self-dependent sovereign (3, 46[1] &c.; cp. p. 24). He is also said to rule alone (*eka*) by his might as an ancient seer (8, 6[41]). A few times he receives the epithet *asura* (1, 174[1]; 8, 79[6]). Indra bears several characteristic attributes expressive of power. *Śakra* 'mighty' applies to Indra about 40 times and only about five times to other gods. *Śacīvat*, 'possessed of might' describes Indra some fifteen times and other deities only twice. The epithet *śacīpati* 'lord of might', occurring eleven times in the RV. belongs to Indra with only one exception (7, 67[5]), when the Aśvins as 'lords of might' are besought to strengthen their worshippers with might (*śacībhiḥ*). In one of these passages (10, 24[2]) Indra is pleonastically invoked as 'mighty lord of might' (*śacīpate śacīnām*). This epithet survives in post-Vedic literature as a designation of Indra in the sense of 'husband of Śacī' (a sense claimed for it by Pischel even in the RV.). The very frequent attribute *śatakratu*, 'having a hundred powers', occurring some 60 times in the RV. is with two exceptions entirely limited to Indra. In the great majority of instances *satpati*, 'strong lord' is appropriated to Indra. Indra's strength and valour are also described with various other epithets. He is strong (*tavas*), nimble (*nṛtu*), victorious (*tura*), heroic (*śūra*), of unbounded force (1, 11[4]. 102[6]), of irresistible might (1, 84[2]). He is clothed in might like the elephant and bears weapons like the terrible lion (4, 16[14]). He is also young (1, 11[4] &c.) and unaging (*ajara*), as well as ancient (*pūrvya*).

Having dealt with Indra's personal traits and his character, we now come to the great myth which is the basis of his nature. Exhilerated by Soma and generally escorted by the Maruts he enters upon the fray with the chief demon of drought, most frequently called by the name of Vṛtra, the Obstructor (§ 68) and also very often styled *ahi* the 'Serpent' or 'Dragon' (§ 64). The conflict is terrible. Heaven and earth tremble with fear when Indra strikes Vṛtra with his bolt (1, 80[11]; 2, 11[9. 10]; 6, 17[9]); even Tvaṣṭṛ who forged the

bolt trembles at Indra's anger (1, 80[14]). Indra shatters Vṛtra with his bolt (1, 32[5]. 61[10]; 10, 89[7]). He strikes Vṛtra with his bolt on his back (1, 32[7]. 80[5]), strikes his face with his pointed weapon (1, 52[15]), and finds his vulnerable parts (3, 32[4]; 5, 32[5]). He smote Vṛtra who encompassed the waters (6, 20[2] &c.) or the dragon that lay around (*pariśayānam*) the waters (4, 19[2]); he overcame the dragon lying on the waters (5, 30[6]). He slew the dragon hidden in the waters and obstructing the waters and the sky (2, 11[5]), and smote Vṛtra, who enclosed the waters, like a tree with the bolt (2, 14[2]). Thus 'conquering in the waters' (*apsujit*) is his exclusive attribute. Indra being frequently described as slaying Vṛtra in the present or being invoked to do so, is regarded as constantly renewing the combat, which mythically represents the constant renewal of the natural phenomena. For many dawns and autumns Indra has let loose the streams after slaying Vṛtra (4, 19[8]) or he is invoked to do so in the future (8, 78[4]). He cleaves the mountain, making the streams flow or taking the cows (1, 57[6]; 10,89[7]), even with the sound of his bolt (6, 27[1]). When he laid open the great mountain, he let loose the torrents and slew the Dānava, he set free the pent up springs, the udder of the mountain (5, 32[1. 2]). He slew the Dānava, shattered the great mountain, broke open the well, set free the pent up waters (1,57[6]; 5, 33[1]). He releases the streams which are like imprisoned cows (1, 61[10]) or which, like lowing cows, flow to the ocean (1,32[2]). He won the cows and Soma and made the seven rivers to flow (1,32[12]; 2,12[12]). He releases the imprisoned waters (1, 57[6]. 103[2]), released the streams pent up by the dragon (2, 11[2]), dug out channels for the streams with his bolt (2, 15[3]), let the flood of waters flow in the sea (2,19[3]), caused the waters pent up by Vṛtra to flow (3,26[6]; 4, 17[1]). Having slain Vṛtra, he opened the orifice of the waters which had been closed (1, 32[11]). His bolts are dispersed over ninety rivers (1, 80[8]). References to this conflict with Vṛtra and the release of the waters are extremely frequent in the RV. The changes on the myth are rung throughout the whole of one hymn (1, 80). Another deals with the details of the Vṛtra fight (1, 32). That this exploit is Indra's chief characteristic, is shown by the manner in which the poet epitomizes the myth in the two first verses of the latter hymn: 'I will proclaim the heroic deeds of Indra, which the wielder of the bolt first performed: he slew the dragon lying on the mountain, released the waters, pierced the belly of the mountains'. The physical elements are nearly always indicated by the stereotyped figurative terms 'bolt', 'mountain', 'waters or rivers', while lightning, thunder, cloud, rain (*vṛṣṭi, varṣa*, or the verb *vṛṣ*) are seldom directly named (1, 52[5. 6. 14] &c.)[19]. The rivers caused to flow are of course often terrestrial (BRV. 2, 184), but it cannot be doubted that waters and rivers are in the RV. very often conceived as aerial or celestial (1, 10[8]; 2, 20[8]. 22[4] cp. BRV. 2, 187). Apart from a desire to express the Vṛtra myth in phraseology differing from that applied to other gods, the large stores of water (cp. *arṇas*, flood) released by Indra would encourage the use of words like 'streams' rather than 'rain'. The 'cows' released by Indra may in many cases refer to the waters, for we have seen that the latter are occasionally compared with lowing cows. Thus Indra is said to have found the cows for man when he slew the dragon (5, 29[3] cp. 1, 52[8]). The context seems to shew that the waters are meant when Indra is described as having, with his bolt for an ally, extracted the cows with light from darkness (1, 33[10]). But the cows may also in other cases be conceived as connected with Indra's winning of light, for the ruddy beams of dawn issuing from the blackness of night are compared with cattle coming out of their dark stalls (p. 47). Again, though clouds play no great part in the RV.[20] under their

literal name (*abhra* &c.) it can hardly be denied that, as containing the waters, they figure mythologically to a considerable extent under the name of cow (*go*: § 61), as well as udder (*ūdhar*), spring (*utsa*), cask (*kavandha*), pail (*kośa*) and others. Thus the rain-clouds are probably meant when it is said that the cows roared at the birth of Indra (8, 59[4]).

It is however rather as mountains (*parvata, giri*: p. 10) that they appear in the Indra myth. They are the mountains (1, 32[1]) on which the demons dwell (1, 32[2]; 2, 12[11]), or from which he casts them down (1, 130[7]; 4, 30[14]; 6, 26[5]). Indra shoots forth his well-aimed arrow from these mountains (8, 66[6]). He cleft wide the mountain to release the cows (8, 45[30]). Or the cloud is a rock (*adri*) which encompasses the cows and which Indra moves from its place (6, 17[5]). He loosened the rock and made the cows easy to obtain (10, 112[8]). He released the cows which were fast within the stone (6, 43[3] cp. 5, 30[4]). The cloud rocks or mountains would seem to represent the stationary rainless clouds seen during drought, while the cloud cows would rather be the moving and roaring rain-cloud (p. 10). OLDENBERG (ORV. 140 f.) thinks that to the poets of the RV. the mountains as well as the rivers in the Vṛtra-myth are terrestrial, though he admits that they were originally aerial and at a later period also were understood as such.

In the mythical imagery of the thunderstorm the clouds also very frequently become the fortresses (*puraḥ*)[21] of the aerial demons. They are spoken of as ninety, ninety-nine, or a hundred in number (2, 14[6]. 19[6]; 8, 17[14]. 87[6]). These fortresses are 'moving' (8, 1[28]), autumnal (1, 130[7]. 131[4]. 174[2]; 6, 20[10]), made of metal (2, 20[8]) or stone (4, 30[20])[22]. Indra shatters them (1, 51[5] &c.), and so the epithet 'fort-shatterer' (*pūrbhid*) is peculiar to him. In one verse (10, 111[10]) he is spoken of as a fort-shatterer and lover of waters at the same time. In another the various features of the myth are mentioned together: he slew Vṛtra, broke the castles, made a channel for the rivers, pierced the mountain, and made over the cows to his friends (10, 89[7]).

Owing to the importance of the Vṛtra-myth the chief and specific epithet of Indra is *Vṛtrahan*, 'Vṛtra-slayer'[23]. It is applied about 70 times to him in the RV. The only other deity who receives it with any frequency is Agni; but this is due to Agni's frequent association with Indra as a dual divinity. The few applications of the epithet to Soma are also clearly secondary (§ 37)[24]. Though Indra is sometimes expressly stated to have slain Vṛtra by his own might alone (1, 165[8]; 7, 21[6]; 10, 138[6]) other deities are very often associated with him in the conflict. The gods in general are said to have placed him in the van for action or battle (1, 55[3]; 6, 17[8]) or the slaughter of Vṛtra (8, 12[22]). They are also said to have increased his vigour for the fray with Vṛtra (10, 113[8]), or to have infused might or valour into him (1, 80[15]; 6, 20[2]; 10, 48[3]. 120[3]), or to have placed the bolt in his hands (2, 20[8]). But most frequently he is urged on and fortified by the Maruts (3, 32[4]; 10, 73[1, 2] &c. § 29). Even when the other gods terrified by Vṛtra fled away (8, 85[7] cp. 4, 18[11]; AB. 3, 20), they stood by him; but the Maruts themselves are in one passage said to have deserted him (8, 7[31]). Agni, Soma, and Viṣṇu are often also allied with Indra in the fight with Vṛtra. Even priests on earth sometimes associate themselves with Indra in his combats (5, 30[8]; 8, 51[11]; 10, 44[9]). The worshipper (*jaritā*) is said to have placed the bolt in Indra's hands (1, 63[2]), and the sacrifice is spoken of as having assisted the bolt at the slaughter of the dragon (3, 32[12]). Hymns, prayers, and worship, as well as Soma, are also often described as increasing (√*vṛdh*) the vigour of Indra[25].

Besides Vṛtra, Indra engages in conflict with many minor demons also

(§ 69). One of these, Uraṇa, mentioned only once (2, 14[4]) is described as having 99 arms, while another, Viśvarūpa, is three-headed and six-eyed (10, 99[6]). He does not always slay them with his bolt. Thus one of them, Arbuda, he crushes with his foot or pierces with ice (1, 51[6]; 8, 32[26]). Sometimes Indra is described as destroying demons in general. Thus he is said to sweep away the Asuras with his wheel (8, 85[9]), to consume the Rakṣases with his bolt as fire a dry forest (6, 18[10]) and to overcome the *druhaḥ* or malignant spirits (4, 23[7]. 28[2]).

With the liberation of the waters is connected the winning of light, sun, and dawn. Indra won light and the divine waters (3, 34[8]). The god is invoked to slay Vṛtra and win the light (8, 78[4]). When Indra had slain the dragon Vṛtra with his metallic bolt, releasing the waters for man, he placed the sun visibly in the heavens (1, 51[4]. 52[8]). Indra, the dragon-slayer, set in motion the flood of waters to the sea, generated the sun, and found the cows (2, 19[3]). He gained the sun and the waters after slaying the demons (3, 34[8. 9]). When Indra slew the chief of the dragons and released the waters from the mountain, he generated the sun, the sky and the dawn (1, 32[4]; 6, 30[5]). The sun shone forth when Indra blew the dragon from the air (8, 3[20]). Though the sun is usually the prize of the conflict, it also appears as Indra's weapon, for he burns the demon with the rays of the sun (8, 12[9]). Without any reference to the Vṛtra fight, Indra is said to find the light (3, 34[4]; 8, 15[5]; 10, 43[4]) in the darkness (1, 108[8]; 4, 16[4]). Indra is the generator of the sun (3, 49[4]). He placed the sun, the brilliant light, in the sky (8, 12[30]). He made the sun to shine (8, 3[6]. 87[2]), and made it mount in the sky (1, 7[3]). He gained the sun (1, 100[6. 18]; 3, 34[9]) or found it in the darkness in which it abode (3, 39[5]) and made a path for it (10, 111[3]).

Indra produces the dawn as well as the sun (2, 12[7]. 21[4]; 3, 31[15]; 32[8]. 49[4]). He has made the dawns and the sun to shine (3, 44[2]). He has opened the darkness with the dawn and the sun (1, 62[5]). He steals the dawn with the sun (2, 20[5]). The cows which are mentioned along with sun and dawn (1, 62[5]; 2, 12[7]; 6, 17[5]) or with the sun alone (1, 7[3]; 2, 19[3]; 3, 34[9]; 6, 17[3]. 32[2]; 10, 138[2]) as found, delivered, or won by Indra, probably do not so much represent the waters[26] or rainclouds, as the morning beams (§ 61) or, according to BERGAIGNE (BRV. 1, 245) and others, the red clouds of dawn. The waters are probably meant by the ruddy watery (*apyā*) cows (9, 108[6]), but the morning beams or clouds in the following passages. The dawns on seeing Indra went to meet him, when he became the lord of the cows (3, 31[4]). When he overcame Vṛtra he made visible the cows (*dhenāḥ*) of the nights (3, 34[3] cp. BRV. 2, 200). Dawn is in some passages spoken of in expressions reminding of the winning of the cows. Thus 'Dawn opens the darkness as cows their stall' (1, 92[4]). Dawn opens the doors of the firm rock (7, 79[4]). The cows low towards the dawns (7, 75[7]). The Aṅgirases burst open the cowstalls of Uṣas on the heights (6, 65[5]). The dawn is sometimes said to have been produced along with the sun in the same passages in which the conquest of the waters is celebrated (1, 32[1. 2. 4]; 6, 30[5]; 10, 138[1. 2]). Thus there appears to be a confusion between the notion of the restoration of the sun after the darkness of the thunderstorm and the recovery of the sun from the darkness of night at dawn. The latter trait is in the Indra myth most probably only an extension of the former.

Indra's activity in the thunderstorm is sometimes more directly expressed. Thus he is said to have created the lightnings of heaven (2, 13[7]) and to have directed the action of the waters downwards (2, 17[5]).

With the Vṛtra fight, with the winning of the cows and of the sun, is

also connected that of Soma. When Indra drove the dragon from the air, fires, the sun, and Soma, Indra's juice, shone forth (8, 3[20]). After his victory over the demon, he chose Soma for his drink (3, 36[8]). After he conquered the demons, Soma became his own property (7, 98[5]); he became the king of the Soma mead (6, 20[3]). Indra disclosed the juice pressed with stones and drove out the cows (3, 44[5]). He won Soma at the same time as the cows (1, 32[12]). He found in heaven the hidden nectar (6, 44[23]). He found the honey accumulated in the ruddy cow (*usriyāyām*: 3, 39[6]). The raw cow goes with ripe milk, in the ruddy cow is accumulated all sweetness, which Indra placed there for enjoyment (3, 30[14]). Indra places ripe milk in the cows (8, 32[25]), which are raw (8, 78[7]) black or red (1, 62[9]), and for which he opens the gates (6, 17[6]). These passages seem to have primarily at least a mythological reference to rainclouds, as the context in most cases describes the great cosmical actions of Indra.

Indra is said to have settled the quaking mountains and plains (2, 12[2]; 10, 44[8]). In a later text Indra is said to have cut off the wings of the mountains, which originally alighted wherever they pleased and thus made the earth unsteady. The wings became the thunder clouds (MS. 1, 10[13]). This is a favourite myth in post-Vedic literature. Pischel (VS. 1, 174) traces its origin to a verse of the RV. (4, 54[5]). Indra also fixed the bright realms of the sky (8, 14[9]). He supported the earth and propped the sky (2, 17[5] &c.). He holds asunder heaven and earth as two wheels are kept apart by the axle (10, 89[4]). He stretches out heaven and earth (8, 3[6]) like a hide (8, 6[5]). He is the generator of heaven and earth (8, 36[4] cp. 6, 47[4]). He generated that which is and shall be by his great secret name (10, 55[2]) and made the non-existent into the existent in a moment (6, 24[5]). The separation and supporting of heaven and earth are sometimes described as the result of Indra's victory over a demon (5, 29[4]), who held them together (8, 6[17]). When he was born for the Vṛtra fight, Indra spread out the earth and fixed the sky (8, 78[5]). The dragon-slayer made earth visible to heaven, when he opened a path for the streams (2, 13[5]). Similarly he is said to have found heaven and earth which were hidden (8, 85[16]) or to have won them along with light and waters (3, 34[8]). Possibly the effect of light extending the range of vision and seeming to separate heaven and earth apparently pressed together by darkness, may have been the starting point of such conceptions.

Indra, the wielder of the thunderbolt, who destroys the aerial demons in battle, is constantly invoked by warriors (4, 24[3] &c.). As the great god of battle he is more frequently called upon than any other deity as the helper of the Aryans in their conflicts with earthly enemies. He protects the Aryan colour and subjects the black skin (3, 34[9]; 1, 130[8]). He dispersed 50000 of the black race and rent their citadels (4, 16[13]). He subjected the Dasyus to the Aryan (6, 18[3]) and gave land to the Aryan (4, 26[2]). He turns away from the Ārya the weapon of the Dasyu in the land of the seven rivers (8, 24[27]). Other deities are only occasionally referred to as protectors of the Āryas, as the Aśvins (1, 117[21]), Agni (8, 92[1]), or the gods in general (6, 21[11]).

More generally Indra is spoken of as the one compassionate helper (1, 84[19]; 8, 55[13]. 69[1]), as the deliverer and advocate of his worshippers (8, 85[20]), as their strength (7, 31[5]), and as a wall of defence (8, 69[7]). His friend is never slain or conquered (10, 152[1]). Indra is very often called the friend of his worshippers[27], sometimes even a brother (3, 53[5]), a father (4, 17[17]; 10, 48[1]) or a father and mother in one (8, 87[11]). He was also the friend of the fathers in the olden time (6, 21[8] cp. 7, 33[4]), and the epithet Kauśika which

he once receives (1, 10[11]), implies that he particularly favoured the family of the Kuśikas[28]. Indra does not desire the friendship of him who offers no libations (10, 42[4]). But he bestows goods and wealth on the pious man (2, 19[4]. 22[3]; 7, 27[3]), and is implored not to be diverted by other worshippers (2, 18[3] &c.)[29]. All men share his benefits (8, 54[7]). Both his hands are full of riches (7, 37[3]). He is a treasury filled with wealth (10, 42[2]). He can shower satisfying wealth on his worshippers as a man with a hook shakes down ripe fruit from a tree (3, 45[4]). Gods and mortals can no more stop him wishing to give than a terrific bull (8, 70[3]). He is an ocean of riches (1, 51[1]), and all the paths of wealth lead to him as the rivers to the sea (6, 19[5]). One entire hymn in particular (10, 47) dwells on the manifold wealth which Indra bestows. Cows and horses are the goods which Indra, like other gods, is most often asked to bestow (1, 16[9]. 101[4] &c.), and it is chiefly to him that the epithet *gopati*, 'lord of cows' is applied. His combats are frequently called *gaviṣṭi*, literally 'desire of cows' (8, 24[5] &c.) and his gifts are considered the result of victories (4, 17[10. 11] &c.: cp. BRV. 2, 178). Indra also bestows wives (4, 17[16]) and male children (1, 53[5] &c.). His liberality is so characteristic that the very frequent attribute *maghavan*, 'bountiful' is almost entirely monopolized by him in the RV. (cp. p. 48) and in post-Vedic literature remains his exclusive epithet. The epithet *vasupati*, 'lord of wealth', is also predominantly applicable to Indra.

Though the main myth concerning Indra is his combat with Vṛtra, various other stories attached themselves to him as the performer of heroic deeds. Some passages describe Indra as coming into conflict with Uṣas. He struck down the wain (*anas*) of Dawn (10, 73[6]). He shattered the wain of Uṣas with his bolt and rent her slow (steeds) with his swift (mares: 2, 15[6]). Terrified at the bolt of Indra, Uṣas abandoned her wain (10, 138[5]). Indra performed the heroic manly exploit of striking and crushing the female meditating evil, Uṣas, the daughter of the sky; her wain lay shattered in the river Vipāś and Uṣas fled away in terror (4, 30[8–11]). The obscuration of the dawn by a thunderstorm is usually regarded as the basis of this myth. Against such an interpretation BERGAIGNE urges that it is not Indra who obscures the sky but a demon, and that the application of the bolt, Indra's characteristic weapon, need not be restricted to the Vṛtra-fight. He concludes that the sunrise overcoming the delaying dawn (cp. 2, 15[6]; 5, 79[9]) is here conceived as a victory of Indra bringing the sun[30].

Indra comes in conflict with the sun in the obscure myth about a race run between the swift steed Etaśa, who draws a car, and the sun drawn by his yellow steeds. The sun being ahead is hindered by Indra. His car loses a wheel, a loss which in some way seems to have been caused by Indra (§ 60D). With this myth is probably connected the statement that Indra stopped the tawny steeds of the sun (10, 92[8]). Indra is also associated with the myth of the rape of Soma. For it is to him that the eagle brings the draught of immortality (§ 37). Another myth which is not often mentioned and the details of which chiefly occur in a single hymn (10, 108) is that of the capture by Indra of the cows of the Paṇis (§ 67). These demons, who here seem to be the mythical representatives of the niggards who withhold cows from the pious sacrificer, possess herds of cows which they keep hidden in a cave far away beyond the Rasā, a mythical river. Saramā, Indra's messenger, tracks the cows and asks for them in Indra's name, but is mocked by the Paṇis. In another passage (6, 39[2]) Indra desiring the cows around the rock is said to have pierced Vala's unbroken ridge and to have overcome the Paṇis. Elsewhere the cows are spoken of as confined by the demon

Vala without reference to the Paṇis, and driven out by Indra (2, 12[3]; 3, 30[10]). In various passages the Aṅgirases are associated with Indra in piercing Vala, shattering his strongholds, and releasing the cows (§ 54).

Fragmentary references, often in enumerations, are frequently made to the victory of Indra over Dāsas or Dasyus. These are primarily human foes whose skin is black (1, 130[8] cp. 2, 20[7]), who are noseless (5, 29[10]), are godless and do not sacrifice. Though mythological elements are no doubt largely mingled in the account of his victory over individual Dāsas, the foundation of these myths seems to be terrestrial and human. For while Vṛtra is slain for the good of man in general, individual human beings are mentioned for whom or with whom Indra overcame the Dāsa or Dāsas. These *protégés* of Indra are not as a rule ancestors of priests but are princes or warriors who seem to have been historical. Thus Divodāsa Atithigva[31] is the father of the famous king Sudās, his Dāsa foe being Śambara, the son of Kulitara (§ 69 B). But when the term *dāsa* is applied to the dragon (*ahi*), from whom Indra wrests the waters (2, 11[2]) or to the three-headed six-eyed monster whom Trita combats (10, 99[6]) or to Vyaṃsa who struck off Indra's jaws (4, 18[9]), it unmistakably designates regular demons. An account of Namuci and other Dāsas vanquished by Indra will be found in the chapter on demons.

A myth which seems to have no general significance but to be simply the invention of a later poet of the RV., is that of Indra and Vṛṣākapi, the details of which are given somewhat obscurely in RV. 10, 86. This hymn describes a dispute between Indra and his wife Indrāṇī about the monkey Vṛṣākapi, who is the favourite of the former and has damaged the property of the latter. Vṛṣākapi is soundly threshed and escapes, but afterwards returns, when a reconciliation takes place. v. Bradke considers the story a satire, in which under the names of Indra and Indrāṇī a certain prince and his wife are intended[32].

Among stories preserving historical traits is that of Indra having safely brought Turvaśa and Yadu across the rivers (1, 174[9] &c.). They are the eponymous heroes of two closely connected Aryan tribes, which are, however, sometimes mentioned by the poets in a hostile sense. This varying attitude is a tolerably sure indication of historical matter. Here the national warrior god appears as the patron of Aryan migrations. In another passage Indra is said with Suśravas to have crushed twenty chiefs and their 60099 warriors with fatal chariot wheel. The accounts of the conflicts of king Sudās have all the appearence of a historical character. Thus Indra is said to have helped him in the battle of the ten kings (7, 33[3]), to have aided him in answer to the prayers of his priests the Tṛtsus (among whom Vasiṣṭha is prominent), and to have drowned his foes in the river Paruṣṇī (7, 18[9. 13]).

Finally, a hymn of the RV. (8, 80) relates how a maiden named Apālā having found Soma beside a river and having pressed it with her teeth, dedicates it to Indra who approaches and from whom she receives as a reward the fulfilment of certain desires[33].

Regarded as a whole the attributes of Indra are chiefly those of physical superiority and of dominion over the physical world. Energetic action is characteristic of him, while passive sway is distinctive of Varuṇa. Indra is a universal monarch, not as the applier of the eternal laws of the universe nor as a moral ruler, but as an irresistible warrior whose mighty arm wins victory, whose inexhaustible liberality bestows the highest goods on mankind, and who delighting in the exhileration of magnificent Soma sacrifices, confers rich rewards on the hosts of priests officiating in his worship. The numerous hymns which celebrate him dwell on these features in more or less stereo-

typed terms and are seldom free from references to the Soma offering. He is not usually described as possessing the moral elevation and grandeur of Varuṇa. There are, however, several passages which ascribe to Indra actions characteristic of Varuṇa[34]. There are also a few, mostly in the later books, in which an ethical character is attributed to him and faith in him is confessed or enjoined (1, 55[5] &c.), faith in the reality of his existence being sometimes expressed as against the disbelief of sceptics (2, 12[5] &c.)[35]. Once he is said in a late passage of the RV. to have attained heaven by austere fervour (10, 167[1] cp .159[4]).

To the more intense anthropomorphism of Indra's nature are doubtless due certain sensual and immoral traits which are at variance with the moral perfection elsewhere attributed to him and essential to the character of the Vedic gods. This incongruity cannot be accounted for by different passages representing chronologically different stages in the development of his character, for it is apparent in the words of the same poet, sometimes even in the same verse. It is chiefly connected with his excessive fondness for Soma. In one passage (8, 67[5. 6]) he is said to hear and see everything, viewing the zeal of mortals, and in the next verse his belly is described as full of the vigorous draught. One entire hymn (10, 119) consists of a monologue in which Indra is intoxicated with Soma, boasting of his greatness and capricious power. It is even indicated that he once suffered from the effects of excessive drinking (§ 69). His love of Soma is even represented as having driven him to parricide (4, 18[12]). In judging morally of Indra's immoderate indulgence in Soma, it must be borne in mind that the exhilaration of Soma partook of a religious character in the eyes of the Vedic poets and that the intoxicating influence of Soma itself led to its being regarded as the drink of immortality. It is probably from the latter point of view that Indra is conceived as having performed his grandest cosmical feats, such as fixing heaven and earth, under the influence of Soma (2, 15[2]). And the evident sympathy of the poets with the effect of Soma on the god but reflects the moral standard to the age. Amorous adventures, on the other hand, are entirely absent from the exploits of Indra in the RV. and there is hardly a trace of such even in the Brāhmaṇas, except that he is spoken of as the paramour of Ahalyā the wife of Gautama[36]. It is only natural that the poetry of the Soma offering should have dwelt on the thirsty aspect of his nature.

It has been maintained by ROTH[37] followed by WHITNEY (JAOS. 3, 327) that the preeminence of Varuṇa as belonging to an older order of gods was in the course of the Rigvedic period transferred to Indra. This view is based partly on the fact that not a single entire hymn in the tenth book is addressed to Varuṇa, while Indra is celebrated in forty-five. There are, however, two hymns (126, 185) of book X, in which Varuṇa is lauded with two other Ādityas, and in many single verses of that book Varuṇa is invoked or referred to along with other deities. The argument from the number of hymns is not very cogent, as in all the earlier books of the RV. far more hymns are addressed to Indra than to Varuṇa. In book III no hymn is devoted to Varuṇa but 22 to Indra, and in book II there is only one to Varuṇa and 23 to Indra. Moreover, these two books added together are considerably shorter than the tenth alone. It is, however, true that Varuṇa is much less frequently mentioned in the last book than in the earlier books of the RV. Beyond this fact there seems to be no direct and decisive proof of the supersession of Varuṇa by Indra during the composition of the RV. One hymn (4, 42) of the earlier part, describing in the form of a dialogue the rivalry

between Indra and Varuṇa has, however, been regarded (GKR. 27) as characteristically indicating a transition from an older period in the relative importance of the two gods. The conclusion is perhaps hardly justified by the statements of another (cp. GRV. 2, 401) of the last book (10, 124)[38]. At the same time it must be remembered that on the one hand Varuṇa seems to have occupied a more important position than Indra in the Indo-Iranian period, while on the other, Indra in the Brāhmaṇas (AB. 8, 12) and in the epics has become chief of the Indian heaven and even maintains this position under the Purānic triad Brahmā-Viṣṇu-Śiva, though of course subordinate to them[39]. Varuṇa meanwhile had become divested of his supreme powers by the time of the AV. (p. 26). Thus there must have been at least a gradually increasing popularity of Indra even in the Rigvedic age. By Benfey (OO. 1, 48) and Bréal (Hercule et Cacus 101) Indra in the Vedas is considered rather to have superseded the ancient Dyaus. This may perhaps with greater probability be maintained with regard to the Indo-Iranian Trita Āptya. For Trita though rarely mentioned in the RV. is there described as performing the same exploits as Indra, occasionally appearing even as the more important personage in the myth (§ 23).

The name of Indra occurs only twice in the Avesta[40]. Beyond the fact of his being no god, but only a demon, his character there is uncertain[41]. Indra's distinctive Vedic epithet *vṛtrahan* also occurs in the Avesta in the form of *verethraghna*, which is, however, unconnected with Indra or the thunderstorm myth, designating merely the God of Victory[42]. Thus it is probable that the Indo-Iranian period possessed a god approaching to the Vedic form of the Vṛtra-slaying Indra. It is even possible that beside the thundering god of heaven, the Indo-European period may have known as a distinct conception a thundergod gigantic in size, a mighty eater and drinker, who slays the dragon with his lightning bolt[43]. The etymology[44] of Indra is doubtful, but that the root is connected with that in *indu*, drop, seems likely.

[1] ZDMG. 32, 296—7; WZKM. 9, 232. — [2] HVM. 1, 44, note. — [3] ZDMG. 1, 67. — [4] HVM. 1, 119. — [5] Roth on Nir. 5, 11; KHF. 138—9. — [6] SB. 5, 5, 49; 12, 7, 1[11]; TS. 2, 3, 2, cp. HVM. 1, 266; Zimmer, AIL. 275. — [7] HVM. 238. — [8] PVS. 2, 242—53; Lang, Myth, Ritual and Religion 1, 183; 2, 113 f. 244. — [9] PVS. 2, 249. — [10] Ibid. 2, 51—4; Macdonell, JRAS. 27, 183. — [11] BRV. 3, 58—62; PVS. 1, 44. — [12] Ibid. 1, 211. — [13] Cp. ibid. 2, 38, note 1. — [14] Bloomfield, ZDMG. 48, 549—51. — [15] Ibid. 548. — [16] Macdonell, JRAS. 25, 470—1; 27, 175. — [17] Ibid. 27, 175. — [18] HRI. 92. — [19] Other passages 1, 80[4. 14]; 2, 13[4]; 4, 26[2]; 8, 3[19. 20]. 6[1]; 10, 92[8]. 124[9]; AV. 13, 4[41]. — [20] HVM. 1, 313. — [21] Zimmer, AIL 42. — [22] Also Kāṭhaka IS. 12, 161; JRAS. 27, 181. — [23] ZDMG. 8, 460. — [24] Macdonell, JRAS. 25, 472. — [25] OST. 5, 91—2. — [26] Aufrecht, ZDMG. 13, 497; BRV. 1, 259; KRV. 42 (raincloud). — [27] OST. 5, 104—5. — [28] OST. 5, 348—9. [29] OST. 5, 106—7. — [30] BRV. 2, 193; cp. Sonne, KZ. 10, 416—7; MM. Chips 2, 91 f.; ORV. 169; HRI. 77, note. — [31] BRV. 2, 209; HVM. 1, 96. 107. — [32] ZDMG. 46, 465 cp. ORV. 172—4. — [33] Aufrecht, IS. 4, 1—8; Oldenberg, ZDMG. 39, 76—7. — [34] BRV. 3, 143. — [35] OST. 5, 103—4. — [36] Weber, Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akad. 1887, p. 903. — [37] ZDMG. 6, 73; PW.; cp. BRI. 27. — [38] ORV. 95—7; OST. 5, 121—6. — [39] ZDMG. 6, 77; 25, 31. — [40] Spiegel, Av. Tr. III, lxxxi; Sp.AP. 195; OST. 5, 121, note 212. — [41] Darmesteter, SBE. IV[2], lxxii; Hillebrandt, ZDMG. 48, 422. — [42] Sp.AP. 195. — [43] ORV. 34, note 1; 134; v. Schröder, WZKM. 9, 230. — [44] YN. 10, 8; Sāyaṇa on RV. 1, 34; Benfey, OO. 1, 49; Roth, PW.; MM., LSL. (1891) 2, 543, note; OGR. 218; AR. 396; OST. 5, 119, note. 208; GW.; BB. 1, 342; BRV. 2, 166; Bollensen, ZDMG. 41, 505—7; Jacobi, KZ. 31, 316; IF. 3, 235.

KHF. 8; Roth, ZDMG. 1, 72; Whitney, JAOS. 3, 319—21; Delbrück, ZVP. 1865, 277—9; OST. 5, 77—139; 4, 99—108; LRV. 3, 317; KRV. 40—7; BRI. 12—3; BRV. 2, 159—96; Perry, Indra in the Rigveda, JAOS. 11, 117—208; Hillebrandt, Literaturblatt f. Or. Philol. 1884—5, p. 108; Die Sonnwendfeste in Altindien (1889), 16; Sp. AP. 194—7; HVBP. 60—80; ORV. 134—75; ZDMG. 49, 174—5; HRI. 91—6; v. Schröder, WZKM. 9, 230—4.

§ 23. Trita Āptya. — Trita Āptya is not celebrated in any entire hymn of the RV. but is only incidentally mentioned there in forty passages occurring in twenty-nine hymns. The epithet Āptya accompanies or alternates with Trita seven times in four hymns of the RV. (1, 109; 5, 41; 8, 47; 10, 8). He is oftenest mentioned or associated with Indra; he is seven times connected or identified with Agni, is several times spoken of with the Maruts, and ten times with Soma either as the beverage or the deity. Trita is mentioned alone as having rent Vṛtra by the power of the Soma draught (1, 187[1]).

The Maruts aided Trita and Indra in the victory over Vṛtra (8, 7[24]). Such action must have been regarded as characteristic of Trita, for it is mentioned as an illustration. When Indra in the Vṛtra fight strove against the withholder of rain, he cleft him as Trita cleaves the fences of Vala (1, 52[4.5]). So again the man who is aided by Indra-Agni, pierces rich strongholds like Trita (5, 86[1]). Trita Āptya knowing his paternal weapons and urged by Indra fought against and slew the three-headed son of Tvaṣṭṛ and released the cows (10, 8[8]). In the following stanza Indra performs exactly the same feat; for he strikes off the three heads of Viśvarūpa the son of Tvaṣṭṛ and takes possession of the cows. Indra (or perhaps Agni) subdued the loudly roaring three-headed six-eyed demon and Trita strengthened by his might slew the boar (i. e. the demon, cp. 1, 121[11]) with iron-pointed bolt (10,99[6]). Here the feat performed by the two gods is again identical. Indra produced cows for Trita from the dragon (10, 48[2]). Indra delivered over Viśvarūpa the son of Tvaṣṭṛ to Trita (2, 11[19]). Indra strengthened by the Soma-pressing Trita, cast down Arbuda and with the Aṅgirases rent Vala (2, 11[20]). When the mighty Maruts go forth and the lightnings flash, Trita thunders and the waters roar (5, 54[2]). In two obscure passages of a Marut hymn (2, 34) the bright path of the Maruts is said to shine forth when Trita appears (v. 10) and Trita seems to be conceived as bringing the Maruts on his car (v. 14). In an Agni hymn the winds are said to have found Trita, instructing him to help them (10, 115[4]). The flames of Agni rise when Trita in the sky blows upon him like a smelter and sharpens him as in a smelting furnace (5,9[5]). Trita eagerly seeking him (Agni) found him on the head of the cow; he when born in houses becomes as a youth the centre of brightness, establishing himself in dwellings. Trita enveloped (in flames) seated himself within his place (10, 46[3.6]). Trita is spoken of as in heaven (5,9[5]). His abode is secret (9, 102[2]). It is remote; for the Ādityas and Uṣas are prayed to remove ill deeds and evil dreams to Trita Āptya (8, 47[13—7]). It seems to be in the region of the sun. For the poet says: 'Where those seven rays are, there my origin is extended; Trita Āptya knows that; he speaks for kinship': which seems to mean that he claims kinship with it (1, 105[9]). In the same hymn (v. 17) Trita is described as buried in a well (*kūpe*) and praying to the gods for help; Bṛhaspati heard him and released him from his distress. In another passage (10, 8[7]) Trita within a pit (*vavre*) prays to his father and goes forth claiming his paternal weapons; and in the next stanza (10, 8[8]) he fights with Viśvarūpa. Indra is said to drink Soma beside Viṣṇu, Trita Āptya, or the Maruts (8, 12[16]) and to delight in a hymn of praise beside Trita (Vāl. 4[1]). In the ninth book, doubtless owing to its peculiar character, Trita appears in the special capacity of a preparer of Soma, a feature alluded to only once in the rest of the RV. (2, 11[20]). Soma is purified by Trita (9, 34[4]). Trita's maidens (the fingers) urge the tawny drop with stones for Indra to drink (9, 32[2]. 38[2]). Soma occupies the secret place near the two pressing stones of Trita (9, 102[2]) and is besought

to bring wealth in a stream on the ridges (*pṛṣṭheṣu*) of Trita (9, 102[3]). Soma caused the sun along with the sisters to shine on the summit (*sānu*) of Trita (9, 37[4]). They press out the stalk, the bull that dwells on the mountains, who, like a buffalo, is purified on the summit; hymns accompany him as he roars; Trita cherishes (him who is like) Varuṇa in the ocean (9, 95[4]). When Soma pours the mead, he calls up the name of Trita (9, 86[20]).

There are several passages from which little or nothing can be gathered as to Trita's original nature. Thus his name occurs in some enumerations which furnish no information (2, 31[6]; 5, 41[4]; 10, 64[3]). In two other verses (5, 41[9. 10]) the interpretation is uncertain, as the text seems to be corrupt. In one passage in the middle of a Varuṇa hymn Trita is described as one in whom all wisdom is centred, as the nave in the wheel (8, 41[6]). In another passage Trita is said to have harnessed a celestial steed fashioned from the sun and given by Yama, this steed being in the following stanza said to be identical with Yama, the Sun, and with Trita 'by secret operation' (1, 163[2. 3]). The half dozen passages of the AV.[1] which mention Trita, add no definite information about him. They suggest only the idea of a remote god, to whom guilt or dream is transferred (1, 113[1-3]; 19, 56[4]). The TS. (1, 8, 10[2]) describes Trita as a bestower of long life. This is no doubt a secondary trait[2] accruing to Trita as the preparer of Soma, the draught of immortality. The Brāhmaṇas speak of Trita as one of three deities, the other two being Ekata and Dvita, sons of Agni and born from the waters (ŚB. 1, 2, 3[1. 2]; TB. 3, 2, 8[10. 11]). Sāyaṇa on RV. 1, 105 quotes a story of the Śāṭyāyanins, in which the same three brothers are Ṛṣis, Trita being cast into a well by the other two. It is clear that here the three names have a numerical sense. Dvita already occurs in the RV., once along with Trita (8, 47[16]) and once alone in an Agni hymn (5, 18[2]) and apparently identified with Agni. The name of Trita is not mentioned in the list of deities in the Naighaṇṭuka. Yāska (Nir. 4, 6) explains the word to mean 'very proficient in wisdom' (deriving it from √*tṛ*), or as a numeral referring to the three brothers Ekata, Dvita, Trita. In another passage (Nir. 9, 25) he explains Trita as 'Indra in three abodes' (i. e. heaven, earth, air).

In examining the evidence of the RV. we find that Indra and Trita in three or four passages perform the same feat, that of slaying a demon. Trita in one is impelled by Indra, while in another Indra is inspired by Trita; and twice Indra is said to have acted for Trita. Further, Trita is associated with the Maruts in the thunderstorm. Moreover, he finds Agni, kindles Agni in heaven, and takes up his abode in human dwellings, clearly as a form of Agni. His abode is remote and hidden, and Soma is there. In the ninth book Trita as the preparer of Soma diverges more from Indra, who is only a drinker of Soma. Corresponding to Trita in the Avesta we find Thrita, who is a man (as Trita becomes in the Indian Epic). He is once (Yasna 9, 10) described as the third man who prepared Haoma (= Soma) for the corporeal world (Āthwya = Āptya being the second) and once (Vend. 20, 2) as the first healer who received from Ahura Mazda ten thousand healing plants which grow round the white Haoma, the tree of immortality. Thrita is also called the son of Sāyuzhdri in two passages (Yasht 5, 72; 13, 113) in one of which he is said to have dwelt in Apām napāṭ (as a locality on earth)[3]. This shows that Trita was connected with Soma as early as the Indo-Iranian period. The other side of Trita's activity, the slaughter of the three-headed six-eyed demon or dragon we find in the Avesta transferred to a cognate personage, Thraetaona, who slays the fiendish serpent (*Azi dahāka*), the three-mouthed, three-headed, six-eyed demon. It is noteworthy that Thraetaona in

his expedition against Dahāka is accompanied by two brothers who seek to slay him on the way[4]. The word *tritá* phonetically corresponds to the Greek τρίτος[5], the third. That it was felt to have the meaning of 'the third', is shown by the occurrence beside it of Dvita in the RV. and by the invention of Ekata beside these two in the Brāhmaṇas. The collocation of *trīṇi*, three, with Trita (RV. 9, 102[3]; AV. 5, 1[1]) points in the same direction. Finally, it is highly probable that in one passage of the RV. (6, 44[23])[6] the word *trita* in the plural means 'third'.

Trita's regular epithet Āptya seems to be derived from *āp*, water, and hence to be practically equivalent in sense to Apāṃ napāt[7]. Sāyaṇa (on RV. 8, 47[15]) explains it as 'son (*putra*) of waters'. Another epithet of Trita, *vaibhūvasa*, which is formed like a patronymic and only occurs once (10, 46[3]) may be connected with Soma[8].

The above evidence may perhaps justify the conclusion that Trita was a god of lightning, the third or aerial form of fire, originally the middle member of the triad Agni, Vāyu or Indra, Sūrya. By a process of natural selection Indra seems to have ousted this god originally almost identical in character with himself, with the result that Trita occupies but an obscure position even in the RV. If this interpretation be correct, Trita's original connexion with Soma would signify the bringing of Soma from heaven by lightning (as in the Soma-eagle myth: § 37). The paucity of the evidence has led to many divergent views[9]. Only some of these need be mentioned here. ROTH (ZDMG. 2, 224) considered Trita a water and wind god. HILLEBRANDT[10] regards him as a deity of the bright sky. PERRY believes him to be a god of the storm, older than Indra[11]. PISCHEL who formerly (PVS. 1, 186) thought him to be 'a god of the sea and of the waters' has recently (GGA. 1894, p. 428) expressed the opinion that Trita was originally a human healer who was later deified. HARDY thinks Trita is a moon god[12].

[1] See WHITNEY'S AV. Index verborum, s. v. Tṛta. — [2] Otherwise PISCHEL, GGA. 1894, p. 427. — [3] SP. AP. 193. — [4] SP. AP. 271. — [5] BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 229; according to FICK, Vergleichendes Wörterbuch 1[4], 63. 229, Trita originally meant sea. — [6] ORV. 183, n.; cp. POTT, KZ. 4, 441. — [7] Cp. JOHANSSON, IF. 4, 136. 143. — [8] JRAS. 25, 450. — [9] Stated up to date in JRAS. 25, 4, 19—23. — [10] Varuṇa und Mitra 94—5. — [11] JAOS. 11, 142—5. — [12] HVBP. 35—8.

MACDONELL, The god Trita; JRAS. 25, 419—96. To the authorities here quoted may be added: LRV. 3, 355—7; KRV. 33, note 112 d; BRI. 11; BDA. 82, n. 3; SP.AP. 262—71; BLOOMFIELD, AJP. 11, 341; PAOS. 1894, CXIX—CXXIII; LUDWIG, Ṛgveda-Forschung 117—9; FAY, PAOS. 1894, CLXXIV; AJP. 17, 13; ORV. 143; SBE. 46, 406; HRI. 104; OERTEL, JAOS. 18, 18—20.

§ 24. **Apāṃ napāt.** — The deity called Apāṃ napāt is celebrated in one whole hymn (2, 35), is invoked in two verses of a hymn to the waters (10, 30[3. 4]), and is mentioned by name nearly thirty times altogether in the RV. The waters stood around the brilliant Son of waters; the youthful waters go around him the youthful; three divine females desire to give food to him the divine; he sucks the milk of the first mothers (2, 35[3—5]). He, the bull, engendered the embryo in them; he the child, sucks and they kiss him (v. [13]); the Son of waters growing strong within the waters, shines forth (v. [7]). He shines without fuel in the waters (v. [4]; 10, 30[4]). Clothed in lightning the Son of waters has mounted upright the lap of the slanting (waters); carrying him the swift (waters) golden in colour go around him (v. [9]; cp. Agni in 1, 95[4. 5]). The Son of waters is golden in form, appearance and colour; coming from a golden womb he sits down and gives food to his worshipper (v. [10]). Standing in the highest place he always shines with undimmed (splendour); the swift waters carrying ghee as food to their son, fly

around with their garments (v. ^{14}). The face of the Son of waters, whom the maidens kindle, whose colour is golden, and whose food is ghee, increases in secret (v. ^{11}). He has a cow which in his own house gives good milk (v. ^{7}). Steeds (*vṛṣaṇaḥ*) swift as thought carry the son of waters (1, 186^{5}). The son of waters is connected with rivers (*nădya*: v. ^{1}). The son of waters has engendered all beings, who are merely branches of him (v. $^{2.8}$). In the last stanza of the Apāṃ napāt hymn, the deity is invoked as Agni and must be identified with him. Conversely Agni is in some hymns addressed to him, spoken of as Apāṃ napāt (cp. VS. 8, 24). Agni is the Son of waters ($3, 9^{1}$). He is the Son of waters who sat down on earth as a dear priest (1, 143^{1}). But they are also distinguished. Agni, accordant with the Son of waters, confers victory over Vṛtra (6, 13^{3}). The Son of waters unites here with the body of another as it were ($2, 35^{13}$). The epithet *āśuheman*, 'swiftly speeding'[1], applied three times to Apāṃ napāt, is in its only other occurrence used of Agni.

Apāṃ napāt is mentioned in various enumerations, especially with Aja ekapād (2, 31^{6}; 7, 35^{13}), Ahi budhnya (1, 186^{5}; 2, 31^{6}; 7, 35^{13}), and Savitṛ (2, 31^{6}; 6, 50^{13}). The epithet is directly applied to Savitṛ at least once (p. 33), perhaps because Savitṛ represents another fertilizing form of Agni.

Apāṃ napāt, who is golden, is clothed in lightning, dwells in the highest place, grows in concealment, shines forth, is the offspring of the waters, comes down to earth, and is identified with Agni, appears to represent the lightning form of Agni which is concealed in the cloud. For Agni, besides being directly called Apāṃ napāt, is also termed the embryo (*garbha*) of the waters (7, 9^{3}; 1, 70^{3}). As such he has been deposited in human dwellings (3, 5^{3}), his abode is in the waters (8, 43^{9}) and the two fire-sticks engender Agni who is the embryo both of plants and of waters (3, 1^{13}). Agni is also called the 'son of the rock' (10, 20^{7} cp. 6, 48^{5}), which can hardly refer to anything but the lightning which issues from the cloud mountain. As contrasted with his celestial and terrestrial forms, the third form of Agni is described as kindled in the waters, the ocean, the udder of heaven, the lap of the waters ($10, 45^{1-3}$). In fact the abode of the celestial Agni in the waters is one of the best established points in Vedic mythology[2]. The term Āptya applied to Trita appears to bear a similar interpretation (§ 23).

Apāṃ napāt is not a creation of Indian mythology, but goes back to the Indo-Iranian period. In the Avesta Apãm napāṭ is a spirit of the waters, who lives in their depths, is surrounded by females and is often invoked with them, drives with swift steeds, and is said to have seized the brightness in the depth of the ocean[3]. SPIEGEL[4] thinks this deity shows indications of an igneous nature in the Avesta, and DARMESTETER considers him to be the fire-god as born from the cloud in lightning[5]. L. v. SCHROEDER agrees with this view[6]; some scholars, however, dissent from it. OLDENBERG[7] is of opinion that Apāṃ napāt was originally a water genius pure and simple, who became confused with the water-born Agni, a totally different being. His grounds are, that one of the two hymns in which he is celebrated (10, 30), is connected in the ritual with ceremonies exclusively concerned with water, while even in 2, 35 his aqueous nature predominates[8]. HILLEBRANDT[9], on the other hand, followed by HARDY[10], thinks Apāṃ napāt is the moon, and MAX MÜLLER[11] that he is the sun or lightning.

[1] WINDISCH, FaR. 144. — [2] Cp. especially RV. 3, 1 (GVS. 1, 157—70); also 5, 85^{2}; 7, 49^{4}; 10, 9^{6}. — [3] Cp. HVM. 1, 377—8. — [4] SP.AP. 192—3. — [5] SBE. 4^{2}, LXiii; l'Avesta traduit 2, 630, note, 3, 82 (cp. Ormazd et Ahriman 34); but see HILLEBRANDT, ZDMG. 48, 422. — [6] WZKM. 9, 227—8. — [7] ORV. 118—20, cp.

357. — [8] Cp. v. SCHROEDER, WZKM. l. c.; MACDONELL, JRAS. 27, 955—6. — [9] HVM. 1, 365—80; ZDMG. 48, 422 f. — [10] HVBP. 38 f. — [11] Chips, 4[2], 410; NR. 500.

RIALLE, Revue de Ling. 3, 49 ff.; WINDISCHMANN in SPIEGEL's Zoroastrische Studien 177—86; SPIEGEL, Avesta Tr. 3, xix. LIV; GRV. I, 45; BRV. 2, 17—19. 36—7; 3, 45; Manuel pour étudier le Sanscrit védique, s. v. apāṃ napāt; LRV. 4, 181; GRUPPE, Die griech. Culte 1, 89; BDA. 82, note 2; LRF. 93; MACDONELL, JRAS. 25, 475—6; HRI. 106.

§ 25. Mātariśvan. — Mātariśvan is not celebrated in any hymn of the RV., and the name is found there only twenty-seven times, occurring twenty-one times in the latest portions of that Veda and otherwise only five times in the third and once in the sixth book. In these six older passages Mātariśvan is always either identified with Agni or is the producer of fire. Though the myth of Mātariśvan is based on the distinction between fire and a personification which produces it, the analysis of the myth shows these two to be identical. Nothing even in any of the later books of the RV., can be said to show clearly that the conception of Mātariśvan prevailing in the other Vedas and in the post-Vedic period, had begun to appear in that Veda.

Mātariśvan is a name of Agni in three passages (3, 5[9]. 26[2]; 1, 96[4]). This is probably also the case where the name occurs in the vocative at the end of an Agni hymn (9, 88[19]). In another verse, where an etymological explanation of the name is given, he is spoken of as one of the forms of Agni: 'As heavenly germ he is called Tanūnapāt, he becomes Narāśaṃsa when he is born; when as Mātariśvan he was fashioned in his mother (*amimīta mātari*: cp. 1, 141[5]), he became the swift flight of wind' (3, 29[11]). It is further said elsewhere: 'One being the wise call variously: they speak of Agni, Yama, Mātariśvan' (1, 164[46]). Once Mātariśvan is also a form of Bṛhaspati, who is several times identified with Agni (§ 36): 'That Bṛhaspati appeared (*sam abhavat*) at the rite as Mātariśvan' (1, 190[2]).

Elsewhere Mātariśvan is distinguished from Agni. 'He (Agni) being born in the highest heavens appeared to Mātariśvan' (1, 143[2]). 'Agni first appeared to Mātariśvan and Vivasvat; the two worlds trembled at the choosing of the priest' (1, 31[3]). 'Agni being the highest of the luminaries has supported with his flame the firmament, when Mātariśvan kindled the oblation-bearer who was concealed' (3, 5[10]). This verse follows one in which Agni is directly called Mātariśvan. The only explanation of such a discrepancy in contiguous verses of the same hymn, seems to be that the name of a specific personification of Agni in the latter verse is used as an epithet of the generic Agni in the former. Mātariśvan brought to Bhṛgu as a gift the glorious offerer, the banner of the sacrificial gathering, the messenger who has two births (1, 60[1]). Mātariśvan brought the one (Agni) from the sky, the eagle wrested the other (Soma) from the rock (1, 93[6]). Mātariśvan brought Agni the adorable priest, the dweller in heaven (3, 2[13]). Mātariśvan (and) the gods fashioned Agni, whom the Bhṛgus produced, as the first adorable (priest) for man (10, 46[9]). Him, the god, Mātariśvan has brought from afar for man (1, 128[2]). Mātariśvan, the messenger of Vivasvat, brought hither from afar Agni Vaiśvānara, whom the mighty seized in the lap of the waters (6, 8[4]). Mātariśvan brought from afar the hidden Agni, produced by friction, from the gods (3, 9[5]). Mātariśvan produced by friction the hidden Agni (1, 141[3]). Agni was produced with friction by Mātariśvan and was set up in human abodes (1, 71[4]. 148[1]). Indra produced cows for Trita from the dragon and delivered the cowstalls to Dadhyañc (and) Mātariśvan (10, 48[2]).

There are a few obscure passages in late hymns which hardly shed any further light on the character of Mātariśvan. In two of these he seems to

be regarded as purifying and enjoying Soma (9, 67[31]; 10, 114[1]); and in another, he is mentioned in an enumeration of Fathers beside whom Indra drank Soma (Vāl. 4[2]). Indra is once compared with him as with a skilful artificer (10, 105[6]), probably in allusion to Mātariśvan's skill in producing Agni (cp. 10, 46[9], where the same verb *takṣ* is used). This notion of skill is probably also present in a verse of the wedding hymn (10, 85[47]), where Mātariśvan is invoked along with other deities to join the hearts of two lovers (cp. Tvaṣṭṛ, § 38). Finally, in a very obscure verse (10, 109[1]) Mātariśvan is spoken of as 'boundless' and 'wandering' (*salila*, an adjective several times used with *vāta* in the AV.), attributes which possibly already represent the conception of Mātariśvan to be found in later times.

Mātariśvan would thus appear to be a personification of a celestial form of Agni, who at the same time is thought of as having like Prometheus brought down the hidden fire from heaven to earth. Hardly anything but lightning can be his natural basis. This would account for his being the messenger of Vivasvat from heaven to earth (6,8[4]), just as Agni himself is a messenger of Vivasvat (§ 35) between the two worlds[1]. In the AV. Mātariśvan is still found as a mystic name of Agni (AV. 10, 8[39. 40]); but generally in that (AV. 12, 1[51] &c.) and other Saṃhitās, the Brāhmaṇas and all the subsequent literature, the name is a designation of wind. The transition to this conception is to be found in a passage already quoted (3, 29[11]): 'Agni, when as Mātariśvan he was formed in his mother, became the swift flight of wind'[2], and Agni in the air as a raging serpent is elsewhere compared with the rushing wind (1, 79[1]). Such a statement might easily have been taken later to interpret Mātariśvan as the wind.

The word *mātariśvan*, which is without a cognate in any other Indo-European language, has every appearance of being a purely Indian compound (like *mātaribhvarī*, *ṛjiśvan*, *durgṛbhiśvan*). The Rigvedic poet's explanation of the name as 'he who is formed in his mother' can hardly be dismissed as an etymological conceit, since the word in all likelihood dates from a contemporary phase of language. It probably means 'growing in his mother' (√*śū*, to swell, from which we have *śiśu*, child, and other derivatives)[3], Agni being also said to grow (√*vṛdh*) in his mothers (1, 141[5]). There is a change of accent from the second to the third syllable, probably due to the influence of numerous words in *-van* (like *prātaritvan*). By the mother either the lower *araṇī* or the thundercloud might be meant; but the latter is the more probable, as Mātariśvan comes from heaven. Yāska (Nir. 7, 26), who regards Mātariśvan as a designation of Vāyu, analyzes the compound into *mātari* (= *antarikṣe*) and *śvan* (from *śvas* to breathe or *āśu an* to breathe quickly), so as to mean the wind that breathes in the air.

[1] ORV. 122, n. 1 thinks the frequently expressed opinion that Mātariśvan is nothing but a form of Agni, has no sure foundation, and regards Mātariśvan simply as the Prometheus of the RV.; cp. ORV. 108, n. 1, and SBE. 46, 123. — [2] Cp. BRV. 1, 27; BDA. 51; Oldenberg, SBE. 46, 306. — [3] Cp. Whitney, Sanskrit Roots p. 176; Roth, Nirukta 111—3; Weber, IS. 1, 416; Reuter, KZ. 31, 544—5.

KHF. 8. 14; Muir, JRAS. 20, 416, note; OST. 5, 204, note; Schwartz, KZ. 20, 210; GW. s. v.; BRV. 1, 52—7; BRI. 9; KRV. 35; HVBP. 110; Eggeling, SBE. 12, 186, note 2; ORV. 122—3.

§ 26. Ahi budhnya. — The serpent of the Deep, Ahi budhnya, whose name is mentioned solely in hymns to the Viśvedevas, is spoken of only twelve times in the RV. and hardly ever alone. He is associated five times with Aja ekapād, three times with Apāṃ napāt, three times with the ocean (*samudra*), and twice with Savitṛ. There are only three verses (5, 41[16];

7, 34[16. 17]) in which he is invoked alone. When only one other deity is referred to with him, it is either Apāṃ napāt (1, 186[5]) or Aja ekapād (10, 64[4]). When Ahi budhnya and Aja ekapād are mentioned together in the same verse, they are always (with the slight exception of 10, 66[11]) in juxtaposition. The most characteristic enumerations in which the name is invoked are: Aja ekapād, Ahi budhnya, the ocean, Apāṃ napāt, Pṛśni (7, 35[13]); Ahi budhnya, Aja ekapād, Trita, Ṛbhukṣan, Savitṛ, Apāṃ napāt (2, 31[6]); the ocean, the stream, the space (*rajas*), the air, Aja ekapād, the thundering flood, Ahi budhnya, and all the gods (10, 66[11]). Judged by these associates Ahi budhnya would seem to be an atmospheric deity, and he is enumerated in the Naighaṇṭuka (5, 4) among the divinities of the middle or aerial region. But it is only where he is mentioned alone that anything more definite than this can be gathered. In the verse which gives most information about him, the poet exclaims: 'I praise with songs the serpent born in water (*abjām*), sitting in the bottom (*budhne*) of the streams in the spaces' (7, 34[16]; cp. 10, 93[5]). This indicates that he dwells in the atmospheric ocean, and Yāska explains *budhna* as air (Nir. 10, 44). In the verse immediately following he is besought not to give his worshippers over to injury, and these identical words are addressed to him in another passage also (5, 41[16]). This suggests that there is something hurtful in his nature. Ahi is otherwise a term commonly applied to Vṛtra (§ 68), and Vṛtra enclosing the waters is described as overflowed by the waters or lying in them (ibid.) or at the bottom (*budhna*) of the air (1, 52[6]). Agni in the space of air is called a raging *ahi* (1, 79[1]) and is also said to have been produced in the depth (*budhne*) of the great space (4, 11[1]). Thus it may be surmised that Ahi budhnya was originally not different from Ahi Vṛtra, though he is invoked as a divine being, who resembles Apāṃ napāt, his baleful aspect only being hinted at. In later Vedic texts Ahi budhnya is allegorically connected with Agni Gārhapatya (VS. 5, 33; AB. 3, 36; TB. 1, 1, 10[3]). In post-Vedic literature Ahi budhnya is the name of a Rudra as well as an epithet of Śiva.

WEBER, IS. 1, 96; ROTH, PW. s. v. *budhnya*; OST. 5, 336; BRV. 2, 205—6. 401; 3, 24—5; HVBP. 41 (as a name of the moon).

§ 27. Aja ekapād. — This being is closely connected with Ahi budhnya, his name occurring five times in juxtaposition with that of the latter and only once unaccompanied by it (10, 65[13]). The deities invoked in the latter passage, 'the thundering Pāvīravī ('daughter of lightning': PW.), Ekapād aja, the supporter of the sky, the stream, the oceanic waters, all the gods, Sarasvatī', are, however, almost identical with those enumerated in the following hymn: 'the ocean, the stream, the aerial space, Aja ekapād, the thundering flood, Ahi budhnya, and all the gods' (10, 66[11]). These two passages suggest that Aja ekapād is an aerial deity. He is, however, enumerated in the Naighaṇṭuka (5, 6) among the deities of the celestial region. In the AV. Aja ekapāda is said to have made firm the two worlds (AV. 13, 1[6]). The TB. (3, 1, 2[8]) speaks of Aja ekapād as having risen in the east. The commentator on his passage defines Aja ekapād as a kind of Agni, and Durga on Nirukta 12, 29 interprets him as the sun. Yāska himself does not express an opinion as to what Aja ekapād represents, merely explaining *Aja* as *ajana*, driving, and *ekapad* as 'he who has one foot' or 'he who protects or drinks with one foot'. Though hardly any longer an independent deity, Aja ekapād as well as Ahi budhnya receives a libation in the domestic ritual (Pārask. 2, 15[2]). In the Epic Ajaikapād is both the name of one of the eleven Rudras and an epithet of Śiva.

ROTH[1], with whom GRASSMANN agrees[2], regards Aja ekapād as a genius

of the storm, translating the name as the 'one-footed Driver or Stormer'. BLOOMFIELD[3] and VICTOR HENRY[4] think he represents a solar deity. HARDY[5] believes that 'the goat who goes alone' is the moon. BERGAIGNE[6], interpreting the name as 'the unborn (*a-ja*) who has only one foot', thinks this means he who inhabits the one isolated mysterious world. If another conjecture may be added, the name, meaning 'the one-footed goat'[7], was originally a figurative designation of lightning, the 'goat' alluding to its agile swiftness in the cloud-mountains, and the one foot to the single streak which strikes the earth.

[1] PW. s. v. *aja*; Nirukta, Erl. 165—6 (cp. OST. 5, 336). — [2] GW. s. v. 1 *aja*; cp. FAY, AJP. 17, 24—5. — [3] AJP. 12, 443; SBE. 42, 664. — [4] Les hymnes Rohita, Paris 1891, p. 24. — [5] HVBP. 41—2. — [6] BRV. 3, 23. — [7] ORV. 71—2; cp. BRI. 24. WEBER, IS. 1, 96.

§ 28. Rudra. — This god occupies a subordinate position in the RV., being celebrated in only three entire hymns, in part of another, and in one conjointly with Soma, while his name occurs about 75 times.

His physical features in the RV. are the following. He has a hand (2, 33[7] &c.), arms (2, 33[3]; VS. 16, 1), and firm limbs (2, 33[11]). He has beautiful lips (2, 33[5]) and (like Pūṣan) wears braided hair (1, 114[1. 5]). His colour is brown (*babhru*: 2, 33[5] &c.). His shape is dazzling (1, 114[5]), and he is multiform (2, 33[9]). He shines like the brilliant sun, like gold (1, 43[5]). He is arrayed with golden ornaments (2, 33[9]) and wears a glorious multiform necklace[1] (*niṣka*: 2, 33[10]). He sits on a car-seat (2, 33[4]). The later Saṃhitās (especially VS. 16) add a number of other traits. He is thousand-eyed (AV. 11, 2[2. 7], VS. 16, 7). He has a belly, a mouth, a tongue, and teeth (AV. 11, 2[6]). His belly is black and his back red (AV. 15, 1[7. 8]). He is blue-necked (VS. 16, 7) and blue-tufted (AV. 2, 27[6]). He is copper-coloured and red (VS. 16, 7). He is clothed in a skin (VS. 3, 61; 16, 51) and dwells in mountains (VS. 16, 2—4).

The RV. often mentions Rudra's weapons of offence. He is once said to hold the thunderbolt in his arm (2, 33[3]). His lightning shaft (*didyut*) discharged from the sky traverses the earth (7, 46[3]). He is usually said to be armed with a bow and arrows (2, 33[10. 11]; 5, 42[11]; 10, 125[6]), which are strong and swift (7, 46[1]). He is invoked with Kṛśānu (§ 48) and the archers (10, 64[8]); and seems to be intended when Indra is compared with the archer on the car-seat (6, 20[9], cp. 2, 33[11]). In the AV. he is also called an archer (1, 28[1]; 6, 93[1]; 15, 5[1—7]). In that and other later Vedic texts his bow, arrow, weapon, bolt, or club are frequently referred to (AV. 1, 28[5] &c.; ŚB. 9, 1, 1[6]).

One of the points most frequently mentioned about Rudra is his relationship to the Maruts. He is their father (1, 114[6. 9]; 2, 33[1]); or they are more frequently spoken of as his sons and are also several times called Rudras or Rudriyas[2]. He is said to have generated them from the shining udder of Pṛśni (2, 34[2])[3]. But Rudra is never associated, as Indra is, with the warlike exploits of the Maruts, for he does not engage in conflict with the demons. *Tryambaka*, a common epithet of Śiva in post-Vedic literature, is already applied to Rudra in Vedic texts (VS. 3, 58; ŚB. 2, 6, 2[9]) and seems to refer to him once even in the RV. (7, 59[12]). The meaning appears to be 'he who has three mothers' (cp. 3, 56[5]) in allusion to the threefold division of the universe (cp. GRV. 1, 555). Ambikā, a post-Vedic name of Śiva's wife, is mentioned for the first time in VS. 3, 5, appearing here, however, not as Rudra's wife, but as his sister. Umā and Pārvatī, regular names of Śiva's wife, seem first to occur in the TA. and the Kena Upaniṣad.

In a passage of the RV. (2, 1[6]) Rudra is one of several deities identified

with Agni. He is also identified with Agni in the AV. (7, 87[1]), in the TS. (5, 4, 3[1]; 5, 5, 7[4]), and the ŚB. (6, 1, 3[10], cp. 9, 1, 1[1]). The word *rudra* often occurs as an adjective, in several cases as an attribute of Agni[4] (though rather oftener as an attribute of the Aśvins (§ 21). Śarva and Bhava are, among several others, two new names assigned to Rudra in VS. (16, 18. 28). These two also occur in the AV. where their destructive arrows and lightnings are referred to (2, 27[6]; 6, 93[1]; 10, 1[23]; 11, 2[1. 12]); but they seem here to have been regarded as deities distinct from one another and from Rudra. Bhava and Śarva are in a Sūtra passage spoken of as sons of Rudra and are compared with wolves eager for prey (ŚSS. 4, 20[1]). In VS. 39, 8 Agni, Aśani, Paśupati, Bhava, Śarva, Īśāna, Mahādeva, Ugradeva, and others are enumerated as gods or forms of one god. Rudra, Śarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Aśani, Bhava, Mahān devaḥ are names given to represent eight different forms of Agni (ŚB. 6, 1, 3[7]; cp. Sāṅkh. Br. 6, 1 &c.), and Śarva, Bhava, Paśupati, and Rudra are said to be all names of Agni (ŚB. 1, 7, 3[8]). Aśani, one of the above names assigned to Agni Kumāra in the ŚB. (6, 1, 3[10]), is there explained to mean lightning (*vidyut*) but in the Śāṅkh. Br. it is interpreted as Indra. The epithet *paśupati*, 'lord of beasts', which Rudra often receives in the VS., AV., and later, is doubtless assigned to him because unhoused cattle are peculiarly exposed to his attacks and are therefore especially consigned to his care.

Rudra is described in the RV. as fierce (2, 33[9. 11]; 10, 126[5]) and destructive like a terrible beast (2, 33[11]). He is the ruddy[5] (*aruṣa*) boar of heaven (1, 114[5]). He is a bull (2, 33[7. 8. 15]). He is exalted (7, 10[4]), strong (1, 43[1]. 114[1]), strongest of the strong (2, 33[3]), unassailable (7, 46[1]), unsurpassed in might (2, 33[10]), rapid (10, 92[5]), and swift (1, 114[4]). He is young (2, 33[1]; 5, 60[5]) and unaging (6, 49[10]). He is called *asura* (5, 42[11]) or the great *asura* of heaven[6] (2, 1[6]). He is self-glorious (1, 129[3]; 10, 92[9]), rules heroes (1, 114[1. 2] &c.), and is a lord (*īśāna*) of this vast world (2, 33[9]) and father of the world (6, 49[10]). He is an ordainer (6, 46[1]), and by his rule and universal dominion he is aware of the doings of men and gods (7, 46[2]). He makes the streams flow over the earth and, roaring, moistens everything (10, 92[5]). He is intelligent (1, 43[1]), wise (1, 114[4]), and beneficent (2, 33[7]; 6, 49[10]). He is several times called 'bountiful', *mīḍhvas* (1, 114[3]), and in the later Vedas the comparative and superlative of this word have only been found in connexion with Rudra[7]. He is easily invoked (2, 33[6]) and is auspicious, *śiva* (10, 92[9]), an epithet which is not even in the AV. as yet peculiar to any particular deity.

Malevolence is frequently attributed to Rudra in the RV.; for the hymns addressed to him chiefly express fear of his terrible shafts and deprecation of his wrath. He is implored not to slay or injure, in his anger, his worshippers, their parents, children, men, cattle, or horses (1, 114[7. 8]), but to spare their horses (2, 33[1]), to avert his great malevolence and his bolt from his worshippers, and to prostrate others with them (2, 33[11. 14]). He is besought to avert his bolt when he is incensed and not to injure his adorers, their children, and their cows (6, 28[7]. 46[2-4]), and to keep from them his cow-slaying, man-slaying missile (2, 33[1]). His ill-will and anger are deprecated (2, 33[4-6. 15]), and he is besought to be merciful to the walking food (10, 169[1]). His worshippers pray that they may be unharmed and obtain his favour (2, 33[1. 6]). He once even receives the epithet 'man-slaying' (4, 3[6]), and in a Sūtra passage it is said that this god seeks to slay men (AG. 4, 8[32]). Rudra's malevolence is still more prominent in the later Vedic texts. His wrath is frequently deprecated (VS. 3, 61 &c.; AV. 1, 28[5] &c.). He is invoked not to assail his worshippers with celestial fire and to cause the lightning to

descend elsewhere (AV. 11, 2[26]; 10, 1[23]). He is even said to assail with fever, cough, and poison[8] (AV. 11, 2[22. 26]; 6, 90 cp. 93). Rudra's wide-mouthed, howling dogs, who swallow their prey unchewed, are also spoken of (AV. 10, 1[30], cp. VS. 16, 28). Even the gods were afraid of the strung bow and the arrows of Rudra, lest he should destroy them (ŚB. 9, 1, 1[1. 6]). Under the name of Mahādeva he is said to slay cattle (TMB. 6, 9[7]). In another Brāhmaṇa passage he is said to have been formed of a compound of all the most terrible substances (AB. 3, 33[1]). It is probably owing to his formidable characteristics that in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras Rudra is regarded as isolated from the other gods. When the gods attained heaven, Rudra remained behind (ŚB. 1, 7, 3[1]). In the Vedic ritual after offerings to other gods, a remainder is not uncommonly assigned to Rudra (Gobh. GS. 1, 8[28]; Āp. Dh. S. 2, 4[23]). His hosts, which attack man and beast with disease and death, receive the bloody entrails of the victim (ŚŚS. 4, 19[8]), just as blood is poured out to demons as their peculiar share of the sacrifice[9] (AB. 2, 7[1]). The abode of Rudra in these later texts is commonly regarded as in the north[10], while that of the other gods is in the east. It is perhaps due to his formidable nature that in the RV. Rudra only appears once associated with another deity (Soma: § 44) as a dual divinity in one short hymn of four stanzas.

In the VS., besides many other epithets too numerous to repeat, several disgraceful attributes of Rudra are mentioned. Thus he is called a 'robber, cheat, deceiver, lord of pilferers and robbers' (16, 20—1). In fact, his character as shown by the various epithets occurring here, approximates to the fierce, terrific, impure, and repulsive nature of the post-Vedic Śiva.

Rudra is, however, not purely maleficent like a demon. He is also supplicated in the RV. to avert the anger or the evil that comes from the gods (1, 114[4]; 2, 33[7]). He is besought not only to preserve from calamity (5, 51[13]), but to bestow blessings (1, 114[1. 2]; 2, 33[6]), and produce welfare for man and beast (1, 43[6]). His healing powers are mentioned with especial frequency. He grants remedies (2, 33[12]), he commands every remedy (5, 42[11]), and has a thousand remedies (7, 46[3]). He carries in his hand choice remedies (1, 114[5]), and his hand is restorative and healing (2, 33[7]). He raises up heroes by his remedies, for he is the greatest physician of physicians (2, 33[4]), and by his auspicious remedies his worshipper hopes to live a hundred winters (2, 33[2]). He is besought to remove sickness from his worshippers' offspring (7, 46[2]) and to be favourable to man and beast, that all in the village may be well-fed and free from disease (1, 114[1]). In this connexion Rudra has two epithets which are peculiar to him, *jalāṣa*, (perhaps) 'healing' and *jalāṣa-bheṣaja*, 'possessing healing remedies (1, 43[4]; AV. 2, 27[6]). These medicines against sickness are probably rains[11] (cp. 5, 53[14]; 10, 59[9]). That this attribute was essential to his nature, appears from a verse of a hymn in which various deities are characterized without being named (8, 29[5]): 'One bright, fierce, possessing healing remedies, holds a sharp weapon in his hand'. Rudra's lightning and his remedies are also mentioned together in another verse (7, 46[3]). The healing Rudra with the Rudras is invoked to be favourable (7. 35[6]). The Maruts are also in another verse associated with Rudra as possessing pure and beneficent remedies (2, 33[13]). The healing power of Rudra is sometimes referred to in the other Saṃhitās (VS. 3, 59; 16, 5. 49; AV. 2, 27[6]); but much less frequently than his destructive activity. In the Sūtras, sacrifices to him are prescribed for removing or preventing disease in cattle (AG. 4, 8[40]; Kauś. S. 51, 7 &c.).

The evidence of the RV. does not distinctly show with what physical

basis Rudra is connected. He is generally regarded as a storm-god. But his missile is maleficent, unlike that of Indra, which is directed only against the enemies of his worshippers. Rudra appears therefore to have originally represented not the storm pure and simple, but rather its baleful side in the destructive agency of lightning[12]. This would account for his deadly shafts and for his being the father or chief of the Maruts or Storm-gods, who are armed with lightning and who are said to have been born 'from the laughter of lightning' (1, 23^{12}). His beneficent and healing powers would be based partly on the fertilizing and purifying action of the thunderstorm and partly on the indirect action of sparing those whom he might slay. Thus the deprecations of his wrath gave rise to the euphemistic epithet 'auspicious' (*śiva*), which became the regular name of Rudra's historical successor in post-Vedic mythology. This explanation would also account for Rudra's close connexion with Agni in the RV.

WEBER[13] expresses the view that this deity in the earliest period specially designated the howling of the Storm (the plural therefore meaning the Maruts), but that as the roaring of fire is analogous, Storm and Fire combined to form a god of rage and destruction, the epithets of the Śatarudriya being derived partly from Rudra = Storm and partly from Agni = Fire. H. H. WILSON thought that Rudra was 'evidently a form of either Agni or Indra'[14]. L. v. SCHROEDER[15] regards Rudra as originally the chief of the souls of the dead conceived as storming along in the wind (cp. p. 81). OLDENBERG is of opinion that Rudra probably represented in his origin a god of mountain and forest, whence the shafts of disease attack mankind[16].

The etymology of the word *rudra* is somewhat uncertain as regards the meaning. It is generally derived from the root *rud*, to cry, and interpreted as the Howler[17]. This is the Indian derivation[18]. By GRASSMANN[19] it is connected with a root *rud* having the conjectural meaning of 'to shine' or, according to PISCHEL, 'to be ruddy'[20]. Rudra would thus mean the 'bright' or the 'red one'[21].

[1] Cp. PISCHEL, ZDMG. 40, 120—1. — [2] 1, $64^{2.12}$. 85^{11}; 5, 42^{15}; 6, 50^{4}. 66^{11}; 8, 20^{17} (cp. 5, 59^{8}; 7, 56^{1}. 58^{5}). — [3] Vāyu is once said to have generated the Maruts from the sky (1, 134^{4}) and Vāta is approximated to Rudra in 10, 169^{1}. — [4] 1, 27^{10} (cp. Nir. 10, 8; Erl. 136); 3, 2^{5}; 4, 3^{1}; 5, 3^{3}; 8, 61^{3}. — [5] Cp. BLOOMFIELD, AJP. 12, 429; PVS. 1, 57; ORV. 359, note 4. — [6] Cp. BDA. 46. 54; GELDNER, FaW. 20. — [7] BLOOMFIELD, AJP. 12, 428—9. — [8] Cp. BLOOMFIELD'S explanation (AJP. 7, 469—72) of AV. 1, 12 as a prayer to lightning conceived as the cause of fever, headache, and coughs (otherwise WEBER, IS. 4, 405). — [9] HRI. 250, note 2; cp. ORV. 488. 302—3. 334—5. 458. — [10] Cp. ORV. 335, note 3. — [11] The remedy is explained by BRV. 3, 32 as Soma, the draught of immortality, and by BLOOMFIELD (AJP. 12, 425—9) followed by HVBP. 83—4, and HOPKINS, PAOS. Dec. 1894, CL ff., as rain (*jalāṣa* = the *mūtra* of Rudra). — [12] MACDONELL, JRAS. 27, 957; HOPKINS, PAOS. Dec. 1894, p. CLI; HRI. 112; cp. KRV. 38, note 133. — [13] IS. 2, 19—22. — [14] Translation of the RV., introductions to vol. 1, 26—7. 37—8; cp. vol. 2, 9—10. — [15] WZKM. 9, 248. — [16] ORV. 216—24 (cp. HOPKINS, PAOS. l. c.). — [17] KUHN, Herabkunft 177; KZ. 2, 278; 3, 335; WEBER, IS. 2, 19—22; MM., OGR. 216; otherwise v. BRADKE, ZDMG. 40, 359—61. — [18] TS. 1, 5, 1^{1}; ŚB. 6, 1, 3^{10}; YN. 10, 5; Sāyaṇa on RV. 1, 114^{1}. — [19] GW. — [20] PVS. 1, 57; ZDMG. 40, 120. — [21] Cp. BRI. 14; HVBP. 83.

ROTH, ZDMG. 2, 222; WHITNEY, JAOS. 3, 318—9; Oriental and Linguistic Studies 1873, p. 34—5; OST. 4, 299—363. 420—3; LRV. 3, 320—2; BRV. 3, 31—8. 152—4; v. SCHROEDER, WZKM. 9, 233—8. 248—52; HRI. 99. 578.

§ 29. **The Maruts.** — These are prominent deities in the RV., thirty-three hymns being dedicated to them alone, seven at least to them conjointly with Indra, and one each to them with Agni and Pūṣan. They form a troop, *gaṇa* (a word generally used in connexion with them) or *śardhas* (1, $37^{1.5}$ &c.),

of deities mentioned only in the plural. Their number is thrice sixty (8, 85[8]) or thrice seven (1, 133[6]; AV. 13, 1[13]). Their birth is often referred to (5, 57[5] &c.). They are the sons of Rudra (p. 74), being also often called Rudras (1, 39[4. 7] &c.) and sometimes Rudriyas (1, 38[7]; 2, 34[10] &c.), and of Pṛśni (2, 34[2]; 5, 52[16]. 60[5]; 6, 66[3]), often also receiving the epithet *pṛśnimātaraḥ*, 'having Pṛśni for their mother' (1, 23[10] &c.; AV. 5, 21[11]). The cow Pṛśni (5, 52[16]), or simply a cow is their mother (8, 83[1]) and they bear the epithet *gomātaraḥ*, 'having a cow for their mother' (1, 85[3], cp. 8, 20[8]). This cow presumably represents the mottled storm-cloud (§§ 43. 61 B.); and the flaming cows having distended udders with whom they come (2, 34[5]), can hardly refer to anything but the clouds charged with rain and lightning. When born from Pṛśni the Maruts are compared with fires (6, 66[1-3]). They are also said to have been born from the laughter of lightning (1, 23[12], cp. 38[8]). Agni is said to have fashioned or begotten them (6, 3[8]; 1, 71[8]). Vāyu is once said to have engendered them in the wombs of heaven (1, 134[4]), and once they are called the sons of heaven (10, 77[2]), being also referred to as the heroes (*vīrāḥ*) of heaven (1, 64[4]. 122[1]; 5, 54[10]) or as the males (*maryāḥ*) of heaven (3, 54[13]; 5, 59[6]). Once they are said to have the ocean for their mother, *sindhumātaraḥ* (10, 78[6] cp. p. 51). Elsewhere they are said to be self-born (1, 168[2]; 5, 87[2]).

They are brothers among whom none is eldest or youngest (5, 59[6]. 60[5]), for they are equal in age (1, 165[1]). They have grown together (5, 56[5]; 7, 58[1]) and are of one mind (8, 20[1. 21]). They have the same birthplace (5, 53[3]) and the same abode (1, 165[1]; 7, 56[1]). They are spoken of as having grown on earth, in air, and heaven (5, 55[7]) or as dwelling in the three heavens (5, 60[6]). They are also once described as dwelling in the mountains (8, 83[1 2]).

They are associated with the goddess Indrāṇī, who is their friend (10, 86[9]), and with Sarasvatī (7, 96[2], cp. 39[5]). Their connexion is, however, closest with the goddess Rodasī, who is described as standing with them on their car bringing enjoyments (5, 56[8]) or simply as standing beside them (6, 66[6]). In all the five passages in which her name occurs, she is mentioned with them (cp. 1, 167[4. 5]). She therefore appears to have been regarded as their bride (like Sūryā as the bride of the Aśvins). It is probably to this connexion that they owe the epithet *bhadrajānayaḥ*, 'having a beautiful wife' (5, 61[4]) and their comparison with bridegrooms (5, 60[4]) or youthful wooers (10, 78[6]).

The brilliance of the Maruts is constantly referred to. They are golden, of sun-like brightness, like blazing fires, of ruddy aspect (6, 66[2]; 7, 59[11]; 8, 7[7]). They shine like tongues of fire (10, 78[3]). They have the form or the brilliance of Agni (10, 84[1]; 3, 26[5]), with whom they are compared in brightness (10, 78[2]). They are like fires (2, 34[1]) or kindled fires (6, 66[2]) and are expressly called fires (3, 26[4]). They have the brilliance of serpents (*ahibhānavaḥ*: 1, 172[1]). They shine in the mountains (8, 7[1]). They are self-luminous (1,37[2]&c.), an epithet almost exclusively applied to them. They are frequently spoken of in a more general way as shining and brilliant (1, 165[12] &c.).

They are particularly often associated with lightning, *vidyut* (5, 54[2.3.11]; 1, 64[5]). The lightnings smile down on earth when the Maruts shed their ghee (1, 168[8], cp. 5, 52[6]). The lightning lows like a cow, as a mother following her calf, when they shed their rain (1,38[8]). They are like lightnings shining with rain (7, 56[13]). Lightning is so characteristic of them that all the five compounds of *vidyut* in the RV. are connected with the Maruts and,

excepting a single instance, with them only. They hold lightnings in their hands (8, 7[25]; 5, 54[11]), they delight in lightnings and cast a stone (5, 54[3]). Their lances (*ṛṣṭi*) are often mentioned, and that these represent the lightning is shown by their epithet *ṛṣṭividyut*, 'lightning-speared' (1, 168[5]; 5, 52[13]). Less frequently they are spoken of as having axes (1, 37[2]. 88[3]; 5, 33[4]. 57[2]; 8, 20[4]), which are golden (8, 7[32]). Once (ibid.) they are said to bear the bolt (*vajra*), Indra's peculiar weapon, in their hands. Sometimes they are said to be armed with bows and arrows (5, 53[4]. 57[2]; 8, 20[4. 12]), once being termed archers shooting an arrow; but as this trait is rare in the numerous hymns addressed to them, it may be borrowed from their father Rudra. The Maruts are decorated with garlands and other ornaments (5, 53[4]). They wear golden mantles (5, 55[6]). Like rich wooers they deck their bodies with golden ornaments (5, 60[4]). Armlets or anklets (*khādi*) are an ornament peculiar to them. With these they shine like the sky with stars and glitter like showers from the clouds (2, 34[2]). One verse describes their appearance more fully than usual. They have spears on their shoulders, anklets on their feet, golden ornaments on their breasts, fiery lightnings in their hands, golden helmets upon their heads (5, 54[11]).

The Maruts ride on cars which gleam with lightning (1, 88[1]; 3, 54[13]), which are golden (5, 57[1]), which have golden wheels or fellies (1, 64[11]. 88[5]), in which are weapons (5, 57[6]), and which have buckets standing in them (1, 87[2]). The coursers which draw their cars are ruddy or tawny (1, 88[2]; 5, 57[4]), golden-footed (8, 7[27]), and swift as thought (1, 85[4]). These coursers are spotted, as appears from the epithet *pṛṣadaśva*, 'having spotted steeds', which is several times and exclusively connected with the Maruts. More frequently the animals which draw their car are spoken of in the feminine as *pṛṣatīḥ* (1, 39[6] &c.). These are in two passages (5, 55[6]. 58[6]), mentioned with the masculine *aśvāḥ*. The Maruts are also described as having yoked the winds as steeds to their pole (5, 58[7]).

The Maruts are great as the sky (5, 57[4]), they surpass heaven and earth (10, 77[3]), are immeasurable in greatness (5, 58[2]), and no others can reach the limit of their might (1, 167[9]). The Maruts are young (1, 64[2]. 165[2]; 5, 42[15]) and unaging (1, 64[3]). They are divine (*asura*), vigorous, impetuous, without soil (1, 64[2. 12]) and dustless (6, 66[2]). They are fierce (1, 19[4]), irascible (7, 56[8]), terrible (5, 56[2. 3]; 7, 58[2]), of terrible aspect (5, 56[2]), of fearful form (1, 19[5]. 64[2]), and are terrible like wild beasts (2, 34[1]; cp. p. 75). They are playful like children or calves (1, 166[2]; 7, 56[16]; 10, 78[6]). They are like black-backed swans (7, 59[7]). They are iron-tusked boars (1, 88[5]); they are like lions (1, 64[8]).

The noise which they make is often referred to (1, 169[7] &c.) and is expressly called thunder (1, 23[11]); but it is also the roaring of the winds (7, 56[3]). At their coming heaven as it were roars with fear (8, 7[26]). They are often described as causing the mountains to quake as well as making the earth or the two worlds tremble[1]. With the fellies of their cars they rend the mountains or the rock (1, 64[11]; 5, 52[9]). It is when they come with the winds that they cause the mountains to quake (8, 7[4]). They rend trees and like wild elephants devour the forests (1, 39[5]. 64[7]). The forests bow down before them through fear (5, 60[2]). Resistless as mountains they cast down terrestrial and celestial creatures (1, 64[3]). All creatures are afraid of them (1, 85[8]). They speed like boisterous winds (10, 78[3]) and whirl up dust (1, 64[12]). They make the winds or the noise of the winds (7, 56[3]). They come with the winds (8, 7[3. 4. 17]) and take them as their steeds (5, 58[7]).

One of the main functions of the Maruts is to shed rain. They are

clothed with rain (5, 57^{4}). They rise from the ocean and shed rain (1, 38^{9}). Milking the unfailing well, they blow through the two worlds with rain (1, 64^{6}; 8, 7^{16}). Rain follows them (5, 53^{10}). They bring water and impel rain (5, 58^{3}). They obscure their brilliance with rain (5, 59^{1}). They cover the eye of the sun with rain (5, 59^{5}). They create darkness with the cloud when they shed rain (1, 38^{9}). They scatter mist when they speed with winds (8, 7^{4}). They cause the heavenly pail (5, 53^{6}. 59^{8}) and the streams of the mountains to pour (5, 59^{7}). When they hurry on, the waters flow (5, 58^{6}). A terrestrial river receives its name, Marudvṛddhā, 'swelled by the Maruts' (10, 75^{5}), from this action. The sweat of the sons of Rudra became rain (5, 58^{7}). The rain shed by the Maruts is also figuratively referred to as milk (1, 166^{3}), ghee (1, 85^{3}; 10, 78^{4}), milk and ghee (1, 64^{6}); or they are said to pour out the spring (1, 85^{11}) or to wet the earth with honey (5, 54^{8})[2]. They raise waters from sea to sky and discharge them from the sky upon the earth (AV. 4, 27^{4}). The waters which they shed are often clearly connected with the thunderstorm. Desiring to give water, whirling hail, violent, they rush on with thunder (5, 54^{3}). They cause winds and lightnings with their might, milk heavenly gifts from the udder, and fill the earth with milk (1, 64^{5}). The spring which they milk, thunders (1, 64^{6}). The sky, the ruddy bull, bellows when they shed the waters (5, 58^{6}). They cause the stallion to make water (1, 64^{6}). They bestow the rain of heaven and shed abundantly the streams of the stallion (5, 83^{6}). They assume a golden colour when they make water with the steed (2, 34^{13}). The streams resound with the fellies of the Maruts, when they raise the voice of the cloud (1, 168^{8}). The waters which Indra sheds are called *marutvatīḥ*, 'attended by the Maruts' (1, 80^{4}). In connexion with their character as shedders of rain, the Maruts receive the epithets *purudrapsāḥ* (5, 57^{5}) or *drapsinaḥ* (1, 64^{2}) 'abounding in drops' and the frequent *sudānavaḥ*, 'dripping well'. They also avert heat (5, 54^{1}). But they likewise dispel darkness (7, 56^{20}), produce light (1, 86^{10}), and prepare a path for the sun (8, 7^{8}). They are also said to have measured out the air (5, 55^{2}), stretched out the terrestrial regions as well as the bright realms of heaven, and held apart the two worlds (8, $83^{9.\,11}$).

Doubtless in allusion to the sound of the wind, the Maruts are several times called singers (5, 52^{1}. 60^{8}; 7, 35^{9}). They are the singers of heaven (5, 57^{5}). They sing a song (1, 19^{4}. 166^{7}). While singing they made the sun to shine (8, 29^{10}) and while blowing their pipe they cleft the mountain (1, 85^{10}). For Indra when he slew the dragon, they sang a song and pressed Soma (5, 29^{2}. 30^{6}). In singing a song they created Indra-might (1, 85^{2}). Though their song must primarily have represented the sound of the winds (cp. 4, 22^{4}), it is also conceived as a hymn of praise (3, 14^{4}). Thus they come to be addressed as priests when in the company of Indra (5, 29^{3}), and are compared with priests (10, 78^{1}). They were the first to perform the sacrifice as Daśagvas (2, 36^{2}), and they purified Agni in the house of the pious, while the Bhṛgus kindled him (10, 122^{5}). Like the other gods they are several times also spoken of as drinkers of Soma (2, 36^{2}; 8, 83^{9-12} &c.).

Being identified with the phenomena of the thunderstorm, the Maruts are naturally intimate associates of Indra, appearing as his friends and allies in innumerable passages. They increase his strength and prowess (3, 35^{9}; 6, 17^{11}), with their prayers, hymns, and songs[3] (1, 165^{11} &c.). They generally assist Indra in the Vṛtra fight (8, $65^{2.\,3}$; 10, 113^{3}). They help Trita as well as Indra in slaying Vṛtra (8, 7^{24}). They are besought to sing a Vṛtra-slaying hymn, (8, 78^{1-3}). They helped Indra in the conflict with the dragon and with Śambara (3, $47^{3.\,4}$). With them Indra gains the light (8, 65^{4}), found

the cows (1, 6^5) and supported the sky (7, 47^5). In fact Indra accomplishes all his celestial exploits in their company (1, 100. 101. 165; 10, 65). Sometimes the Maruts appear more independent in these exploits. Thus they strike Vṛtra, assisted by Indra (1, 23^9) and are even spoken of alone as having rent Vṛtra joint from joint (8, 7^{23}) or as having disclosed the cows (2, 34^1). They (like the gods in general) have Indra as their chief (1, 23^8 &c.) and are accompanied by Indra (10, 128^2). They are like sons to Indra (1, 100^5) and are called his brothers (1, 170^2). The Maruts are, however two or three times said to have left Indra in the lurch. They involved him alone in the fight with the dragon (1, 165^6) and they abandoned him (8, 7^{31}). One verse even gives evidence of hostility between Indra and the Maruts, when the latter say to him: 'Why dost thou seek to kill us, Indra? Do not kill us in the fray' (1, 170^2 cp. 171^6)[4]. A Brāhmaṇa passage (TB. 2, 7, 11^1) also refers to a conflict between the Maruts and Indra.

When not associated with Indra, the Maruts occasionally exhibit malevolent traits. They then to some extent participate in the maleficent nature of their father Rudra. They are implored to ward off the lightning from their worshippers nor to let their ill-will reach them (7, 56^9), and are besought to avert their arrow and the stone which they hurl (1, 172^2), their lightning (7, 57^4), and their cow- and man-slaying bolt (7, 56^{17}). Evil can come from them (1, 39^8), their anger is deprecated (1, 171^1; 7, 58^5), and they are said to have the wrath of the serpent (1, $64^{8.9}$). But like their father Rudra, the Maruts are supplicated to bring healing remedies, which abide in the Sindhu, the Asiknī, the seas, and mountains (8, 20^{23-6}), and once they are associated with Rudra in the possession of pure, salutary, and beneficent remedies (2, 33^{13}). The remedies appear to be the waters, for the Maruts bestow medicine by raining (5, 53^{14}). Like Agni, they are several times also said to be pure or purifying, *pāvaka* (7, 56^{12} &c.).

From the constant association of the Maruts with lightning, thunder, wind, and rain, as well as from other traits mentioned above, it seems clear that they are Storm-gods in the RV. According to the native interpreters the Maruts represent the winds, and the post-Vedic meaning of the word is simply 'wind'. But in the RV. they hardly represent the winds pure and simple, as some of their attributes are borrowed from cloud and lightning as well. A. KUHN and BENFEY[5] held the Maruts to be personifications of the souls of the dead (cp. p. 77), and with this view MEYER[6] and v. SCHROEDER[7] substantially agree. This origin is historically possible, but the RV. furnishes no evidence in support of it. The etymology[8] being uncertain can throw no additional light on the beginnings of the conception. The root appears to be ***mar***, but whether in the sense of 'to die', 'to crush', or 'to shine', it is hard to decide. The latter meaning, however, seems to accord best with the description given of the Maruts in the RV.

1 PVS. 2, 73. — 2 On the various names for rain in the RV. see BOHNENBERGER, op. cit. 43—4. — 3 BRV. 2, 391. — 4 PVS. 1, 59. — 5 OO. on RV. 1, 64. — 6 Indogermanische Mythen 1, 218. — 7 WZKM. 9, 248—9. — 8 Nirukta 11, 13; GRASSMANN, KZ. 16, 161—4; BDA. 112—3; ZDMG. 40, 349—60; KRV. note 136; MM., Vedic Hymns, SBE. 32, xxiv—xxv; HRL 97.

ROTH, ZDMG. 2, 222; WHITNEY, JAOS. 3, 319; OST. 5, 147—54; GRV. 1, 44; BRV. 2, 369—402; BRI. 14; KRV. 39; MMPhR. 317—20; HVBP. 83—5; v. BRADKE, FaR. 117—25; ORV. 224—5. 283; HRL 96—9.

§ 30. Vāyu-Vāta. — Each of the two names of wind Vāyu and Vāta is used to express both the physical phenomenon and its divine personification. But Vāyu is chiefly the god and Vāta the element. Vāyu is celebrated alone in one whole hymn besides parts of others, and in about half

a dozen others conjointly with Indra. Vāta is invoked only in two short hymns (168 and 186) at the end of the tenth book of the RV. The names of both sometimes occur in the same verse (6, 50[12]; 10, 92[13]). The difference between the two is illustrated by the fact that Vāyu alone is as a god associated with Indra, the two deities being then often invoked as Indravāyū. This couple was regarded as so closely connected by the ancient native interpreters, that either of them might represent the deities of the atmospheric region in the Vedic triad (Nir. 7, 5). Vāta on the other hand, being less fully personified, is only associated with Parjanya (§ 31), whose connexion with the thunderstorm is much more vivid than that of Indra. Different sets of epithets are applied to the two wind-gods, those belonging to Vāta being chiefly expressive of the physical attributes of swiftness and violence.

Few references are made to Vāyu's origin. The two worlds are said to have generated him for wealth (7, 90[3]). He is once spoken of as the son-in-law of Tvaṣṭṛ (8, 26[21–2]), though his wife's name is not mentioned (cp. § 38). In the Puruṣa hymn he is said to have sprung from the breath of the world-giant (10, 90[13]). Vāyu is rarely connected with the Maruts. He is, however, once said to have generated them from the wombs of heaven (1, 134[4]) and to be accompanied by them (1, 142[12]) as well as by Pūṣan and the Viśvedevas. His personal attributes are rather indefinite. He is beautiful (1, 2[1]) and with Indra is spoken of as touching the sky, swift as thought, and thousand-eyed (1, 23[2, 3]). He is once said to have roaring velocity (10, 100[2]). Vāyu has a shining car drawn by a team or by a pair of red (*rohita*) or ruddy (*aruṇa*) steeds. His team consists of 99 (4, 48[4]), 100 or even 1000 (4, 46[3]) horses yoked by his will. The attribute *niyutvat*, 'drawn by a team', often occurs with reference to Vāyu or his car, being otherwise used only once or twice in each case with reference to Indra, Agni, Pūṣan, or the Maruts. Vāyu's car, in which Indra is his companion (4, 46[2]. 48[2]; 7, 91[5]), has a golden seat and touches the sky (4, 46[4]). Like the other gods, Vāyu is fond of Soma, to which he is often invited to come with his teams and the first draught of which he obtains as his share[1] (also in company with Indra: 1, 135[4]), for he is the swiftest of the gods (ŚB. 13, 1, 2[7] &c.)[2]. The AB. (2, 25) tells a story of how in a race which the gods ran for the first draught of Soma, Vāyu reached the goal first and Indra second. He is in the RV. also called a protector of Soma (10, 85[5]) and has the characteristic epithet *śucipā*, 'drinking the clear (Soma draught)', an epithet which Indra once shares with him. He is also once connected with the 'nectar-yielding' (*sabardughā*) cow[3] (1, 134[4]). Vāyu grants fame, offspring, wealth in steeds, oxen, and gold (7, 90[2, 6]). He disperses foes (4, 48[2]) and is invoked for protection by the weak (1, 134[5]).

Vāta, as the ordinary name of wind, is celebrated in a more concrete manner. His name is frequently connected with the root *vā*, to blow, from which it is derived. One of the hymns devoted to his praise (10, 168) describes him as follows. Shattering everything and thundering, his din presses on; he goes along whirling up the dust of the earth; he wanders in the air on his paths; he does not rest even a day. Firstborn, he is a friend of the waters; but the place of his birth is unknown. This deity wanders where he lists; one hears his roaring, but his form one does not see (cp. 1, 164[44]). He is the breath of the gods (cp. 7, 87[2]; 10, 92[13]) and is worshipped with oblations.

Vāta, like Rudra, also wafts healing and prolongs life, for he has the treasure of immortality in his house (10, 186). This healing power of wind doubtless represents its purifying character (cp. p. 77). The activity of wind

is chiefly mentioned in connexion with the thunderstorm (4, 17[12]; 5, 83[4]; 10, 168[1, 2]). Blasts of wind being coincident with the appearance of lightnings and preceding the reappearance of the sun, Vāta is spoken of as producing ruddy lights (10, 168[1]) and of making the dawns to shine (1, 134[3]). The swiftness of wind often supplies a comparison for the speed of the gods (4, 17[12]; 5, 41[3]; 9, 97[52]) or of mythical steeds (1, 163[11]; 4, 38[3]). Its noise is also frequently mentioned (4, 22[4]; 8, 91[3]; 10, 168[1, 4]). The name of Vāta has been identified with that of the Germanic god of storm and battle, Odhin or Wodan[4], which is explained as formed with a derivative suffix from the cognate base. But this identification seems to be very doubtful[5].

[1] 1, 134[1]. 135[1]; 4, 46[1]; 5, 43[3]; 7, 92[1]; 8, 89[2]. — [2] OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 39, 55, note 1; HVM. 1, 260. — [3] Cp. OLDENBERG, SBE. 46, 244. — [4] GROHMANN, KZ. 10, 274; ZIMMER, ZDA. 19, 170—2. 179—80; MANNHARDT, ibid. 22, 4; MOGK in PAUL's Grundriss 1075; STOKES, BB. 19, 74; MACDONELL, JRAS. 25, 488; v. SCHROEDER, WZKM. 9, 239. — [5] Cp. BDA. p. x; IF. 5, 272.

OST. 5, 143—6; KRV. 38; BRV. 1, 24—8; SP.AP. 156—8; HVBP. 82—3; ORV. 225—6.

§ 31. Parjanya. — This god plays a very subordinate part among the deities of the RV., being celebrated in only three hymns, while the name is mentioned less than thirty times. His praises are also sung in one hymn of the AV. (4, 15), which, however, chiefly consists of verses from the RV. In the following passages the word *parjanya* can only have the appellative sense of 'rain-cloud'. 'This same water rises and descends day by day; the rain-clouds (*parjanyāḥ*) quicken the earth, the fires quicken heaven' (1, 164[51]). The Maruts 'even during the day cause darkness by the water-carrying rain-cloud, when they inundate the earth' (1, 38[9]); 'they poured out the pail of heaven, they discharge the raincloud through the two worlds, the rain pervades the dry places' (5, 53[6]). Bṛhaspati is besought to cause the cloud to rain and to send the rain-charged (*vṛṣṭimantam*) cloud (10, 98[1, 8]). Soma flows 'like the rain-charged cloud' (9, 2[9]) and the drops of Soma speed 'like the rains of the cloud' (9, 22[2]). In the AV. the rain-shedding cow Vaśā is thus addressed: 'The rain-cloud is thy udder, o excellent goddess, the lightnings are thy teats, O Vaśā' (AV. 10, 10[7]). In all such passages the native commentators explain *parjanya* by *megha*, 'cloud'. On the other hand *parjanya* is used to explain *dyaus* in VS. 12, 6 and *stanayitnu*, 'thunder' in ŚB. (14, 5, 5[10])[1]. In some cases it is hard to say whether we have the appellative or the personified meaning. Thus the might of Agni is said to resound like *parjanya* (8, 91[5]); and the frogs are spoken of as uttering their voices when roused by *parjanya* (7, 103[1]). In most passages, however, the word clearly represents the personification which presides over the rain-cloud, while generally retaining the attributes belonging to the phenomenon. The latter then becomes an udder, a pail (*kośa*) or water-skin (*dṛti*: 5, 83[8, 9]; 7, 101[4]). The personification is to a considerable extent theriomorphic, Parjanya being often spoken of as a bull, though with a certain confusion of gender (probably because clouds are otherwise cows). He is a roaring bull with swift-flowing drops, who places his seed in the plants as a germ (5, 83[1], cp. [7, 9]; AV. 4, 15[1]). The clouds (*abhrāṇi*) impelled by the wind come together, and the roaring waters of the great bellowing aqueous (*nabhasvataḥ*) bull delight the earth (AV. 4, 15[2]). Sometimes Parjanya is like a barren cow, sometimes he is productive, disposing of his body according to his wish (7, 101[3]).

The shedding of rain is his most prominent characteristic. He flies around with a watery car and loosens and draws downwards the water-skin (5, 83[7]). Like a charioteer urging on his horses, he displays his rainy messengers; when he sheds rain water, the roar of the lion resounds from afar;

with thunder he comes shedding rain-water as our divine (*asura*) father (5, 83[3. 6]). He is besought for rains (7, 101[5]) and is implored to withhold rain after shedding it (5, 83[10]). It is, however, implied that the action of Parjanya, as well as of the Maruts, in shedding rain is subordinate to that of Mitra and Varuṇa (5, 63[3–6]). He is several times said to thunder (5, 83). Thundering he strikes down trees, demons, evil-doers; the whole world is terrified at his mighty weapon (5, 83[2]). He and Vāta are the wielders of mighty thunder (10, 66[10]). Parjanya is also associated with lightning, though less frequently than with thunder. The winds blow forth, the lightnings fall, when Parjanya quickens the earth with his seed (5, 83[4]). Parjanya thunders with lightning in the (aerial) ocean (AV. 19, 30[4]). He also appears to be meant, in a hymn of the RV. to the Viśvedevas, by the god who thunders and roars, rich in clouds and water, who with lightning excites the two worlds, besprinkling them (5, 42[14]).

As the shedder of rain Parjanya is naturally in a special degree the producer and nourisher of vegetation. When he quickens the earth with his seed, the plants spring up; in his activity are plants of every form; he has produced plants for nourishment (5, 83[4. 5. 10], cp. 6, 52[6]; AV. 4, 15[2. 3. 15]; 8, 7[21]). He is the fructifier and increaser of plants; protected by the god they bear good fruit (7, 101[1. 5]). Reeds and grass are produced by his action (7, 102[1], cp. 5, 75[15]; AV. 1, 2[1]. 3[1]; 19, 30[5]). Parjanya places the germ not only in plants but in cows, mares, and women (7, 102[2]), and is invoked to bestow fertility (5, 83[7] cp. 6, 52[16]). He is the bull that impregnates everything: in him is the soul of what moves and stands (7, 101[6]; cp. 1, 115[1]). He is even described as a self-dependent sovereign, who rules over the whole world, in whom all beings and the three heavens are established, and in whom the threefold waters flow (7, 101[2. 4. 5]). Owing to his generative activity Parjanya several times receives the epithet of 'father' (7, 101[3]; 9, 82[3]; AV. 4, 15[12]; 12, 1[12]). He is once called 'our divine (*asura*) father' (5, 83[6]); and in another passage 'the occult power of the Asura' (5, 63[3. 7]) perhaps refers to him.

His wife is by implication the Earth (5, 83[4]; 7, 101[3], cp. 1, 160[3]). The AV. (12, 1[12]) states that Earth is the mother, Parjanya the father[2], but elsewhere explicitly calls Vaśā his wife (10, 10[6]). In these respects as well as the theriomorphic conception of him as a bull, his relation to thunder, lightning, and rain, he approximates to the character of Dyaus (cp. 10, 45[4]; 2, 4[6]. 27[15]) whose son he is once called (7, 102[1]). Parjanya himself is said to produce a calf (*vatsam*), the germ of plants (7, 101[1], cp. v. [3]; 5, 83[1]), who perhaps represents lightning. Soma may, however, be meant, for his father is once (9, 82[3]) said to be Parjanya[3], and he is spoken of as 'increased by Parjanya' (9, 113[3]).

Parjanya is associated with various other deities. His connexion is closest with Vāta, who, with the single exception of Agni in one passage, is the only god forming a dual divinity with him (§ 44). The Maruts are also a few times invoked with Parjanya (5, 63[6]. 83[5]) and are called upon to sing his praises (AV. 4, 15[4]). Agni is celebrated with him in two verses of one hymn (6, 52[6. 16]; cp. § 44). Indra has much in common with the 'rainy' Parjanya, being compared with him in this respect (8, 6[1]). The two gods have in fact much the same natural basis, the connexion with which is, however, much clearer in the case of Parjanya (cp. p. 82).

Parjanya's name is of uncertain derivation. But it is still usually identified, owing to the similarity of character, with that of the Lithuanian thundergod Perkúnas[4], though the phonetic difficulties of the identification cannot be explained. The freshness of the conception in the RV. renders it probable that

if the two names are really connected, their Indo-European form was still an appellative. It seems clear that in the RV. the word is an appellative of the thundering rain-cloud as well as the proper name of its personification, the god who actually sheds the rain. The senses of rain-cloud and rain-god both survive through the Brāhmaṇas into the later language. The native dictionaries explain the appellative as 'thunder-cloud' (*garjanmegha* &c.), while the deity is sometimes found identified with Indra in the Mahābhārata.

[1] Cp. OO. 1, 223. — [2] The TA. 1, 10, 1[2] says that Bhūmi or Earth is the wife and Vyoman or Sky is the husband. — [3] Cp. BLOOMFIELD, FaR. 153. — [4] OO. 1, 223; ZIMMER, ZDA. 19, 164 f., cp. AIL. 42 f.; LRV. 3, 322 f.; ZDMG. 32, 314 f.; KRV. note 139; HIRT, IF. 1, 481—2.

BÜHLER, OO. 1, 214—29; DELBRÜCK, ZVP. 1865, p. 275 f.; ROTH, ZDMG. 24, 302—5 (on RV. 1, 165); OST. 5, 140—2; BRV. 3, 25—30; KRV. 40; BRL 14; WC. 56 f.; HVBP. 80—2; ORV. 226; SBE. 46, 105; HRI. 103—4.

§ 32. Āpaḥ. — The Waters, Āpaḥ, are lauded in four hymns of the RV. (7, 47. 49; 10, 9. 30), as well as in a few scattered verses. They are also invoked in many detached verses along with other deities. The personification is only incipient, hardly extending beyond the notion of their being mothers, young wives, and goddesses who bestow boons and come to the sacrifice. They are goddesses who follow the path of the gods (7, 47[3]). Indra armed with the bolt dug out a channel for them (7, 47[4]. 49[1]), and they never infringe his ordinances (7, 47[3]). They are also said to be under the commands of Savitṛ (p. 32). They are celestial, as well as flowing in channels, and have the sea for their goal (7, 49[2]). It is implied that they abide where the gods are and the seat of Mitra and Varuṇa is (10, 30[1]). They are beside the sun and the sun is with them (1, 23[17]). King Varuṇa moves in their midst, looking down on the truth and falsehood of men (7, 49[3]). In such passages at least, the rain-waters must be meant (HRI. 99). But the Naighaṇṭuka (5, 3) enumerates the waters among the terrestrial deities only (cp. YN. 9, 26).

Agni is often described as dwelling in the waters (p 92). He is said to have entered into them (7, 49[4]). As mothers they produce Agni (10, 91[6], cp. 2[7]; AV. 1, 33[1]), one of whose forms is called 'Son of Waters' (§ 24). The waters are mothers (10, 17[10]; 1, 23[16]), who are the wives of the world, equal in age and origin (10, 30[10]). They are besought to give their auspicious fluid like loving mothers (10, 9[2]). They are most motherly, the producers of all that is fixed and moves (6, 50[7]).

The waters cleanse and purify; these goddesses bear away defilement; the worshipper comes up out of them pure and cleansed (10, 17[10]). They are even invoked to cleanse from moral guilt, the sins of violence, cursing, and lying (1, 23[22] = 10, 9[8]). They are remedial (6, 50[7]), bestowing remedies and long life, for all remedies, immortality and healing are contained in them (10, 9[5—7]; 1, 23[19—21]). They watch over man's health in the house (HGS. 2, 4[5]). They dispose of boons and wealth and bestow excellent strength and immortality (10, 9[5]. 30[12]). Their blessing and aid is often implored (7, 47[4]. 49[1—4]; 10, 9. 30[11]), and they are invited to seat themselves along with the Son of waters on the sacrificial grass at the offering of the soma-priest (10, 30[14. 15]).

The waters are several times associated with honey. As mothers they mix their milk with honey (1, 23[16]). The wave of the waters is rich in honey; dripping with ghee it became the drink of Indra, whom it exhilerated (7, 47[1. 2]). Apāṃ napāt is besought to give waters rich in honey, by which Indra grew to heroic strength (10, 30[4]). The waters are invoked to pour the wave, rich in honey and gladdening the gods, for Indra who released them from confinement; the wave which intoxicates, the draught of Indra, which is produced

in the sky (10, 30[7-9]). These passages appear to show that sometimes at least the celestial waters were regarded as containing or identical with the heavenly Soma, the beverage of Indra. In other passages the waters used in preparing the terrestrial Soma seem to be meant. When they appear bearing ghee, milk, and honey, they are accordant with the priests, bearing well-pressed Soma for Indra (10, 30[13]). Soma delights in them as a young man in lovely maidens; he approaches them as a lover; they are maidens who bow down before the youth (10, 30[5-6]).

OST. 5, 24, note. 343. 345; BRV. 1, 260; DARMESTETER, Haurvatāt et Ameretāt 73—4; WC. 56; SP.AP. 153—5; ORV. 242.

C. TERRESTRIAL GODS.

§ 33. Rivers. — Beside the divine Waters, deified rivers occupy a not unimportant position in the RV. The whole of one hymn (10,75) celebrates the Sindhu or Indus with the exception of the fifth verse, in which several of its tributaries are invoked besides other streams, while in the sixth verse a number of other rivers are mentioned as affluents of the Indus. Another entire hymn (3, 33), is devoted to the invocation and praise of the sister streams Vipāś and Śutudrī.

The Sarasvatī is, however, more greatly celebrated than any other river. But though the personification in this case goes much further than in the others, the connexion of the goddess with the river is in the RV. always present to the minds of the poets. Sarasvatī is lauded in three hymns of the RV. and in numerous detached verses. Sarasvatī, Sarayu, and Sindhu are invoked as great streams (10, 64[9]) and elsewhere (10, 75[5]) Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, Śutudrī, Paruṣṇī, and others known and unknown, altogether twenty-one, are addressed. Kings and peoples living on the banks of the Sarasvatī are referred to (7, 96[2]; 8, 21[18]). Sarasvatī, an iron fort, flows with fertile flood, a stream (*sindhu*) surpassing all other waters in greatness; she alone of rivers appeared pure, flowing from the mountains, from[1] the (celestial) ocean (7, 95[1. 2], cp. 5, 43[11]). She tears away with her mighty waves the peaks of mountains, and her immense and impetuous flood moves roaring (6, 61[2. 8]). She is distinguished by greatness among the great, she is the most active of the active, and is implored not to withhold her milk (6, 61[13]). The poet prays that he may not be removed from her to fields which are strange (6, 61[14]). She has seven sisters and is sevenfold (6, 61[10. 12]). She is one of seven, a mother of streams[2] (7,36[6]). She is the best of mothers, of rivers, and of goddesses (2,41[16]). She is called *pāvīravī*, an epithet (applied also to *tanyatu*, 'thunder', in 10, 65[13]) probably meaning 'daughter of lightning'[3], and is said (6, 49[7]) to be the wife of a hero (probably Sarasvat). She fills the terrestrial regions and the wide atmospheric space and occupies three abodes (6,61[11.12]). She is invoked to descend from the sky, from the great mountain, to the sacrifice (5, 43[11]). The last three passages (cp. also 7, 95[2]) seem to allude to the notion of a celestial origin, like that of Gaṅgā in post-Vedic mythology. She is once called *asuryā* or divine (7,96[1]). The goddess comes to the sacrifice on the same chariot as the Fathers and seats herself on the sacrificial grass (10, 17[8.9]). Even here she must be conceived as the river goddess, for in the following two verses the waters are invoked to cleanse from defilement.

She herself is a purifier (1, 3[10]). She is besought to come 'swelling with streams' (6,52[6]) and, along with the waters, the bestowers of wealth, progeny,

and immortality, to grant vitality (10,30[12]). She bestows vitality and offspring (2, 41[17]) and is associated with deities who assist procreation (10, 184[2]). She is also said to have given a son named Divodāsa to Vadhryaśva (6, 61[1]). Her unfailing breast (cp. AB. 4, 1) yields riches of every kind (1, 164[49]). She is often said to bestow wealth, plenty, and nourishment (7, 95[2]; 8, 21[17]; 9, 67[32]; 10, 17[8.9]), and several times receives the epithet *subhaga*, 'bountiful' (1, 89[3]; 7, 95[4.6]; 8, 21[17]). As a mother (*ambā*) she grants reputation to the unrenowned (2, 41[16]). She stimulates, directs, and prospers the devotions of her worshippers (1, 3[10.11]; 2, 3[8]; 6, 61[4]). She is invoked along with the goddesses of prayer (7, 37[11]; 10, 65[13]). She destroys the revilers of the gods, is terrible, and a Vṛtra-slayer (6, 61[3.7]). But to her worshippers she affords protection and conquers their enemies (7, 95[4.5]; 2, 30[8]; 6, 49[7]).

Sarasvatī is often invoked with other deities. Besides Pūṣan and Indra, she is particularly associated with the Maruts (3, 54[13]; 7, 9[5]. 39[5]. 40[3]) and is said to be accompanied by them (2, 30[8]) or to have them as her friends[4] (7, 96[2]). She is also once in the RV. connected with the Aśvins. When the latter aided Indra, Sarasvatī is said to have refreshed him (10, 131[5]). With reference to the same myth the VS. (19, 12) states that when the gods celebrated a healing sacrifice, the Aśvins as physicians and Sarasvatī through speech (*vācā*) communicated vigour to Indra[5]. The VS. even speaks of Sarasvatī as the wife of the Aśvins (19, 94). Sarasvatī is several times associated in the eighth and ninth verses of the *āprī* and *āpra* hymns with the sacrificial goddesses Iḍā and Bhāratī (with whom she forms a triad), and sometimes also with Mahī and Hotrā. This association may have been due to the sacred character of the river. Allusion is made to Agni being kindled for sacrifice on the banks of the Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī (3, 23[4])[6]; and the AB. (2, 19) refers to a sacrifice performed by Ṛṣis on the Sarasvatī. Hence on the banks of the Sarasvatī there were perhaps places of worship of the Bharatas; in that case, Bhāratī, the personified offering of the Bharatas, would naturally find a fixed place along with Sarasvatī in the Āprī litany which accompanied the animal sacrifice[7].

Though there is nothing to show distinctly (cp. 7, 35[11]) that Sarasvatī is ever anything more in the RV. than a river goddess, we find her identified in the Brāhmaṇas (ŚB. 3, 9, 1[7]; AB. 3, 1[10]), with Vāc, Speech, and in post-Vedic mythology she has become goddess of eloquence and wisdom, invoked as a muse and regarded as the wife of Brahmā[8]. The transition from the older to the later conception is perhaps to be found in passages like VS. 19, 12 quoted above.

There has been much controversy as to the identity of the stream of which the goddess Sarasvatī is a personification. The name is identical with that of the Avestan river Haraqaiti in Afghanistan[9], and it may have been the latter river which was first lauded as the Sarasvatī[10]. But ROTH (PW.), GRASSMANN (GW.), LUDWIG[11], and ZIMMER (AIL. 10) are of opinion, that in the RV. Sarasvatī usually and originally meant a mighty stream, probably the Indus (Sarasvatī being the sacred and Sindhu the secular name), but that it occasionally designates the small stream in Madhyadeśa, to which both its name and its sacred character were in later times transferred. MAX MÜLLER[12] believes it to be identical with this small river Sarasvatī, which with the Dṛṣadvatī formed the boundaries of the sacred region Brahmāvarta and which loses itself in the sands of the desert, but in Vedic times reached the sea. According to OLDHAM[13] a survey of ancient river-beds affords evidence that the Sarasvatī was originally a tributary of the Śutudrī (the modern Sutlej)[14], and that when the latter left its

old bed and joined the Vipāś, the Sarasvatī continued to flow in the old bed of the Śutudrī.

Sarasvatī has a male correlative named Sarasvat, who after the praises of the river goddess have been sung in three verses of one hymn (7, 96), is invoked in the next three by worshippers desiring wives and offspring, protection and plenty. Here his fertilizing waters and even his exuberant breast are referred to. In another passage (1, 164[52]), Sarasvat, here apparently a name of the bird Agni[15], is spoken of as refreshing with rain. ROTH (PW.) regards him as a guardian of the celestial waters who bestows fertility. HILLEBRANDT[16] identifies Sarasvat with Apāṃ napāt (= Soma, the moon) and HARDY[17] expresses a similar view.

1 Cp. BRV. 1, 326. — 2 According to BERGAIGNE (ibid.) 'having the (celestial) ocean for her mother', owing to the accent. — 3 ROTH, Nir. 165f.; PW.; BRV. 1, 327. — 4 Cp. Marudvṛddhā as the name of a river (10, 75[5]). — 5 Cp. ŚB. 12, 7, 3[1]; OST. 5, 94 note. — 6 Cp. Mānavadharmaśāstra II, 17f.; OLDENBERG, Buddha 413f. — 7 ORV. 243. — 8 Cp. ZDMG. 1, 84; 27, 705. — 9 SP.AP. 105f. — 10 HRI. 31. 11 Nachrichten des RV. und AV. über Geographie etc., Prag 1875—6, p. 13; cp. PVS. 2, 86. — 12 Vedic Hymns SBE, 32, 60. — 13 JRAS. 25, 49—76. — 14 OST. 2, 345. — 15 BRV. 1, 144; 2, 47. — 16 HVM. 1, 380—2. — 17 HVBP. 42—3.
OST. 5, 337—43; BRV. 1, 325—8; BOLLENSEN, ZDMG. 41, 499; HVM. 1, 382—3 (celestial Sarasvatī = milky way); HVBP. 98; ORV. 243.

§ 34. Pṛthivī. — The Earth, Pṛthivī, being, as has been shown (p. 22), generally celebrated conjointly with Dyaus, is lauded alone in only one short hymn of three stanzas in the RV. (5, 84) and in a long and beautiful one in the AV. (12, 1). The personification is but slight, the attributes of the goddess being chiefly those of the physical earth. According to the RV. she abounds in heights, bears the burden of the mountains, and supports the trees of the forest in the ground (*kṣmā*). She quickens the soil, for she scatters rain, and the showers of heaven are shed from the lightning of her cloud. She is great (*mahī*), firm (*dṛḷhā*) and shining (*arjunī*).

The meaning of Pṛthivī is 'the broad one'; and a poet of the RV. (2, 15[2]) alludes to the etymology when he says that Indra upheld the earth (*pṛthivī*) and spread it out (*paprathat*). The TS. (7, 1, 5) and TB. (1, 1, 3[5]) in describing the origin of the earth, expressly derive the name of Pṛthivī from the root *prath*, to extend, because she is extended.

Pṛthivī is spoken of as 'kindly Mother Earth', to whom the dead man in a funeral hymn (10, 18[10]), is exhorted to go. When mentioned wirh Dyaus, Pṛthivī frequently receives the epithet of 'mother' (cp. §§ 11. 44).

BRUCE, JRAS. 1862, p. 321; OST. 5, 21–2; BRV. 1, 4—5; BDA. 48; BOLLENSEN, ZDMG. 41, 494—5; HVBP. 25—6; THURNEYSEN, IF. 4, 84.

§ 35. Agni. — The chief terrestrial deity is Agni, being naturally of primary importance as the personification of the sacrificial fire, which is the centre of the ritual poetry of the Veda. Next to Indra he is the most prominent of the Vedic gods. He is celebrated in at least 200 hymns of the RV., and in several besides he is invoked conjointly with other deities.

As his name is also the regular designation of fire, the anthropomorphism of his physical appearance is only rudimentary, his bodily parts having a clear reference to the phenomena of terrestrial fire mainly in its sacrificial aspect. He is butter-backed (5, 4[3] &c.), butter-faced (3, 1[18] &c.) and beautiful-tongued (1, 14[7]). He is butter-haired (8, 49[2]), flame-haired (1, 45[6] &c.) or tawny-haired (3, 2[13]), and has a tawny beard (5, 7[7]). He has sharp (8, 49[3] &c.) or burning jaws (1, 58[5] &c.), golden (5, 2[3]) or shining teeth (5, 7[4]) and iron grinders (10, 87[2]). He is once described as footless and headless (4, 1[11]),

but elsewhere he is said to have a burning head (7, 3[1]) or three heads and seven rays (1, 146[1]; 2, 5[3]). He faces in all directions (2, 3[1] &c.). His tongue is often mentioned (8, 61[18] &c.). He is also said to have three tongues (3, 20[2]) or seven (VS. 17, 79), his steeds also being seven-tongued (3, 6[2]). A name was later given to each of these seven tongues[1]. Butter is Agni's eye (3, 26[7]); he is four-eyed (1, 31[13]), thousand-eyed (1, 79[12]), and thousand-horned (6, 1[8]). In his hand he bears many gifts for men (1, 72[1]). Like Indra, he has the epithet *sahasra-muṣka* (8, 19[32]). He is called an archer (4, 4[1]) or is compared with an archer (1, 70[11]), who sharpens his flame like a blade of iron (6, 3[5]).

He is often likened to various animals, in most cases doubtless with a view to indicating his functions rather than representing his personal form. He is frequently called a bull (1, 58[5] &c.). He is a strong bull with a mighty neck (5, 2[12]). As such he bellows (10, 8[1]), abounds in seed (4, 5[3]), and is provided with horns (5, 1[8]; 6, 16[39]), which he sharpens (8, 49[13]), which he shakes, and which make him difficult to seize (1, 140[6]). He is many times spoken of or alluded to when born as a calf (*vatsa*). He is also often compared with (1, 58[2] &c.) or directly called a steed (1, 149[3]; 6, 12[6])[2]. The tail which he agitates like a horse (2, 4[4]) is doubtless his flame. When purified by sacrificers he is compared with a groomed horse (1, 60[5] &c.). Sacrificers lead (3, 2[7]), excite, and set him in motion like a horse (7, 7[1] &c.). He is the horse they seek to tame and direct (2, 5[1]; 3, 27[3]). He is kindled like a horse that brings the gods (3, 27[14]). He is attached to the pole at places of sacrifice (2, 2[1]) or to the pole of the rite (1, 143[7]). He is yoked in order to waft the sacrifice to the gods (10, 51[7]). He is also compared with (3, 26[3]) or directly called a neighing steed (1, 36[8]). He is further likened to a horse as conquering (8, 91[12]) or causing to escape from dangers (4, 2[8]). Agni is, moreover, like a bird. He is the eagle of the sky (7, 15[4]) and a divine bird (1, 164[52]). As dwelling in the waters he resembles the aquatic bird *haṃsa* (1, 65[9]). He takes possession of the wood as a bird perches on a tree (1, 66[2]; 6, 3[5]; 10, 91[2]). He is winged (1, 58[5]; 2, 2[4]), his course is a flight (6, 3[7]. 4[6] &c.), and he darts with rapid flight to the gods (10, 6[4]). He is once described as a raging serpent (1, 79[1]).

Agni is besides frequently compared with inanimate objects. Like the sun, he resembles gold (2, 2[4]; 7, 3[6]). When he stretches out his tongue (6, 3[4]) he is like a hatchet, to which he is elsewhere also several times compared (1, 127[3] &c.). He resembles (1, 141[8] &c.) or is directly called a car (3, 11[5]), as bringing riches (1, 58[3]; 3, 15[5]) or as being formidable in battle (1, 66[6]). He seems to be thought of as a car directed by others, for he is conducted to the sacrifice like a laden car (10, 176[3]). He is even compared to wealth (1, 58[6]. 60[1]) or to wealth acquired by inheritance (1, 73[1]).

Wood (2, 7[6]) or ghee (7, 3[1]) is his food, melted butter is his beverage (2, 7[6]; 10, 69[2]). He is nourished by ghee poured into his mouth (3, 21[1]; 5, 11[3] &c.) and is an eater of oil (AV. 1, 7[2]). He eats and chews the forests with sharp tooth (1, 143[5]) or eats and blackens them with his tongue (6, 60[10]; 10, 79[2]). He is all-devouring (8, 44[26]). He is nourished three times a day (4, 12[1], cp. 1, 140[2]; 7, 11[3]). He is sometimes spoken of as the mouth and the tongue by which the gods eat the sacrifice (2, 1[13, 14]); and his flames are spoons with which he besprinkles or honours the gods (1, 76[5]; 10, 6[4]). But he is more frequently asked to eat the offerings himself (3, 21[1–4]. 28[1–6]). With upright, god-ward form he strives after the ghee that is offered (1, 127[1]). Though the regular offering to him is fuel or butter[3], he is sometimes, and then nearly always with other gods, invited to drink the Soma juice (1, 14[10].

19[9]. 21[1. 3]; 2, 36[4]). In one hymn he is called *somagopā*, 'guardian of Soma' (10, 45[5. 12]). He is invited to come to the sacrifice (10, 98[9]) and is often spoken of as sitting down on the sacrificial grass along with the gods (3, 14[2]; 5, 11[2]. 26[5]; 7, 11[2], cp. 43[3]).

Agni's brightness is naturally much dwelt upon. He is of brilliant lustre (2, 10[2] &c.), brilliant-flamed (6, 10[3]), bright-flamed (7, 15[10] &c.), clear-flamed (8, 43[31]), and bright-coloured (1, 140[1]; 5, 2[3]). He has a golden form (4, 3[1] 10, 20[9]). He shines like the sun (1, 149[3]; 7, 3[6]). His lustre is like the rays of the dawn and the sun and like the lightnings of the rain-cloud (10,91[4. 5]). He shines even at night (5, 7[4]). Like the sun he dispels the darkness with his rays (8, 43[32]). He is a destroyer of darkness and sees through the gloom of the night (1, 94[5]; 7, 9[2]). Kindled he opens the gates of darkness (3, 5[1]). The earth enveloped in darkness and the sky become visible when Agni is born (10, 88[2]). For he is kindled at dawn and is the only individual god who is described as 'waking at dawn', *uṣarbudh* (though the gods collectively sometimes receive this epithet).

On the other hand, Agni's course, path, or track, and his fellies are black (1, 141[7]; 2, 4[6. 7]; 6, 6[1]; 7, 8[2]; 8, 23[19]), and his steeds make black furrows (1,140[4]). Driven by the wind he rushes through the wood (1,58[4. 5]), invades the forests and shears the hairs of the earth (1, 65[8]), shaving the earth as a barber a beard (10, 142[4]).

His flames are like the roaring waves of the sea (1, 44[12]). His sound is like the Wind or the thunder of Heaven (5, 25[8]; 7, 3[6]). He roars like the thundering Dyaus (10, 45[4]), or Parjanya (8, 91[5]), or a lion (3, 2[11]). He bellows like a bull when he invades the forest trees, and the birds are terrified at the noise when his grass-devouring sparks arise (1, 94[10. 11]). He cannot be checked any more than the sound of the Maruts, an army let loose, or the bolt of heaven (1, 143[5]).

Agni flames upwards (6,15[2]). Driven by the wind his flames shoot into the sky (8, 43[4]). His smoke wavers and his flame cannot be seized (8, 23[1]). His red smoke rises up to heaven (7, 3[3]. 16[3]). His smoke spreads in the sky (6, 2[6]). Like the erector of a post (*metṛ*), he supports the sky with his smoke (4, 6[2]). He touches the ridge of heaven with his crest and mingles with the rays of the sun (7, 2[1]). He encompasses heaven with his tongue (8, 61[18]) and goes to the flood of heaven, to the waters in the bright space above and below the sun (3, 22[3]). The Agni of Divodāsa spread along mother earth towards the gods and stood on the ridge of the sky (8, 92[2]). 'Smoke-bannered' (*dhūmaketu*) is a frequent epithet exclusively connected with Agni.

Agni is borne on an lightning car (3, 14[1]), on a car that is luminous (1, 140[1]), bright (1, 141[12]), shining (5, 1[11]), brilliant (10, 1[5]), golden (4, 1[8]) or beautiful (4, 2[4]). It is drawn by two or more horses[4], which are butter-backed (1, 14[6]), ruddy (*rohita, aruṣa*), tawny and ruddy (7, 42[1]), beautiful (4, 2[3]), omniform (10, 70[2]), active (2, 4[2]), wind-impelled (1, 94[10]), mind-yoked (1, 14[6]). He yokes them to summon the gods (1, 14[12]; 3, 6[6]; 8, 64[1]). For he is a charioteer (1, 25[3] &c.) of the sacrifice (10, 92[1] &c.). With his steeds he brings the gods on his car (3, 6[9]). He comes seated on the same car as the gods (3, 4[11]; 7, 11[1]) or in advance of them (10, 70[2]). He brings Varuṇa to the offering, Indra from the sky, the Maruts from the air (10, 70[11]).

According to the ordinary view of the Vedic poets, Agni's father is Dyaus, who generated him (10,45[8]). He is the child (*śiśu*) of Dyaus (4,15[6]; 6,49[2]) and is said to have been born from the belly of the Asura[5] (3,29[4]). He is often called the son of Dyaus and Pṛthivī (3, 2[2]. 3[11]. 25[1]; 10, 1[2]. 2[7].

140[2]). He is also spoken of as the offspring of Tvaṣṭṛ and the Waters, as well as of Heaven and Earth (10, 2[7]. 46[9]), or even simply of Tvaṣṭṛ (1, 95[2]) or of the Waters (10, 91[6]; AV. 1, 33[1]). It is otherwise incidentally said that the Dawns generated Agni as well as the Sun and Sacrifice (7, 78[3]) or Indra-Viṣṇu generated Agni besides Sun and Dawn (7, 99[4]), or Indra generated Agni between two stones (2, 12[3], cp. 1[1]). Agni is also described as the son of Iḷā (3, 29[3]) or as the embryo of the rite (6, 48[5]). The gods, it is sometimes said, generated him (6, 7[1]; 8, 91[17]), as a light for the Āryan (1, 59[2]), or simply fashioned him for man (10, 46[9]) or placed him among men (1, 36[10]; 2, 4[3]; 6, 16[1]; 8, 73[2]). At the same time Agni is the father of the gods (1, 69[1], cp. p. 12). The different points of view which give rise to these seemingly contradictory statements, are sufficiently clear.

Owing to his slightly developed anthropomorphism, the myths of Agni have little to say about his deeds, being, outside his main activity as sacrificial fire, chiefly concerned with his various births, forms, and abodes.

The divergent accounts given of the births of Agni are not inconsistent, because they refer to different places of origin. His daily terrestrial birth by friction from the two *araṇīs* or firesticks[6] is often referred to (3, 29[2]. 23[2. 3]; 7, 1[1]; 10, 7[9]). In this connexion they are his parents, the upper being the male and the lower the female (3, 29[3]). Or they are his mothers, for he is said to have two mothers (1, 31[2])[7]. The two sticks produce him as a newborn infant, who is hard to catch (5, 9[3. 4]). From the dry (wood) the god is born living (1, 68[2]). The child as soon as born devours the parents (10, 79[4]). He is born of a mother who cannot suckle him (10, 115[1]). With reference to this production by friction, men are said to have generated him (1, 60[3]; 4, 1[1]; 7, 1[1]), the ten maidens[8] that produce him (1, 95[2]) being the ten fingers (cp. 3, 23[3]) employed in twirling the upright drill, which is the upper *araṇī*. *Pramantha*, the name of this fire-drill, occuring for the first time in a late metrical Smṛti work[9], the Karmapradīpa (1, 7[5])[10] has, owing to a superficial resemblance, been connected with Προμηθεύς[11]. The latter word has, however, every appearance of being a purely Greek formation, while the Indian verb *math*, to twirl, is found compounded only with *nis*, never with *pra*, to express the act of producing fire by friction.

The powerful friction necessary to produce fire is probably the reason why Agni is frequently called the 'son (*sūnu*, *putra*, once *yuvan*) of strength' (*sahasaḥ*)[12]. This explanation is supported by a passage of the RV. stating that Agni 'rubbed with strength (*sahasā*) is produced (*jāyate*) by men on the surface of the earth' (6, 48[5]). According to a later text, the kindling of Agni by friction must not take place before sunrise (MS. 1, 6[10]). Being produced every morning for the sacrifice Agni appropriately receives the very frequent epithet, exclusively connected with him, of 'youngest' (*yaviṣṭha*, *yaviṣṭhya*). His new births are opposed to his old (3, 1[20]). Having grown old he is born again as a youth (2, 4[5]). In this sense, he does not grow old (1, 128[2]), his new light being like his old (6, 16[21]). Like some other gods, Agni is also spoken of simply as 'young'. At the same time he is old. There is no sacrificer older than Agni (5, 3[5]), for he conducted the first sacrifice (3, 15[4]). He shone forth after former dawns (1, 44[10]), and the part played by Agni in the sacrifices of ancestors is often referred to (8, 43[13] &c.). He is thus sometimes in the same passage paradoxically called both 'ancient' and 'very young' (10, 4[1. 2]).

More generally Agni is spoken of as born in wood (6, 3[3]; 10, 79[7]), as the embryo of plants (2, 1[14]; 3, 1[13]) or as distributed in plants (10, 1[2]). He is also said to have entered into all plants or to strive after them (8, 43[9]).

When he is called the embryo of trees (1, 70[4]) or of trees as well as plants (2, 1[1]), there may be a side-glance at the fire produced in forests by the friction of the boughs of trees.

The terrestrial existence of Agni is further indicated by his being called the 'navel of the earth' (1, 59[2]). This expression appears, in the many passages in which it occurs, to allude to the receptacle of the sacrificial Agni on the excavated altar or *vedi*[13]. In the Vedic ritual *nābhi* or 'navel' is the technical term designating the hollow in the *uttarā vedi*, in which Agni is deposited[14]. The earlier use of the term probably suggested the figure, that the gods made Agni the 'navel' or centre of immortality (3, 17[4]). The only two occurrences in the RV. of the attribute *vediṣad*, 'sitting on the altar', refer to Agni.

Agni's origin in the aerial waters is often referred to. The 'Son of waters' has, as has been shown (§ 24), become a distinct deity. Agni is also the 'embryo' (*garbha*) of the waters (3, 1[12. 13]); he is kindled in the waters (10, 45[1]; AV. 13, 1[50]); he is a bull who has grown in the lap of the waters (10, 8[1]); he is ocean-girt (8, 91[5]). He is also said to descend from the *dhanu* or cloud-island (1, 144[5]; 10, 4[5]) and to be the shining thunder dwelling in the bright space (6, 6[2]). In such passages the lightning form of Agni must be meant. Some of the later hymns of the RV. (10, 51—3. 124)[15] tell a legend of Agni hiding in the waters and plants and being found by the gods. This legend is also often related in the Brāhmaṇas[16]. In the AV. the Agnis in the waters are distinguished from those that go on the path of lightning or from the celestial Agni with the lightning (AV. 3, 21[1. 7]; 8, 1[11]) and are said to have dwelt on earth (AV. 12, 1[37]). In one passage of the RV. also it is stated that Agni rests in all streams (8, 39[8], cp. Āp. SS. 5, 2[1]); and in the later ritual texts Agni in the waters is invoked in connexion with ponds and water-vessels. Thus even in the oldest Vedic period, the waters in which Agni is latent, though not those from which he is produced, may in various passages have been regarded as terrestrial. Oldenberg[17] thinks that the terrestrial waters are chiefly meant in this connexion and doubts whether the lightning Agni is intended even in the first hymn of the third book[18]. In any case, the notion of Agni in the waters is prominent throughout the Vedas. Water is Agni's home, as heaven is that of the sun (5, 85[2]: cp. AV. 13, 1[50]; 19, 33[1]). The waters are also often mentioned along with the plants or wood as his abode[19] (2, 1[1] &c.).

Agni's origin in heaven is moreover frequently spoken of. He is born in the highest heavens (1, 143[2]; 6, 8[2]). He existed potentially though not actually in the highest heavens (10, 5[7]), and was brought from heaven, from afar by Mātariśvan (§ 25). In such passages Agni doubtless represents lightning; for lightning is regarded as coming from heaven as well as from the waters (AV. 3, 21[1. 7]; 8, 1[11]), and in a Brāhmaṇa passage (AB. 7, 7[2]) it is spoken of as both celestial (*divya*) and aqueous (*apsumat*). When lightning is mentioned by its proper name *vidyut* (which occurs hardly 30 times in the RV.) along with Agni, it is commonly compared with and thereby distinguished from him[20], doubtless as a concrete phenomenon in contrast with the god. The myth, too, of the descent of fire from heaven to earth, due undoubtedly to the actual observation of conflagrations caused by the stroke of lightning, implies the identity of the celestial Agni and lightning. The heavenly origin of Agni is further implied in the fact that the acquisition of fire by man is regarded as a gift of the gods as well as a production of Mātariśvan; and Agni's frequent epithet of 'guest (*atithi*) of men' may allude to the same notion (5, 1[9] &c.).

In other passages, again, Agni is to be identified with the sun; for the conception of the sun as a form of Agni, is an undoubted Vedic belief. Thus Agni is the light of heaven in the bright sky, waking at dawn, the head of heaven (3, 2[14]). He was born on the other side of the air and sees all things (10, 187[4. 5]). He is born as the sun rising in the morning (10, 88[6])[21]. The AB. (8, 28[9. 13]) remarks that the sun when setting enters into Agni and is produced from him. The same identification is probably alluded to in passages stating that Agni unites with the light or the rays of the sun (5, 37[1]; 7, 2[1]), that when men light Agni on earth, the celestials light him (6, 2[3]), or that Agni shines in heaven (3, 27[12]; 8, 44[29]). Sometimes, however, it is difficult to decide whether lightning or the sun is intended. The solar aspect of Agni's nature is not often mentioned, the sun being too individual a phenomenon to be generally conceived as a form of fire. Agni is usually thought of in his terrestrial form, being compared rather than identified with the sun. Thus the poet says that the minds of the godly are turned to Agni as eyes towards the sun (5, 1[4]). At the same time there is frequently a side-glance at Agni's other forms, it being therefore in many cases doubtful which of his aspects is intended.

Owing to the diverse births above described, Agni is often regarded as having a triple character[22], which in many passages is expressly referred to with some form of the numeral 'three'. This earliest Indian trinity is important, for on it is based much of the mystical speculation of the Vedic age[23]. Agni's births are three or threefold (1, 95[3]; 4, 1[7]). The gods made him threefold (10, 88[10]). He is threefold light (3, 26[7]), has three heads (1, 146[1]), three tongues, three bodies, three stations (3, 20[2]). The epithet *triṣadhastha*, 'having three stations', is predominantly connected with Agni[24], and the only passage in which the word *tripastya*, 'having three dwellings', occurs (8, 39[8]), it is an attribute of Agni. The triad is not always understood in exactly the same way or mentioned in the same order. Thus one poet says: 'From heaven first Agni was born, the second time from us (= men), thirdly in the waters (10, 45[1], cp. vv. [2. 3]). The order of Agni's abodes is also heaven, earth, waters in other passages (8, 44[16]; 10, 2[7]. 46[9]), while one verse (1, 95[3]) has the variation: ocean, heaven, waters. Sometimes the terrestrial Agni comes first: 'He was first born in houses, at the base of great heaven, in the womb of this atmosphere' (4, 1[11]); 'the immortals kindled three flames of Agni: of these they placed one with man for use, and two went to the sister-world' (3, 2[9]). A Sūtra passage (Āp. ŚS. 5, 16[4]) distinguishes a terrestrial Agni in animals, an aerial one in the waters, and a celestial one in the sun. Occasionally the terrestrial Agni comes third. He is one of three brothers of whom 'the middlemost brother is lightning (*aśnaḥ*) and the third is butter-backed' (1, 164[1], cp. 141[2]). 'Agni glows from the sky, to god Agni belongs the broad air, men kindle Agni, bearer of oblations, lover of ghee' (AV. 12, 1[20], cp. 13, 3[21]; 18, 4[11]).

The third form of Agni is once spoken of as the highest (10, 1[3]; cp. 5, 3[3]; 1, 72[2. 4]). Yāska (Nir. 7, 28) mentions that his predecessor Śākapūṇi regarded the threefold existence of Agni referred to in 10, 88[10] as being in earth, air, and heaven, a certain Brāhmaṇa considering Agni's third manifestation, which is in heaven, to be the sun (cp. Nir. 12, 19). This threefold nature of Agni, so clearly recognised in the RV., was probably the prototype not only of the posterior triad of Sun, Wind, Fire (8, 18[19]), which is spoken of as distributed in the three worlds (10, 158[1]; AV. 4, 39[2]) and is implied in another verse (1, 164[44]), but also of the triad of Sun, Indra, Fire, which though not Rigvedic is still ancient. Here Vāta or Vāyu and Indra have

taken the place of Agni Vaidyuta, the lightning Agni, as the Brāhmaṇas and commentators call him. This substitution is perhaps partly due to the transient nature of lightning and partly to the lack of any name other than Agni for the personified lightning, which could therefore be expressed only by epithets or allusions. The triad of Agnis may have suggested and would explain the division of the sacrificial fire into the three sacrificial fires[25] which in the Vedic ritual are kept distinct from the domestic fire[26] and which form an essential feature of the cult in the Brāhmaṇas[27]. The ritual may have then reacted on the myth. At any rate, later Hindu literature took the three fires as representative of the three forms of Agni known to the RV.[28] The three sacrificial fires may go back to the time of the RV., possibly even to an anterior period[29]. Thus Agni is besought to bring the gods and to seat himself in the three receptacles (*yoniṣu*: 2, 36^4, cp. 5, 11^2; 10, 105^9).

Doubtless on the basis of the twofold division of the Universe into heaven and earth, Agni is in several passages said to have two births, being the only single god spoken of as *dvijanman* (1, 60^1. 140^2. $149^{2.3}$). An upper and a lower birth are mentioned (2, 9^3), his abode in lower and upper spheres is referred to (1, 128^3), and the opposition is generally between terrestrial and celestial fire (3, 54^1; 10, 45^{10}), though in one passage at least (8, 43^{28}) the contrast is between his birth in heaven and in the waters. Agni is summoned from his supreme abode (8, 11^7) and comes thence to the lower ones (8, 64^{15}). When he is brought from the highest father he rises into the plants (1, 141^4). Here Agni is conceived as coming down in rain and then entering the plants, out of which he is again produced. The fires, like water, after descending to earth again rise to heaven (1, 164^{51}). On this distinction of two forms of fire are based such prayers as that Agni should sacrifice to himself (10, 7^6), that he should bring Agni (7, 39^5), or that he should descend with the gods to the sacrifice (3, 6^9 &c.). Allied to this distinction is the notion that Agni was kindled by the gods as contrasted with men[30] (6, 2^3). The latter notion is due to the assumption that celestial fires must be kindled by some one and gods must sacrifice like men (cp. AB. 2, 34).

From another point of view, Agni is said to have many births (10, 5^1). This multiplicity no doubt primarily refers to the numerous fires kindled on terrestrial altars. For Agni is very frequently said to abide in every family, house, or abode (4, 6^8. $7^{1.3}$; 5, 1^5. 6^8 &c.). He is produced in many places (3, 54^{19}) and has many bodies (10, 98^{10}). Scattered in many places, he is one and the same king (3, 55^4). Kindled in many places, he is but one (Vāl. 10^2). Other fires are attached to him as branches to a tree (8, 19^{33}). Thus he comes to be invoked with the Agnis (7, 3^1; 8, 18^9. 49^1; 10, 141^6) or all the Agnis (1, 26^{10}; 6, 12^6).

The accounts given of Agni's abodes or birthplaces sometimes involve cross divisions. Thus his brilliance in heaven, earth, air, waters, and plants is referred to (3, 22^2) or he is said to be born from the heavens, the waters, stone, woods, and plants (2, 1^1). Longer enumerations of a similar kind occasionally occur elsewhere (AV. 3, 21; 12, 1^{19}; Āp. SS. 5, 16^4). When Agni is said (1, 70^4, cp. 6, 48^5) to dwell in a rock (*adrau*) the reference is probably to the lightning latent in the cloud (cp. p. 10). The same is probably the case when he is said (2, 1^1) to be produced from a stone (*aśmanaḥ*) or to have been generated by Indra between two stones (2, 12^3); but here there may lurk an allusion to the production of fire from flint. Animal heat is of course meant when Agni is said to be in the heart of man (10, 5^1), or in beasts, horses, birds, bipeds and quadrupeds (AV. 3, 21^2; 12, 1^{19}. 2^{33}; TS. 4, 6, 1^3). As being the spark of vitality and so widely diffused in nature,

Agni naturally comes to be described as the germ (*garbha*) of what is stationary or moves and of all that exists (1, 70[3]; AV. 5, 25[7]).

The triple nature of Agni gave rise to the notion of three brothers (1, 164[1]); while the multiplicity of sacrificial fires may have suggested the idea of Agni's elder brothers who are spoken of in the plural (10, 51[6]). The number of these is later stated to be three (TS. 2, 6, 6[1]). The same are probably meant by the four Hotṛs of the gods, of whom the first three died (Kāṭh. 25, 7)[31]. Varuṇa is once spoken of as Agni's brother (4, 1[2]). Elsewhere Indra is said to be his twin brother (6,59[2])[32]. Indra is indeed oftener associated with Agni than with any other god and is, with two slight exceptions, the only god with whom Agni forms a dual divinity (§ 44). It is doubtless owing to this association that Agni is described as bursting the rock with heat (8, 46[16]) and vanquishing the unbelieving Paṇis (7, 6[3]). In one entire hymn (1, 93) Agni is also coupled with Soma (§ 44).

Agni is occasionally identified with other gods, especially with Varuṇa and Mitra[33] (2, 1[4]; 3, 5[4]; 7, 12[3]). He is Varuṇa when he goes to the sacrifice (10, 8[5]). He is Varuṇa when he is born and Mitra when he is kindled (5, 3[1]). Agni in the evening becomes Varuṇa, rising in the morning he becomes Mitra; becoming Savitṛ he traverses the air, becoming Indra he illumines the sky in the midst (AV. 13, 3[13]). In one passage of the RV. (2, 1[3-7]) he is successively identified with about a dozen gods besides five goddesses. He assumes various divine forms (3, 38[7]) and has many names (3, 20[3]). In him are comprehended all the gods (5, 3[1]), whom he surrounds as a felly the spokes (5, 13[6]).

What is probably the oldest function of fire in regard to its cult, that of burning and dispelling evil spirits and hostile magic, still survives in the Veda. Agni drives away the goblins with his light (3,15[1] &c.)[34] and receives the epithet *rakṣohan*, 'goblin-slayer' (10, 87[1]). When kindled he consumes with iron teeth and scorches with heat the sorcerers as well as the goblins (10, 87[2. 5. 14]), protecting the sacrifice with keen glance (ib. [9]). He knows the races of the sorcerers and destroys them (AV. 1,8[4]). Though this function of dispelling terrestrial demons is shared with Agni by Indra (as well as by Bṛhaspati, the Aśvins, and especially Soma), it must primarily have belonged to Agni alone, just as, conversely, that of slaying Asuras or aerial demons is transferred to Agni (7, 13[1]) though properly peculiar to Indra. This is borne out by the fact that Agni is undoubtedly more prominent as a goblin-slayer than Indra, both in the hymns and in the ritual[35].

Agni is more closely connected with human life than any other god. His association with the dwellings of men is peculiarly intimate. He is the only god to whom the frequent epithet *gṛhapati*, 'lord of the house', is applied. He dwells in every abode (7,15[2]), never leaving his home (8,49[19]). The attribute 'domestic' (*damūnas*) is generally connected with him (1,60[4] &c.). This household deity probably represents an old order of ideas; for in the later elaborate ritual of the three sacrificial fires, the one from which the other two (the *āhavanīya* or eastern and the *dakṣiṇa* or southern) were taken, is called the *gārhapatya* or that which belongs to *gṛhapati*. In this connexion it is interesting to observe that even as early as Rigvedic times there are traces of the sacrificial fire having been transported[36]. For Agni is led round (4, 9[3]. 15[1]), strides round the offerings (4, 15[3]) or goes round the sacrifice three times (4, 6[4. 5]. 15[2]); and as soon as he is released from his parents, he is led to the east and again to the west (1, 31[4]).

He is further constantly designated a 'guest' (*atithi*) in human abodes. He is a guest in every house (10,91[2]), the first guest of settlers (5,8[2]). For

he is an immortal (a term much more commonly applied to Agni than to any other god), who has taken up his abode among mortals (8, 60[1]). He has been established or settled among human habitations (3, 5[3]; 4, 6[2]). It is the domestic Agni who caused mortals to settle (3, 1[17]). He is a leader (3, 2[5]) and a protector of settlers (1, 96[4]), and the epithet *viśpati*, 'lord of settlers' is mainly connected with him.

Thus Agni comes to be called the nearest kinsman of man (7, 15[1]; 8, 49[10]), or simply a kinsman (1, 26[3] &c.) or a friend (1, 75[4] &c.). But he is oftenest described as a father (6, 1[5] &c.), sometimes also as a brother (8, 43[16]; 10, 7[3] &c.), and even as a son (2, 1[9]) or mother (6, 1[5]), of his worshippers. Such terms seem to point to an older order of things, when Agni was less sacrificial and, as the centre of domestic life, produced an intimate relation such as is not easily found in the worship of other gods[37].

The continuity of Agni's presence in the house would naturally connect him more closely than any other god with the past. Hence the ancestral friendship of Agni with his worshipper (1, 71[10]) is probably more typical of him than of any other deity. He is the god whom the forefathers kindled, to whom they prayed. Thus mention is made of an Agni of Bharata (2, 7[1]; 7, 8[4] &c.), of Vadhryaśva (10, 69[1]), of Devavāta (3, 23[3]), of Divodāsa (8, 92[2]), and of Trasadasyu (8, 19[32])[38]. The names of ancestors sometimes identified with Agni are in part those of families to which composers of the RV. belonged. Some of these, like Vasiṣṭha, seem to have had a historical origin, while others, like Angiras (§ 54) and Bhṛgu (§ 51), are probably mythical (cp. § 58).

Agni is further brought into close relations with the daily life of man in the sacrifice. He is, however, not merely a passive receiver of the offering, but is an intermediary between heaven and earth. He transmits the oblation to the gods, who do not get exhilarated without him (7, 11[1]). On the other hand, he brings the gods (3, 14[2]) to the sacrifice as well as takes it to them (7, 11[5]). He seats them on the strewn grass (1, 31[17]; 8, 44[3]), to eat the offering (5, 1[11] &c.). He goes on the paths leading both to the gods (10, 98[11]) and to earth (8, 7[2]), knowing these paths (6, 16[3]). He is therefore constantly and characteristically called a messenger (*dūta*), who knows the paths and conveys the sacrifice (1, 72[7]) or visits all abodes (4, 1[8]); who flies swiftly (10, 6[4]), moving between heaven and earth (4, 7[8]. 8[4]; 10, 4[2]), or the two races, gods and men (4, 2[2.3]); who has been appointed by the gods (5, 8[6] &c.) and by men (10, 46[10]), to be an oblation-bearer (***havya-vah*** or ***-vāhana***, terms always connected with Agni) and to announce the hymn of the worshipper (1, 27[4]) or to bring the gods to the place of sacrifice (4, 8[2]). He is the messenger of the gods (6, 15[9]) and of Vivasvat (p. 42); but as knowing the innermost recesses of heaven, as conveying the sacrifice, and bringing the gods (4, 7[8]. 8[2]) he is mainly to be considered the messenger of men. A later text states that Agni is the messenger of the gods, and Kāvya Uśanas or Daivya that of the Asuras (TS. 2, 5, 8[5]. 11[8]). Another describes Agni not as the messenger of, but as the path leading to, the gods, by which the summit of heaven may be reached (TB. 2, 4, 1[6]).

In consequence of his main function in the Veda of officiating at the sacrifice, Agni comes to be celebrated as the divine counterpart of the earthly priesthood. He is therefore often called generically the 'priest' (*ṛtvij*, ***vipra***) or specifically the 'domestic priest' (*purohita*), and constantly, more frequently in fact than by any other name, the 'offerer' (*hotṛ*) or chief priest, who is poet and spokesman in one. He is a Hotṛ appointed by men (8, 49[1]; 10, 7[5]) and by gods (6, 16[1]). He is the most adorable, the most eminent of Hotṛs

(10, 2[1]. 91[8]). He is also termed an *adhvaryu* (3, 5[4]) and (like Bṛhaspati, Soma, and Indra) a *brahman* or praying priest (4, 9[4]). He combines in himself the functions, in a higher sense, of the various human priests called by the above and other specific names (1, 94[6]; 2, 1[2] &c.). He is constantly invoked to honour or worship the gods (3, 25[1]; 7, 11[3] &c.), while they in their turn are said to honour Agni three times a day (3, 4[2]). He is the accomplisher of the rite or sacrifice (3, 3[3]. 27[2]), promoting it by his occult power (3, 27[7]), making the oblations fragrant (10, 15[12]), and causing the offering which he protects to reach the gods (1, 1[4]). He is the father (3, 3[4]), the king (4, 3[1]), the ruler (10, 6[3]), the superintendant (8, 43[24]), the banner (3, 3[3]. 10[4]; 6, 2[3]; 10, 1[5]), of sacrifice. In one hymn (10, 51) it is related that Agni grew weary of the service and refused to fulfil his sacrificial offices, but on being granted the remuneration he required from the gods, continued to act as high priest of men[39]. Agni's priesthood is the most salient feature of his character. He is in fact the great priest, as Indra is the great warrior. But though this phase of Agni's character is so prominent from the beginning to the end of the RV., it is of course from a historical point of view comparatively recent, due to those mystical sacerdotal speculations which ultimately led to the endless sacrificial symbolism of the later ritual texts. From the ordinary sacrificial Agni who conveys the offering (*havya-vah* or *-vāhana*) is distinguished the form of Fire which is called 'corpse-devouring' (*kravyād*: cp. § 71). The VS. distinguishes three forms, as the Agni who devours raw-flesh (*āmād*), the corpse-devouring or funereal, and the sacrificial Agni (VS. 1, 17, cp. 18, 51). The TS. (2, 5, 8[6]) also distinguishes three, the Agni that bears the oblation (*havyavāhana*), as belonging to the gods, the Agni that bears the funeral offering (*kavyavāhana*), as belonging to the Fathers, and the Agni associated with goblins (*saharakṣas*) as belonging to the Asuras.

Agni is a seer (*ṛṣi*) as well as a priest (9, 66[20]); he is kindled as an eminent seer (3, 21[3]); he is the most gracious seer (6, 14[2]); he is the first seer Aṅgiras (1, 31[1]). He is the divine one (*asura*) among the sages (3, 3[4]). Agni knows the sacrifice exactly (10, 110[11]) and knows all rites (10, 122[2]). Knowing the proper seasons he rectifies the mistakes which men commit through ignorance of the sacrificial ordinances of the gods (10, 2[4. 5]) He knows the recesses of heaven (4, 8[2. 4]). He knows everything (10, 11[1]) by his wisdom (10, 91[3]). He has all wisdom (3, 1[17]; 10, 21[5]), which he embraces as the felly the wheel (2, 5[3]) and which he acquired as soon as born (1, 96[1]). He is 'all-knowing' (*viśvavid*); and the epithets 'possessed of all knowledge' (*viśvavedas*), 'sage' (*kavi*), and 'possessing the intelligence of a sage' (*kavikratu*) are predominantly applicable to him. He exclusively bears the epithet *jātavedas*, which occurs upwards of 120 times in the RV. and is there (6, 15[13]) explained as meaning 'he who knows all generations' (*viśvā veda janimā*)[40]. He knows the divine ordinances and the generations of men (1, 70[1. 3]). He knows and sees all creatures (3, 55[10]; 10, 187[4]) and hears the invocations addressed to him (8, 43[23]). Agni is also a producer of wisdom (8, 91[8]). Wisdom and prayers arise from him (4, 11[3]). He is an inspirer (10, 46[5]), an inventor of brilliant speech (2, 9[4]), the first inventor of prayer (6, 1[1]). He is also said to be eloquent (6, 4[4]) and a singer (*jaritṛ*).

Agni is a great benefactor of his worshippers. He protects them with a hundred iron walls (7, 3[7]. 16[10], cp. 6, 48[8]; 1, 189[2]). He preserves them from calamities or takes them across calamities as in a ship over the sea (3, 20[4]; 5, 4[9]; 7, 12[2]). He is a deliverer (8, 49[5]) and a friend of the man who entertains him as a guest (4, 4[10]). He grants protection to the worshipper who sweats to bring him fuel (4, 2[6]). He watches with a thousand eyes the

man who brings him food and nourishes him with oblations (10, 79^5). He consumes his worshippers' enemies like dry bushes (4, 4^4) and strikes down the malevolent as a tree is destroyed by lightning (6, 8^5, cp. AV. 3, 2^1 &c.). He is therefore invoked in battle (8, 43^{21}), in which he leads the van (8, 73^8). The man whom he protects and inspires in battle wins abundant food and can never be overcome (1, 27^7). All blessings issue from him as branches from a tree (6, 13^1). He gives riches, which he abundantly commands (1, 1^3. 31^{10}. 36^4). All treasures are collected in him (10, 6^6) and he opens the door of riches (1, 68^{10}). He commands all riches in heaven and earth (4, 5^{11}) or in earth, heaven, and ocean (7, 6^7; 10, 91^3). He gives rain from heaven (2, 6^5) and is like a water-trough in the desert (10, 4^1). He is therefore constantly besought to bestow every kind of boon: food, riches, deliverance from poverty, childlessness, enemies, and demons[41]. The boons which Agni bestows are rather domestic welfare, offspring, and prosperity, while Indra for the most part gives power, victory, and glory. Agni also forgives sin[42] committed through folly, makes guiltless before Aditi (4, 12^4; 7, 93^7, cp. p. 121), and averts Varuṇa's wrath (4, 1^4). He even frees from guilt committed by a man's father and mother (AV. 5, 30^4; TB. 3, 7, $12^{3.4}$)

Agni is a divine (*asura*) monarch (*samrāj*), strong as Indra (7, 6^1). His greatness surpasses that of mighty heaven (1, 59^5). He is greater than heaven and earth (3, 6^2; 10, 88^{14}), than all the worlds, which he filled when born (3, 3^{10}). He is superior to all the other gods in greatness (1, 68^2). All the gods fear and do homage to him when he abides in darkness (6, 9^7). He is celebrated and worshipped by Varuṇa, Mitra, the Maruts, and all the gods (3, 9^8. 14^4; 10, 69^9). Agni performed great deeds of old (7, 6^2). Men tremble at his mighty deeds (8, 92^3). In battle he procured space for the gods (1, 59^5) and he delivered them from curse (7, 13^2). He is a conqueror of thousands (*sahasrajit*: more commonly an attribute of Soma). He drives away the Dasyus from the house, thus creating a wide light for the Ārya (7, 5^6). He is a promoter of the Ārya (8, 92^1) and a vanquisher of irreligious Paṇis (7, 6^3). He receives with some frequency the epithet of 'Vṛtra-slayer', and two or three times that of 'fort-destroyer' (*puraṃdara*), attributes primarily appropriate to Indra (p. 60). Such warlike qualities, though suitable to Agni in his lightning form, are doubtless derived by him from Indra, with whom he is so frequently associated (p. 127).

Although Agni is the son of Heaven and Earth he is nevertheless called the generator of the two worlds (1, 96^4, cp. 7, 5^7), his ordinance, which does not perish (2, 8^3), being followed by heaven and earth (7, 5^4). He stretched them out (3, 6^5; 7, 5^4) or spread them out like two skins (6, 8^3). With his flame or his smoke he supported the vault of heaven (3, 5^{10}; 4, 6^2). He kept asunder the two worlds (6, 8^3). He supported earth and heaven with true hymns (1, 67^3). He stands at the head of the world or is the head of the earth at night (10, $88^{5.6}$), but he is also the head and summit (*kakud*) of the sky (1, 59^2; 6, 7^1; 8, 44^{10}). He measured out the air and touched the vault of heaven with his greatness (6, 8^2). He measured out the aerial spaces and the bright realms of heaven (6, 7^7). He caused the sun to ascend the sky (10, 156^4). The notion that the kindling of Agni exercised a magical influence on the sunrise seems not to be entirely absent in the RV.[43]. Such appears to be the meaning of the poet when he exclaims: 'Let us light Agni, that thy wondrous brand may shine in heaven' (5, 6^4). This notion is clearly stated in a Brāhmaṇa passage: 'By sacrificing before sunrise he produces him (the sun), else he would not rise' (SB. 2, 3, 1^5, cp. TS. 4, 7, 13^3). Otherwise the kindling of Agni and the sunrise are represented merely as simultaneous

in the RV.: 'The sun became visible when Agni was born' (4, 3[11]). This trait of the Agni myth resembles the winning of the sun in the Indra myth, but the original point of view in the two cases is clearly different. Agni is further said to have adorned the sky with stars (1, 68[5]). He created all that flies, walks, stands, or moves (10, 88[4]). He placed the germ in these beings (3, 2[10]), in plants, in all beings, and engendered offspring in the earth and in women (10, 183[3]). Agni is once spoken of as having generated these children of men (1, 96[2]); but this is a mere incidental extension of the notion expressed in the same stanza, that he created heaven, earth, and the waters, and cannot be interpreted as a general belief in Agni as father of the human race[44]. Finally, Agni is the guardian (7, 7[4]) and lord (7, 4[6]) of immortality, which he confers on mortal men (1, 31[7]).

Though *agni* is an Indo-European word (Lat. *igni-s*, Slavonic *ogni*), the worship of fire under this name is purely Indian. In the Indo-Iranian period the sacrificial fire is already found as the centre of a developed ritual, tended by a priestly class probably called Atharvan; personified and worshipped as a strong, pure, wise god, giver of food, offspring, intellectual power, fame; friendly to the house, but a destroyer of foes; probably even thought of as having different forms like lightning or the fire produced from wood[45]. The sacrificial fire seems to have been an Indo-European institution also[46], since the Italians and Greeks, as well as the Iranians and Indians had the custom of offering gifts to the gods in fire. But the personification of this fire, if it then existed, must have been extremely shadowy[47].

The word *ag-ni* may possibly be derived from the root which in Sanskrit appears as *aj*[48], to drive (*ájāmi*, Lat. *ago*, Gk. ἄγω), meaning 'nimble', with reference to the agility of the element.

Besides epithets of celestial fire which, like Apāṃ napāt, have become separate names, some epithets of Agni exhibit a semi-independent character. The epithet Vaiśvānara[49], occurring about sixty times in the RV. and with two exceptions restricted to Agni, is, apart from some five detached verses, to be found in fourteen hymns of the RV., in nearly all of which, according to the native tradition of the Anukramaṇī, Agni Vaiśvānara is the deity addressed. The attribute is never in the RV. unaccompanied by the name of Agni. It means 'belonging to all men' and seems to designate 'Universal Agni', fire in all its aspects, celestial as well as terrestrial. Thus the hymns addressed to this form of Agni sometimes refer to the myth of Mātariśvan and the Bhṛgus, which is connected with the descent of celestial fire to earth (3, 2[4]; 6, 8[4]), and Agni Vaiśvānara is once even directly styled Mātariśvan (3, 26[2]). In the Naighaṇṭuka (5, 1) Vaiśvānara is given as one of the names of Agni. Yāska in commenting on the epithet states (Nir. 7, 23) that ancient ritualists (*yājñikāḥ*) took Agni Vaiśvānara to be the sun, while Śākapūṇi considered him to be this Agni[50]. Later on (Nir. 7, 31), he states as his own opinion that the Agni Vaiśvānara who receives praise and sacrifice is this (i. e. terrestrial) Agni, while the two higher (*uttare*) lights (i. e. the aerial and the celestial) only occasionally share this designation. In the ritual texts Vaiśvānara is distinguished as a special form of Agni (ĀŚS. 1, 3[23]; KŚS. 23, 3[1]; (PB. 21, 10[11]; ŚB. 1, 5, 1[16]).

The epithet Tanūnapāt, generally unaccompanied by the name of Agni, occurs eight times in the RV. and, with two exceptions (3, 29[11]; 10, 92[2]) always in the second verse of the Āprī hymns, which are liturgical invitations introducing the animal sacrifice and in which fire under various names and forms is invoked[51]. The word occurs as an independent name in the Naighaṇṭuka (5, 2). The explanations given by Yāska (Nir. 8, 5) are artificial

and improbable[52]. It seems to mean 'son of himself', as spontaneously generated in wood and cloud. According to BERGAIGNE's interpretation, it signifies 'the bodily (i. e. own) son' of the divine father[53]. Tanūnapāt as contrasted with Mātariśvan and Narāśaṃsa is said to be 'the divine (*āsura*) embryo' (3, 29^{11}). The dawns are said to kiss Agni 'the domestic priest, the Tanūnapāt of the ruddy one' (10, 92^2, cp. 5, 58^6). Tanūnapāt is beautiful-tongued (10, 110^2). He is besought to take the sacrifice to the gods (1, 13^2; 10, 110^2); he distributes the sacrifice rich in ghee and mead (1, 142^2, cp. 188^2). The gods honour him three times a day, Varuṇa, Mitra, Agni, every day (3, 4^2). HILLEBRANDT[54] (comparing 9, 5^2) identifies Agni Tanūnapāt with Agni Somagopā or the lunar Fire, which he assumes to be a special form of Agni[55].

The somewhat more frequent epithet Narāśaṃsa which is given as an independent appellation in the Naighaṇṭuka (5, 3) and is unaccompanied by the name of Agni in the RV., is not restricted to Agni, being twice connected with Pūṣan (1, 106^4; 10, 64^3)[56]. It has the third verse as its fixed place in the Āprī hymns and the second in those which are technically called Āpra. Narāśaṃsa is 'four-limbed' (10, 92^{11}) and is the 'lord of a celestial wife (*gnāspati*: 2, 38^{10}). With honey on his tongue and in his hand, he performs the sacrifice (1, 13^3; 5, 5^2). Three times a day he besprinkles the sacrifice with honey (1, 142^3). He anoints the three heavens and the gods (2, 3^2). He comes at the head of the gods and makes the sacrifice pleasant for them (10, 70^2). Through his sacrifices worshippers praise the greatness of the gods (7, 2^2). Soma is said to go between Narāśaṃsa and the celestial (*daivya*) one (9, 86^{42}), which seems to mean, between the terrestrial and the celestial Agni. As contrasted with Tanūnapāt and Mātariśvan, Agni is called Narāśaṃsa when he is born (3, 29^{11}). In one hymn to Bṛhaspati (10, 182^2) Narāśaṃsa is invoked for protection, and in another he is spoken of as the sacrificer of the seat of heaven (1, 18^9). He thus seems in these two passages to be identified with Bṛhaspati. The word *nárā-śáṃsa* is apparently an improper compound (in which the *m* of the genitive plural has disappeared), having a double accent and having its parts separated by particles in two passages (9, 86^{42}; 10, 64^3). As the expressions *narāṃ śaṃsa* and *devānāṃ śaṃsa* occur (2, 34^6; 1, 141^{11}) and a poet once calls Agni *śaṃsam āyoḥ*, 'Praise of Āyu' (4, 6^{11}), Narāśaṃsa appears to mean 'Praise of men' in the sense of 'he who is the object of men's praise'. BERGAIGNE expresses the opinion[57] that the exact aspect of Agni represented by Narāśaṃsa, is that of a god of human prayer, like a second Bṛhaspati.

[1] Muṇḍ. Up. 1, 2^4; cp. ZDMG. 35, 552. — [2] Cp. OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 50, 425—6; SBE. 46, 159. 207. — [3] ORV. 104; SBE. 46, 128. — [4] Cp. BRV. 1, 143; SBE. 46, 144. — [5] BDA. 50—1; OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 39, 69. — [6] SCHWAB, Das altindische Tieropfer 77—8; ROTH, Indisches Feuerzeug, ZDMG. 43, 590—5. — [7] BRV. 2, 52; PVS. 2, 50. — [8] ROTH, Nirukta, Erl. 120; PW. s. v. *yuvati* and *tvaṣṭṛ*; OO. 2, 510. — [9] JOLLY in this Encyclopaedia II, 8, p. 25. — [10] KHF. ed. Schrader (1889) 37—9; cp. ZDMG. 35, 561. — [11] KHF. 18; KRV. note 121; HRI. 107. — [12] ROTH, ZDMG. 43, 593; ORV. 121. — [13] Cp. HVM. 1, 179 note 4. — [14] HAUG, AB. 2, p. 62. — [15] OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 39, 68—72; MACDONELL, JRAS. 26, 16 ff. — [16] LRV. 5, 504. — [17] ORV. 115. — [18] Cp. GVS. 1, 157—70. — [19] ORV. 113 note 2. — [20] Ibid. 112. — [21] Other passages are 3, 14^4; 8, 56^5; 10, $88^{11.12}$; AV. 13, 1^{13}; TS. 4, 2, 9^4. — [22] OST. 5, 206; BRV. 1, 21—5; MACDONELL, JRAS. 25, 468—70; ORV. 106; SBE. 46, 231. — [23] Cp. HRI. 105. — [24] See GW. s. v. — [25] LRV. 3, 356; BRV. 1, 23. — [26] ORV. 348. — [27] Cp. ŚB. 2, 1 and EGGELING, SBE. 12, 274 ff. — [28] HRI. 106; cp. LRV. 3, 356. — [29] BRV. 1, 23; LRV. 3, 355; OLDENBERG, SBE. 30, x, note 1; 46, 362; ORV. 348. — [30] BRV. 1, 103. — [31] LRV. 5, 504—5. — [32] Cp. Sāyaṇa; ROTH, Nirukta, Erl. 140; MM., LSL. 2, 614. — [33] Cp. BRV. 3, 134 f. — [34] BRV. 2, 217. — [35] ORV. 128. [36] SBE. 46, 361. —

37 ORV. 132—3. — — 38 OST. 1, 348—9; cp. SBE. 46, 123. 211. — 39 MACDONELL, JRAS. 26, 12—22. — 40 WHITNEY, AJP. 3, 409; otherwise PVS. 1, 94 and BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. 16, 16. — 41 OST. 5, 218. — 42 Cp. ORV. 299—300. — 43 Cp. BRV. 1, 140 ff.; ORV. 109; SBE. 46, 330. — 44 The view of KHF. 69 ff. — 45 ORV. 103. — 46 KNAUER, FaR. 64. — 47 ORV. 102. — 48 PW.; MM.PhR. 117 (cp. KIRSTE, WZKM. 7, 97); rejected by BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 5, 222. — 49 BRV. 153—6. — 50 ROTH, Nir. Erl. 7, 19. — 51 ROTH, Nirukta, Introd. 36 f.; Erl. 117—8. 121—4; MM.ASL. 463—6; WEBER, IS. 10, 89—95; GRV. 1, 6. — 52 ROTH, Nir. Erl. 117; cp. OLDENBERG, SBE. 46, 10. — 53 BRV. 2, 99 f. — 54 HVM. 1, 339. — 55 Ibid. 330—6. — 56 ROTH, Erl. 117 f.; cp. SP.AP. 209 f. — 57 BRV. 1, 305—8.

KHF. 1—105; WHITNEY, JAOS. 3, 317—8; OST. 199—220; LRV. 3, 324—5; KRV. 35—7; BRV. 1, 11—31. 38—45. 70—4. 100—1. 139—45; BRI. 9—11; SP.AP. 147—53; V. SCHROEDER, KZ. 29, 193 ff. (cp. BB. 19, 230); WZKM. 225—30; MM.PhR. 144—203. 252—302; HVBP. 63—8; ORV. 102—33; HRI. 105—12.

§ 36. Bṛhaspati. — This god occupies a position of considerable prominence in the RV., eleven entire hymns being dedicated to his praise. He also forms a pair with Indra in two hymns (4, 49; 7, 97). His name occurs about 120 times and in the form of Brahmaṇas pati about 50 times besides. The two forms of the name alternate in different verses of the same hymn (e. g. in 2, 23). The physical features of Bṛhaspati are few. He is seven-mouthed and seven-rayed (4, 50^{4}), beautiful-tongued (1, 190^{1}; 4, 50^{1}), sharp-horned (10, 155^{2}), blue-backed (5, 43^{12}), and hundred-winged (7, 97^{7}). He is golden-coloured and ruddy (5, 43^{12}), bright (3, 62^{7}; 7, 97^{7}), pure (7, 97^{7}), and clear-voiced (7, 97^{5}). He has a bow, the string of which is the rite (*ṛta*), and good arrows (2, 24^{8}; cp. AV. 5, 18$^{8.9}$). He also wields a golden hatchet (7, 97^{7}) and is armed with an iron axe, which Tvaṣṭṛ sharpens (10, 53^{9}). He has a car (10, 103^{4}) and stands on the car of the rite, which slays the goblins, bursts the cowstalls, and wins the light (2, 23^{3}). He is drawn by ruddy steeds (7, 97^{6}).

Bṛhaspati was first born from great light in the highest heaven and with thunder (*raveṇa*) drove away darkness (4, 50^{4}; cp. 10, 68^{12}). He is the offspring of the two worlds (7, 97^{8}), but is also said to have been generated by Tvaṣṭṛ (2, 23^{17}). On the other hand, he is called the father of the gods (2, 26^{3}), being said to have blown forth the births of the gods like a blacksmith (10, 72^{2}).

Bṛhaspati is a domestic priest[1] (2, 24^{9}; VS. 20, 11; TS. 6, 4, 10; AB. 8, 26^{4}), a term almost peculiar to Agni (p. 96). The ancient seers placed him at their head (*puro-dhā*) (4, 50^{1}). He is Soma's *purohita* (ŚB. 4, 1, 2^{4}). He is also a *brahman* or praying priest[2] (2, 1^{3}; 4, 50^{8}), once probably in the technical sense (10, 141^{3}). In later Vedic texts Bṛhaspati is the *brahman* priest (in the technical sense) of the gods[3]. He is even called the prayer or devotion (*brahma*) of the gods (TS. 2, 2, 9^{1} &c.) Bṛhaspati promotes the yoking of devotion, and without him sacrifice does not succeed (1, 18^{7}). As a pathmaker he makes good the access to the feast of the gods (2, 23$^{6.7}$). From him even the gods obtained their share of sacrifice (2, 23^{1}). He awakens the gods with sacrifice (AV. 19, 63^{1}). He himself pronounces the hymn in which Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, the gods take pleasure (1, 40^{5}). He sings chants (10, 36^{5}). His song (*śloka*) goes to heaven (1, 190^{4}) and metre (*chandas*) belongs to him (MS. 1, 9^{2}). He is associated with singers (7, 10^{4}; 10, 14^{3}). He sings with his 'friends that cry like Haṃsas' (10, 67^{3}), by whom the Aṅgirases[4] (§ 54) mentioned in the preceding verse (10, 67^{2}) seem to be meant. He is also said to be accompanied by a singing (*ṛkvat*)[5] host (*gaṇa*: 4, 50^{5}). This is doubtless the reason why he is called *gaṇapati*, 'lord of a host' (2, 23^{1}), a term once applied to Indra also (10, 112^{9}).

As the name Brahmaṇas pati shows, the god is a 'lord of prayer'. He

is also described as the supreme king of prayers, the most famous sage of sages (2, 23^{1}). Mounting the car of the rite he conquers the enemies of prayer and of the gods (2, $23^{3.8}$). He is the generator of all prayers (1, 190^{2}). He utters prayer (1, 40^{5}) and communicates prayers to the human priest (10, 98^{27}). Thus he comes later to be called a 'lord of speech', *vācaspati* (MS. 2, 6^{6}, cp. ŚB. 14, 4, 1^{23}), a term specially applied to Bṛhaspati as god of eloquence and wisdom in post-Vedic literature.[6]

There are several passages in which Bṛhaspati appears identified with Agni. Thus 'the lord of prayer, Agni, handsome like Mitra' is invoked (1, 38^{13}). In another passage (2, 1^{3} ff.) Agni, though identified with other gods as well, is clearly more intimately connected with Brahmaṇaspati, as only these two names are in the vocative. In one verse (3, 26^{2}) both Mātariśvan and 'Bṛhaspati the wise priest, the guest, the swiftly-moving' seem to be epithets of Agni, while in another (1, 190^{2}) Mātariśvan seems to be an epithet of Bṛhaspati. Again, by Bṛhaspati, who is blue-backed, takes up his abode in the house, shines brightly, is golden-coloured and ruddy (5, 43^{12}), Agni must be meant. In two other verses (1, 18^{19}; 10, 182^{2}) Bṛhaspati seems to be the same as Narāśaṃsa, a form of Agni (p. 100). Like Agni, Bṛhaspati is a priest, is called 'Son of strength' (1, 40^{2}) and Aṅgiras (2, 23^{18}) as well (the epithet *āṅgirasa* belonging to him exclusively), and burns the goblins (2, 23^{14}) or slays them (10, 103^{4}). Bṛhaspati is also spoken of as ascending to heaven, to the upper abodes (10, 67^{10}). Like Agni, Bṛhaspati has three abodes (4, 50^{1}); he is the adorable one of houses (7, 97^{5}), and 'lord of the dwelling', *sadasas pati*[7] (1, 18^{6}; Indra-Agni are once called *sadaspatī*, 1, 21^{5}). On the other hand, Agni is called *brahmaṇas kavi*, 'sage of prayer' (6, 16^{30}) and is besought (2, 2^{7}) to make heaven and earth favourable by prayer (*brahmaṇā*). But Bṛhaspati is much more commonly distinguished from Agni (2, 25^{3}; 7, 10^{4}; 10, 68^{9}), chiefly by being invoked or named along with him in enumerations (3, 20^{5} &c.)[8].

Like Agni, Bṛhaspati has been drawn into and has obtained a firm footing in the Indra myth of the release of the cows. The mountain yielded to his splendour, when Bṛhaspati, the Aṅgiras, opened the cowstall and with Indra as his companion let loose the flood of water enveloped by darkness (2, 23^{18}, cp. 1, 56^{5}. 89^{9}). Accompanied by his singing host (cp. § 54) he with a roar rent Vala; shouting he drove out the lowing cows (4, 50^{5}). He won treasures and the great stalls full of cows; desiring waters and light, the irresistible Bṛhaspati slays his foe with flames (6, 73^{3}). What was firm was loosened, what was strong yielded to him; he drove out the cows, he cleft Vala with prayer; he covered up the darkness and made heaven visible; the stone-mouthed well filled with honey, which Bṛhaspati pierced with might, that the celestials drank, while they poured out together abundantly the watery fountain (2, $24^{3.4}$). When Bṛhaspati with fiery gleams rent the defences of Vala, he revealed the treasures of the cows; as if splitting open eggs, he drove out the cows of the mountain; he beheld the honey enclosed by the stone; he brought it out, having cloven (Vala) with his roar; he smote forth as it were the marrow of Vala (10, 68^{4-9}). He drove out the cows and distributed them in heaven (2, 24^{14}). Bṛhaspati fetched the cows out of the rock; seizing the cows of Vala, he took possession of them (10, 68^{5}). His conquest of Vala is so characteristic that it became proverbial (AV. 9, 3^{2}). Being in the clouds (*abhriya*) he shouts aloud after the many cows (10, 68^{12}, cp. 67^{3}). These cows may represent the waters, which are expressly mentioned (2, 23^{18}; 6, 73^{3}) or possibly the rays of dawn (cp. 10, 67^{5}. 68^{9}).

In releasing the cows Bṛhaspati seeks light in darkness and finds the

light; he found the Dawn, light, and Agni, and dispelled the darkness (10, 68[4. 9]). In shattering the fort, he found the Dawn, the Sun, the Cow (10, 67[5]). He hid or dispelled the darkness and made visible the light (2, 24[3]; 4, 50[4]). Bṛhaspati thus comes to acquire more general warlike traits. He penetrated the mountain full of riches and split open the strongholds of Śambara (2, 24[2]). Bṛhaspati Āṅgirasa, the first-born holy one, cleaver of rocks, roars as a bull at the two worlds, slays Vṛtras (*vṛtrā́ṇi*), shatters forts, overcomes foes (6, 73[1. 2]). He disperses foes and wins victory (10, 103[4]). No one can overcome him in great fight or small (1, 40[8]). He vanquishes the enemy in battle (2, 23[11]). He is to be invoked in combats (2, 23[13]) and is a priest much praised in conflict (2, 24[9]).

Being the companion and ally of Indra (2, 23[18]. 24[2]; 8, 85[15]), he is often invoked with that deity (4, 50[10. 11] &c.). With Indra he is a soma-drinker (4, 49[3]. 50[10]) and, like him, is styled *maghavan*, 'bountiful' (2, 24[12]). Indra, too, is the only god with whom he forms a pair (2, 24[12]; 4, 49[1—6]). Thus he comes to be styled *vajrin*, 'wielder of the bolt' (1, 40[8]) and to be described as hurling the bolt, the Asura-slaying missile (AV. 11, 10[13]). He is also invoked with the Maruts at the same time as Indra (1, 40[1]) and is once besought to come accompanied by the Maruts, whether he be Mitra, Varuṇa or Pūṣan (10, 98[1]). In one passage he is said to have heard the prayer of Trita buried in a well and to have delivered him (1, 105[17]).

Bṛhaspati favours the man who offers prayer (2, 25[1]) but scourges the hater of prayer (2, 23[4]). He protects the pious man from all dangers and calamities, from curse and malignity, and blesses him with wealth and prosperity (1, 18[3]; 2, 23[4—10]). Possessed of all desirable things (7, 10[4]. 97[4]), he is opulent, a procurer of wealth, and an increaser of prosperity (1, 18[2]). He is a prolonger of life and a remover of disease (1, 18[2]). Having such benevolent traits he is called a father (4, 50[6]; 6, 73[1]).

He is *asurya*, 'divine' (2, 23[2]), belongs to all the gods (3, 62[4]; 4, 50[6]), and is the most god-like of the gods (2, 24[3]). As a god he widely extended to the gods and embraces all things (2, 24[11], cp. 8, 61[18]). Mightily he holds asunder the ends of the earth with his roar (4, 50[1]). It is his inimitable deed that sun and moon rise alternately (10, 68[10]). He is also spoken of as stimulating the growth of plants (10, 97[15. 19]). Later Bṛhaspati is brought into connexion with certain stars. Thus in the TS. (4, 4, 10[1]) he is stated to be the deity of the constellation Tiṣya[9], and in post-Vedic literature he is regarded as the regent of the planet Jupiter.

Bṛhaspati is a purely Indian deity. Both forms of the name occur throughout the older as well as the later books of the RV. But since appellations formed with *pati* (like *vācas pati*, *vāstoṣ pati*, *kṣetrasya pati*) to designate deities presiding over a particular domain, must be comparatively recent as products of reflexion[10], this mythological creation can hardly go much further back than the beginning of the Rigvedic period. The accentuation of the word *bṛ́haspáti* shows it to be an improper compound. The prior member might possibly be a neuter noun in *-as*[11], but the contemporaneous form *bráhmaṇas páti*, which is a kind of explanation, indicates that the poets of the RV. regarded it as the genitive[12] of a noun *bṛh*, from the same root as *brahman*.

The evidence adduced above seems to favour the view that Bṛhaspati was originally an aspect of Agni as a divine priest presiding over devotion, an aspect which (unlike other epithets of Agni formed with *pati*, such as *viśām pati*, *gṛhapati*, *sadaspati*) had attained an independent character by the beginning of the Rigvedic period, though the connexion with Agni was

not entirely severed. LANGLOIS[13], H. H. WILSON[14], MAX MÜLLER[15] agree in regarding Bṛhaspati as a variety of Agni. ROTH[16] was of opinion that this sacerdotal god is a direct impersonation of the power of devotion. Similarly KAEGI[17] and OLDENBERG[18] think him to be an abstraction of priestly action, which has appropriated the deeds of earlier gods. WEBER[19] considers Bṛhaspati to be a priestly abstraction of Indra, and is followed in this by HOPKINS[20]. Finally, HILLEBRANDT[21] holds him to be a lord of plants and a personification of the moon[22], representing predominantly the igneous side of that luminary.

As the divine *brahman* priest, Bṛhaspati seems to have been the prototype of Brahmā, the chief of the Hindu triad, while the neuter form of the word, *brahma*, developed into the Absolute of the Vedānta philosophy[23].

1 Cp. ZDMG. 32, 316. — 2 ORV. 396, note 1; SBE. 46, 190. — 3 ORV. 382. — 4 ROTH thinks they are the Maruts: ZDMG. 1, 77. — 5 Stars, HVM. 1, 416; Maruts, Vedainterpretation 10. — 6 ZDMG. 1, 77. — 7 Cp. HILLEBRANDT, Vedaint. 10. — 8 OST. 5, 283. — 9 WEBER, Die Nakṣatra 2, 371. — 10 ROTH, ZDMG. 1, 72. — 11 HVM. 1, 409. — 12 MACDONELL, KZ. 34, 292—6. — 13 RV. Trans. 1, 249. 254. 578. — 14 RV. Trans. 1, xxxvii. — 15 Vedic Hymns, SBE. 32, 94. — 16 ZDMG. 1, 73; PW. — 17 KRV. 32. — 18 ORV. 66—8. 381—2; SBE. 46, 94. 19 Vājapeya 15. — 20 HRI. 136; cp. WILSON, RV. Tr. 2, ix; BDA. xi. — 21 HVM, 1, 404. 418—9 (cp. 277); cp. OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 49, 173. — 22 Also HVBP. 46—7. — 23 BRV. 1, 304; HRI. 136.

ROTH, ZDMG. 1, 72—80; OST. 5, 272—83; BRV. 1, 299—304; KRV. 73—4; BRI. 15—6; HVM. 1, 404—25; LRF. 97—8; PISCHEL, GGA. 1894, p. 420.

§ 37. Soma. — Since the Soma sacrifice forms the main feature of the ritual of the RV.[1], the god Soma is naturally one of the most important deities of that Veda. All the 114 hymns of the ninth besides 6 in other books, are dedicated to his praise. He is also celebrated in portions of four or five other hymns, and as a dual divinity with Indra, Agni, Pūṣan, or Rudra, in about six more. The name of Soma, in its simple form and in compounds, occurs hundreds of times in the RV. Judged by the standard of frequency, Soma therefore comes third in order of importance among the Vedic gods. Soma is much less anthropomorphic than Indra or Varuṇa, the constant presence of the plant and its juice setting limits to the imagination of the poets who describe its personification. Consequently little is said of his human form or action. The marvellous and heroic deeds attributed to him are either colourless, because common to almost all the greater gods, or else only secondarily belong to him. Like other gods, he is, under the name of Indu as well as Soma, invoked to come to the sacrifice and receive the offerings on the strewn grass[2]. The ninth book mainly consists of incantations sung over the tangible Soma while it is pressed by the stones, flows through the woolen strainer into the wooden vats, in which it is finally offered on a litter of grass to the gods as a beverage, sometimes in fire (1, 94[14]; 5, 5[1]; 8, 43[11] &c.) or drunk by the priests. The processes to which it is subjected are overlaid with the most varied and chaotic imagery and with mystical fancies often incapable of certain interpretation.

In order to make intelligible the mythology of Soma, the basis of which are the concrete terrestrial plant and the intoxicating juice extracted therefrom, it is necessary briefly to describe these as well as the treatment they undergo. The part of the Soma plant which is pressed is called *aṃśu*, 'shoot or stalk' (9,67[28]). The shoots swelling give milk like cows with their udders (8,9[19]). As distinguished from the stalk, the whole Soma plant seems to be intended by *andhas* (8,32[28]; 10,94[8] &c.), which is said to have come from heaven (9,61[10]) and to have been brought by the eagle (5,45[9]; 9,68[6]; 10,144[5]). The same term is applied to the juice also[3] and is distinguished from Indu the god (9, 51[3]; 10, 115[3]). The juice is also designated by *soma* (which

means the plant as well) and generally by *rasa*, fluid. In one hymn (1, 187) the juice is called *pitu*, the 'beverage'; and it is often styled *mada*, 'intoxicating draught'[4]. Soma is occasionally also referred to with *anna*, 'food' (7, 98^{2}; 8, 4^{12}; ŚB. 1; 6, 4^{5}). The term *madhu*, which in connexion with the Aśvins means 'honey' or 'mead', comes to be applied, in the general sense of 'sweet draught', not only to milk (*payas*) and ghee (*ghṛta*), but especially to the Soma juice (4, 27^{5}; 8, 69^{6}). Mythologically *madhu* is the equivalent of Soma when the latter means the celestial ambrosia (*amṛta*)[5]. Conversely, *amṛta* is frequently used as an equivalent of ordinary Soma (5, 2^{3}; 6, 37^{3} &c.; VS. 6, 34; ŚB. 9, 5, 1^{8})[6]. King Soma when pressed is *amṛta* (VS. 19, 72). Another expression is *somyam madhu*, 'Soma mead' (4, 26^{5}; 6, 20^{3}). Figuratively the Soma juice is called *pīyūṣa* (3, 48^{2} &c.), milk (9, 107^{12}), the wave of the stalk (9, 96^{8}) or the juice of honey (5, 43^{4}). The most frequent figurative name applied to Soma is *indu*, the 'bright drop', another term of similar meaning, *drapsa*, 'drop', being much less common.

The extraction of the juice is generally described by the root *su*, 'to press' (9, 62^{4} &c.), but often also by *duh* 'to milk' (3, $36^{6.7}$ &c.). The juice is intoxicating (1, 125^{3}; 6, 17^{11}. 20^{6}) and 'honied', *madhumat* (9, 97^{14}). The latter expression simply means 'sweet', but as applied to Soma originally seems to have meant 'sweetened with honey', some passages pointing to this admixture (9, 17^{8}. 86^{48}. 97^{11}. 109^{20})[7]. As flowing from the press, Soma is compared with the wave of a stream (9, 80^{5}) and directly called a wave (9, 64^{11} &c.) or a wave of honey (3, 47^{1}). With reference to the juice collected in the vat, Soma is spoken of as a sea (*arṇava*: 10, 115^{3}) and frequently as an ocean (*samudra*: 5, 47^{3}; 9, 64^{8} &c.). The heavenly Soma is also called a well (*utsa*), which is in the highest place of the cows (5, 45^{8}), which is placed in the cows and guided with ten reins (i. e. fingers: 6, 44^{24}), or a well of honey in the highest step of Viṣṇu (1, 154^{5}).

The colour of the plant and juice, as well as of the god, is described as brown (*babhru*) or ruddy (*aruṇa*), but most frequently as tawny (*hari*). Thus Soma is the branch of a ruddy tree (10, 94^{3}); it is a ruddy milked shoot (7, 98^{1}); the tawny shoot is pressed into the strainer (9, 92^{1}). The colour of the Soma plant or its substitute prescribed in the Brāhmaṇas is ruddy (ŚB. 4, 5, 10^{1}); and in the ritual the cow which is the price paid in the purchase of Soma, must be brown or ruddy because that is Soma's colour (TS. 6, 1, 6^{7}; ŚB. 3, 3, 1^{14})[8].

Soma is described as purified with the hands (9, 86^{34}), by the ten fingers (9, 8^{4}. 15^{8} &c.), or, figuratively, by the ten maidens who are sisters (9, 1^{7}. 6^{5}), or by the daughters (*naptī*) of Vivasvat (9, 14^{5}). Similarly, the maidens of Trita are said to urge on the tawny one with stones as a drop for Indra to drink (9, 32^{2}. 38^{2}). Soma is also spoken of as purified or brought by the daughter of the sun (9, 1^{6}. 72^{3}. 113^{3})[9]. Sometimes it is said to be purified by prayer (9, 96^{13}. 113^{5}). The priests who press Soma are Adhvaryus[10] (8, 4^{11}).

The shoot is crushed with a stone (9, 67^{19}) or pressed with stones (9, 107^{10}); the plant is pounded to produce the Soma draught (10, 85^{3}). The stones tear its skin (TB. 3, 7, 13^{1}). The stones lie on a skin; for they 'chew him on the hide of the cow' (9, 79^{4}). They are placed on the *vedi* or altar (5, 31^{12}): a practice differing from that of the later ritual[11]. They are held with hands or arms (7, 22^{1}; 9, 79^{4}; AV. 11, 1^{10}). The two arms and the ten fingers yoke the stone (5, 43^{4}). Hence the stones are said to be guided by ten reins (10, 94^{8}). Being spoken of as yoked, they are compared with horses (10, 94^{6}). The usual name for the pressing stones is *adri*

(generally used with the verb *su*, to press) or *grāvan* (generally connected with *vad*, to speak, or verbs of cognate meaning, and hence showing a greater tendency to personification[12] than *adri*). Both terms nearly always occur either in the singular or the plural, and not in the dual. The stones are also once respectively called *aśna* (8, 2^{2}), *bharitra* (3, 36^{7}), *parvata* (3, 35^{8}) and *parvatā adrayaḥ* (10, 94^{1}). The pressing of Soma by means of stones was the usual method in the period of the RV. But the extraction of the juice by mortar and pestle, which is also sanctioned by the ritual texts, was already known to the RV. (1, 28^{1-4}); and as this method is in use among the Parsis, it may go back to the Indo-Iranian age.

The pressed drops are poured upon (9, 63^{10} &c.) and pass over the strainer of sheep's wool (9, 69^{9}). For it removes Soma's impurity, so that he goes cleansed to the feast of the gods (9, 78^{1}). This strainer, which is very frequently mentioned, passes under various names. It is called a skin (*tvac*), hair (*roman*), wool (*vāra*), filter (*pavitra*), or ridge (*sānu*, as the top of the contrivance). All these terms are used with or without an adjective formed from *avi*, sheep. The word *avi* itself is sometimes figuratively employed in this sense. As passing through the strainer Soma is usually called *pavamāna* or *punāna*, 'flowing clear' (from √*pū*). The more general term *mṛj*, 'to cleanse', is not only applied to the purification of Soma with the strainer, but also to the addition of water and milk (9, 86^{11}. 91^{2}). The purified (unmixed) Soma juice is sometimes called *śuddha*, 'pure', but much oftener *śukra* or *śuci*, 'bright' (8, 2^{10}; 9, 33^{2}; 1, 5^{5}. 30^{2}). This unmixed Soma is offered almost exclusively to Vāyu and Indra, the epithet *śucipā*, 'drinking clear (Soma)' being distinctive of Vāyu (p. 82). This agrees with the later ritual, where, in the Grahas or draughts for dual divinities, clear Soma is offered to Vāyu and Indra-Vāyu, but is mixed with milk for Mitra-Varuṇa, and with honey for the Aśvins[13].

After passing the filter, Soma flows into jars (*kalaśa*, 9, 60^{3} &c.) or vats (*droṇa*)[14]. The streams of Soma rush to the forest of the vats like buffaloes (9, 33^{1}. 92^{6}); the god flies like a bird to settle in the vats (9, 3^{1}); like a bird sitting on a tree, the tawny one settles in the bowls (*camū*: 9, 72^{5}). Soma is mixed with water in the vat. United with the wave, the stalk roars (9, 74^{5}). Like a bull on the herd, he rushes on the vat, into the lap of the waters, a roaring bull; clothing himself in waters, Indu rushes around the vat, impelled by the singers (9, 76^{5}. 107^{26}). The wise milk him into the waters with their hands (9, 79^{4}). Having passed over the wool and playing in the wood, he is cleansed by the ten maidens (9, 6^{5}). Several other passages refer to the admixture of water with Soma (9, 30^{5}. 53^{4}. $86^{8.25}$). The Soma drops are said to spread brightness in the streams (9, 76^{1}). Besides the verb *mṛj*, 'to cleanse', which is commonly used to express the admixture of water (e. g. 9, 63^{17}), *ā-dhāv*, 'to wash', is also employed (8, 1^{17}). In the preparation of Soma, the pressing (√*su*) comes first, then the mixing with water (7, 32^{6}; 8, 1^{17}. 31^{5}; AV. 6, 2^{1}), just as in the later ritual the *savana*, 'pressure', precedes the *ādhāvana*, 'washing'. In the bowls Soma is mixed with milk (9, 8^{6} &c.)[15], which is said to sweeten it (8,2^{3})[16]. In several passages the addition of both water and milk is mentioned. Thus it is said that Soma clothes himself in waters, that streams of water flow after him, when he desires to clothe himself in cows (i. e. milk: 9, $2^{3.4}$). They press him with stones, they wash him in water, clothing him as it were in cow-garments, men milk him out of the stalks (8, 1^{17}; cp. 2, 36^{1}; 6, 40^{2}; 9, 86^{24-5}. 96^{19}).

Soma is recognised in the RV. as having three kinds of admixture (*tryāśir*: 5, 27^{5}), with milk (*gavāśir*), sour milk (*dadhyāśir*), and barley (*yavā-*

śir). The admixture is figuratively called a garment (*vastra, vāsas, atka*)[17] or a shining robe (*nirṇij*: 9, 14[5]), the latter term being applied to the strainer also (9, 70[7]). Hence Soma is spoken of as decked with beauty (9, 34[4] &c.) and as richly adorned (9, 81[1]). Mention is also made, though rarely, of mixture with ghee (9, 82[2]); but neither this addition nor that of water, is a regular *āśir*[18].

In the ritual there is a ceremony called *āpyāyana* or causing the half-pressed Soma stalks to swell by moistening them with water afresh. The beginnings of it are found in the MS. (4, 5[5]). The verb *ā-pyā*, 'to swell', occurs in the RV. in connexion with Soma (1, 91[16–8]); 10, 85[5])[19]; but here it seems to refer to Soma as identified with the moon. In one other passage, however, (9, 31[4]) it may have a ritual application. Soma is also said in the RV. to swell (*pi, pinv*), like a sea or river (9, 64[8]. 107[12]).

Soma is described in the RV. as pressed three times in the day. Thus the Ṛbhus are invited to the evening pressing (4, 33[11] &c.)[20], Indra to the midday pressing (3, 32[1. 2]; 8, 37[1]), which is his alone (4, 36[7]), while the morning libation is his first drink (10, 112[1]).

The abode (*sadhastha*) of Soma is often referred to[21]; once, however, mention is made of three, which he occupies when purified (9, 103[2]), the epithet *triṣadhastha*, 'having three abodes', being also applied to him in another passage (8, 83[5]). These three abodes may already designate the three tubs used at the Soma sacrifice of the later ritual (TS. 3, 2, 1[2]; KŚS. 9, 5[17]. 7[4]; cp. RV. 8, 2[8]); but BERGAIGNE (BRV, 1, 179) regards them as purely mythological. A similar remark applies to the three lakes of Soma which Indra drinks (5, 29[7. 8]; 6, 17[11]; 8, 7[10])[22]. The epithet *triprṣṭha*, 'three-backed', is peculiar to Soma. Being applied to the juice at least once (7, 37[1]) it probably refers (as Sāyaṇa thinks) to the three admixtures, much as the Agni's epithet *ghṛtapṛṣṭha* alludes to ghee being thrown on the fire[23].

Based on the mixture of water with the juice, the connexion of Soma with the waters is expressed in the most varied ways. Streams flow for him (9, 31[3]). The waters follow his ordinance (9, 82[5]). He flows at the head of streams (9, 86[12]). He is lord and king of streams (9, 15[5]. 86[33]. 89[2]), lord of spouses (9, 86[32]), an oceanic (*samudriya*) king and god (9, 107[16]). The waters are his sisters (9, 82[3]). As leader of waters, Soma rules over rain (9, 74[3]). He produces waters and causes heaven and earth to rain (9, 96[3]). He streams rains from heaven (9, 8[8]. 49[1]. 97[17]. 108[9. 10]). The Soma drops themselves are several times compared with rain (9, 41[3]. 89[1]. 106[9])[24] and Soma is said to flow clearly with a stream of honey like the rain-charged cloud (9, 2[9]). So too the Pavamāna drops are said to have streamed from heaven, from air, on the ridge of earth (9, 63[27]). There are some other passages in which the soma that is milked appears to refer to rain (8, 7[10]; 9, 74[4], cp. 10, 30[4])[25]. The ŚB. (11, 5, 4[5]) identifies the *amṛta* with the waters. This identification may have given rise to the myth of Soma brought down to man by an eagle (p. 111)[26]. But the celestial Soma descending to earth was doubtless usually regarded as only mixed with rain, and not confounded with it[27].

The waters are invoked to set in motion the exhilerating wave, the draught of Indra, the sky-born well (10, 30[9]). Soma is the drop which grows in the waters (9, 85[10]. 89[2]). Hence he is the embryo of the waters (9, 97[41]; ŚB. 4, 4, 5[21]) or their child, for seven sisters as mothers are around the child, the newly born, the Gandharva of the waters (9, 86[36]; cp. 10, 13[5]), and the waters are directly called his mothers (9, 61[4]). Soma is also spoken of as a youth among the waters or cows (5, 45[9]; 9, 9[5]).

The sound made by the Soma juice as it is being purified and rushes into the vats or bowls, is often referred to. It is compared with that of rain (9, 41^{3}). But the language is generally hyperbolical. Thus the sweet drop is said to flow over the filter like the din of combatants (9, 69^{2}). The noise is constantly designated by various verbs meaning to roar or bellow (*krand, nad, mā, ru, vāś*: 9, 91^{3}. 95^{4} &c.). Even the verb *stan*, 'to thunder', is used (9, 86^{9}) and the wise are described as 'milking the thundering unfailing stalk' (9, 72^{6}). Lightning also is in some verses connected with the purification of Soma (9, 41^{3}. 80^{1}. 84^{3}. 87^{8}); this in all probability alludes to the purification of the celestial Soma and may have referred to the phenomena of the thunderstorm [28].

When Soma is said to roar he is commonly compared with or directly called a bull. 'As a bull he bellows in the wood' (9, 7^{3}); 'the tawny bull bellows and shines with the Sun' (9, 2^{6}). As the waters, added with or without milk, [29] are figuratively called cows, the relation of Soma to them is usually that of a bull to cows. He is a bull among the cows (9, 16^{6}. 69^{4}. 96^{7}) or is lord of the cows (9, 72^{4}). He bellows like a bull traversing the cows (9, 71^{9}) or like a bull towards the cows (9, 71^{7}), the cows also bellowing towards him (9, 80^{2} &c.). He is the bull of heaven as well as of the earth and the streams (6, 44^{21}). The impetuosity of Soma is also several times illustrated by comparison with a buffalo (*mahiṣa*). Thus he even comes to be called an animal (*paśu*: 9, 86^{43}). Being a bull among the cow-waters, Soma is the fertilizer of the waters (10, 36^{8}, cp. 9, 19^{5}). He is also (9, 86^{39}) an impregnator (*retodhā*), an epithet especially applied to the moon in the YV. (e. g. MS. 1, 6^{9}). Hence he is a bestower of fertility (9, 60^{4}. 74^{5}). Soma being so frequently called a bull (*ukṣan, vṛṣan, vṛṣabha*) is sharp-horned (*tigmaśṛṅga*), an epithet which in five of its six occurrences in the RV. is accompanied by a word meaning 'bull'. Thus the brewed drink (*mantha*) of Indra is like a sharp-horned bull (10, 86^{15}). Soma is also said (like Agni) to sharpen his horns (9, 15^{4}. 70^{7}) [30].

Soma is swift (1, 4^{7}) and, in illustration of the speed with which the pressed juice flows, is very often compared with or designated a steed. Thus the ten maidens are said to cleanse him like a swift steed (9, 6^{5}). The drop which intoxicates Indra is a tawny steed (9, 63^{17}). Soma flowing into the vats is sometimes also compared with a bird flying to the wood (9, 72^{5} &c).

Owing to the yellow colour of the juice, the physical quality of Soma mainly dwelt on by the poets, is his brilliance. His rays are often referred to and he is frequently assimilated to the sun. He shines like or with the sun or clothes himself in its rays (9, 76^{4}. 86^{32}; cp. 71^{9}). He ascends the car of the sun and stands above all beings like the sun [31]. He fills heaven and earth with rays like the sun (9, 41^{5}). When born a bright son, he caused his parents to shine (9, 9^{3}). The daughter of the sun purifies him (9, 1^{6}). Thus it comes to be said of him that he combats the darkness (9, 9^{7}), wards it off with light (9, 86^{22}), or creates bright light, dispelling the darkness (9, 66^{24}. 100^{8}. 108^{12} &c.).

Its mysteriously exhilerating and invigorating action, surpassing that of ordinary food or drink and prompting to deeds beyond the natural powers, led to Soma being regarded as a divine drink which bestows immortal life. Hence it is mythologically called *amṛta*, the draught of immortality. It is an immortal stimulant (1, 84^{4}), which the gods love (9, 85^{2}) and of which, when pressed by men and mixed with milk, all the gods drink (9, 109^{15}); for they hasten to exhileration (8, 2^{18}) and become exhilerated (8, 58^{11}). Soma is immortal (1, 43^{9}; 8, 48^{12}; 9, 3^{1} &c.); and the gods drank him for immortality

(9, 106^{8}). He confers immortality on the gods (1, 91^{6}; 9, 108^{3}) and on men (1, 91^{1}; 8, 48^{3}). He places his worshipper in the everlasting and imperishable world where there is eternal light and glory, and makes him immortal where king Vaivasvata lives (9, $113^{7.8}$)[32].

Thus Soma naturally has medicinal power also. It is medicine for a sick man (8, 61^{17}). Hence the god Soma heals whatever is sick, making the blind to see and the lame to walk (8, 68^{2}; 10, 25^{11}). He is the guardian of men's bodies and occupies their every limb (8, 48^{9}), bestowing length of life in this world (1, 91^{6}; 8, $48^{4.7}$; 9, 4^{6}. 91^{6}). The Soma draught is even said to dispel sin from the heart, to destroy falsehood and to promote truth.

When imbibed Soma stimulates the voice (6, 47^{3}; 9, 84^{4}. 95^{5}. 97^{32}), which he impels as the rower his boat (9, 95^{2}). This is doubtless the reason why Soma is called 'lord of speech' *vācas pati*[33] (9, 26^{4}. 101^{5}) or leader of speech, *vāco agriya* or *agre* (9, 7^{3}. 62^{25-6}. 86^{12}. 106^{10}). He is also said to raise his voice from heaven (9, 68^{8}). In the Brāhmaṇas *vāc*, 'speech', is described as the price paid by the gods for Soma[34]. Soma also awakens eager thought (6, 47^{3}). So his worshippers exclaim: 'We have drunk Soma, we have become immortal, we have entered into light, we have known the gods' (8, 48^{3}). Thus he is also spoken of as a lord of thought and as a father, leader, or generator of hymns[35]. He is a leader of poets, a seer among priests (9, 96^{6}). He has the mind of seers, is a maker of seers (9, 96^{18}) and a protector of prayer (6, 52^{3}). He is the 'soul of sacrifice' (9, 2^{10}. 6^{8}), a priest (*brahmā*) among the gods (9, 96^{6}), and apportions to them their share of sacrifice (10, 85^{19}). Soma's wisdom thus comes to be predominantly dwelt upon[36]. He is a wise seer (8, 68^{1}). He knows the races of the gods (9, 81^{2}. 95^{2}. 97^{7}. 108^{3}). He is a wise man-seeing wave (9, 78^{2}). Soma with intelligence surveys creatures (9, 71^{9}). Hence he is many-eyed (9, 26^{5}) and thousand-eyed (9, 60^{1}).

Soma stimulated the Fathers to deeds (9, 96^{11}); through him the Fathers found the light and the cows (9, 97^{39}). Soma is also said to be united with the fathers (8, 48^{13}) or to be accompanied by them (AV. 18, 4^{12}; ŚB. 2, 6, 1^{4}, &c.), the Fathers, conversely, being called soma-loving, (*somya:* 10, 14^{6}; AV. 2, 12^{5}).

The exhilerating effect of the draught on man was naturally transferred to the gods, to whom the Soma was offered. The main application of its intoxicating power is its stimulating effect on Indra in his conflict with the hostile powers of the air. That Soma strengthens Indra for the fight with Vṛtra, is mentioned in innumerable passages of the RV. (8, 81^{17} &c.). In the intoxication of Soma Indra slays all foes (9, 1^{10}) and no one can resist him in battle when he has drunk it (6, 47^{1}). Soma is the soul of Indra (9, 85^{3}), the auspicious friend of Indra (10, 25^{9}), whose vigour he stimulates (9, 76^{2}) and whom he aids in slaying Vṛtra (9, 61^{22}). With Soma as a companion Indra made the waters to flow for man and slew the dragon (4, 28^{1}). Thus Soma is sometimes even called the bolt (*vajra*) of Indra (9. 72^{7}. 77^{1} 111^{3}). Soma, Indra's juice, becomes a thousand-winning bolt (9, 47^{3}). It is the intoxicating draught which destroys a hundred forts (9, 48^{2}) and is a Vṛtra-slaying intoxicating stalk (6, 17^{11}). Thus the god Soma is said to be 'like Indra a slayer of Vṛtras and a fort-destroyer' (9, 88^{4}) and comes to receive half a dozen times the epithet *vṛtrahan*, 'Vṛtra-slaying', which primarily belongs to Indra[37].

When drunk by Indra Soma caused the sun to rise in heaven (9, 86^{22}). So this cosmic action comes to be attributed to Soma independently. He caused the sun to shine (9, 28^{5}. 37^{4}), caused the lights of the sky to shine

(9, 85[9]), and produced the sun in the waters (9, 42[1])[38]. He caused the sun to rise, impelled it, obtained and bestowed it, and caused the dawns to shine[39]. He makes his worshippers participate in the sun (9, 4[5]) and finds light for them (9, 35[1]). He found the light (9, 59[4]) and wins light and heaven (9, 3[2]). Just as even the sacrificial butter is spoken of as the 'navel of immortality', on which rests the whole world (4, 58[1.11]), the conception of Soma comes to be extended to that of a being of universal dominion (9, 86[28.29]), who is 'lord of the quarters' (9, 113[2]), who performs the great cosmic actions of generating the two worlds (9, 90[1]), of creating or establishing heaven and earth, of supporting heaven, and of placing light in the sun (6, 44[23—4]. 47[3.4])[40].

Being so intimately connected with Indra in the conflict with Vṛtra, Soma comes to be spoken of independently as a great fighter. He is a victor, unconquered in fight, born for battle (1, 91[21]). He is the most heroic of heroes, the fiercest of the terrible, ever victorious (9, 66[16—7]). He conquers for his worshippers cows, chariots, horses, gold, heaven, water, a thousand boons (9, 78[4]), and everything (8, 68[1]). Without reference to his warlike character, he is constantly said to bestow all the wealth of heaven and earth, food, cattle, horses, and so forth (9, 45[3]. 49[4]. 52[1] &c.). Soma himself is occasionally called a treasure (*rayi:* 9, 48[3]) or the wealth of the gods (ŚB. 1, 6, 4[5]). Soma can also afford protection from foes (10, 25[7]). He drives away goblins (9, 49[5]) and, like some other deities but more frequently, receives the epithet of goblin-slayer (*rakṣohan*). Soma is the only god who is called a slayer of the wicked (9, 28[6] &c.). In the later Vedic literature the statement occurs that Brāhmans who drink Soma are able to slay at a glance (MS. 4, 8[2])[41].

Being a warrior, Soma is said to have weapons (9, 96[16]), which like a hero he grasps in his hand (9, 76[2]) and which are terrible and sharp (9, 61[30]. 90[3]). In one passage he is said to have obtained his weapons by robbing his malignant father of them (6, 44[22]). He is described as armed with a thousand-pointed shaft (9, 83[5]. 86[40]) and his bow is swift (9, 90[3]).

Soma rides in the same chariot as Indra (9, 87[9]. 96[2]. 103[5]). He is charioteer to the car-fighter Indra (AV. 8, 8[23]). He drives in a car (9, 3[5]), which is heavenly (9, 111[3]). He has light (9, 86[45]) or a filter for his car (9, 83[5]). He is the best of charioteers (9, 66[26]). He has well-winged mares of his own (9, 86[37]) and a team like Vāyu (9, 88[3]).

Soma is naturally sometimes connected with Indra's intimate associates, the Maruts. They are said to milk the bull of heaven (9, 108[11], cp. 54[1]) and to adorn the child when born (9, 96[17]). Like Indra, Soma is attended by the Maruts (6, 47[5]) or the troop of the Maruts (9, 66[22]). The Winds, too, are said to be gladdening to Soma (9, 31[3]) and Vāyu is his guardian (10, 85[5]). Soma forms a pair with Agni, Pūṣan, and Rudra respectively (p. 128—9). A few times he is mystically indentified with Varuṇa (9, 77[5]. 95[4]; cp. 73[3.9]; 8, 41[8]).

The Soma plant is once in the RV. (10, 34[1]) described as ***maujavata***, which according to later statements[42] would mean 'produced on Mount Mūjavat'. Soma is also several times described as dwelling in the mountains (*giriṣṭhā*)[43] or growing in the mountains[44] (*parvatāvṛdh:* 9, 46[1]). Mountains are also called 'Soma-backed' (AV. 3, 21[10]), a term which, perhaps by sacrificial symbolism, is applied to the pressing stones (*adrayaḥ*) in RV. 8, 52[2]. All these terms point to the abode of the Soma plant being on terrestrial mountains (cp. especially 9, 82[3]). This is confirmed by the statement of the Avesta that Haoma grows on the mountains[45]. Since the Soma plant actually

grew on mountains, it is probable that this fact is present to the mind of the poet even when he says that 'on the vault of heaven sweet-tongued friends milk the mountain-dwelling bull' (9, 85[10] cp. 95[4]). Terrestrial hills may also be intended when it is said that 'Varuṇa has placed Agni in the waters, the sun in heaven, and Soma on the rock' (5, 85[2]), or that 'Mātariśvan brought the one (Agni) from heaven, while the eagle carried off the other (Soma) from the rock' (1, 93[6]); but here there is more doubt, as 'mountain' and 'rock' mythologically often mean 'cloud' (p. 10).

Though Soma is a terrestrial plant, it is also celestial (10, 116[3]); in fact its true origin and abode are regarded as in heaven. Thus it is said that the birth of the plant is on high; being in heaven it has been received by earth (9, 61[10]). The 'intoxicating juice' is the 'child of heaven' (9, 38[5]), an epithet frequently applied to Soma. In one passage, however, he is called the offspring (*jāḥ*) of the sun (9, 93[1]) and in another Parjanya is spoken of as the father of the mighty bird (9, 82[3] cp. 113[3]). In the AV. the origin of ***amṛta*** is also traced to the seed of Parjanya (AV. 8, 7[21]). When Soma is called a child (*śiśu*) simply (9, 96[17]) or a youth (*yuvan*), this is doubtless in allusion to the fact that, like Agni, he is continually produced anew[46]. Soma is the milk (*pīyūṣa*) of heaven (9, 51[2] &c.), is purified in heaven (9, 83[2]. 86[22] &c.). He flows with his stream to the dear places of heaven (9, 12[8]). He runs through heaven across the spaces with his stream (9, 3[7]). He occupies heaven (9, 85[9]), is in heaven (ŚB. 3, 4, 3[13]), or is the lord of heaven (9, 86[11.33]). As bird of heaven he looks down on earth and regards all beings (9, 71[9]). He stands above all worlds like god Sūrya (9, 54[3]). The drops being purified have been poured from heaven, from the air, on the surface of the earth (9, 63[27])[47]; for he is a traverser of space (***rajastur:*** 4, 48[4]. 108[7]). Fingers rub him surrounded with milk 'on the third ridge, in the bright realm of heaven' (9, 86[27]). His place is in the highest heaven (3, 32[10]; 4, 26[6]; 9, 86[15]) or in the third heaven (TS. 3, 5, 7[1] &c.)[48]. 'Heaven', however, also seems to be frequently a mystical name of the strainer of sheep's wool[49]. This seems to be the case when Soma is spoken of as being 'on the navel of heaven, on the sheep-filter' (9, 12[4]), as traversing the lights of heaven, the sheep-filter (9, 37[3]), as running with Sūrya in heaven, on the filter (9, 27[5]); or when it is said that 'the bull has occupied heaven, the king goes soaring over the strainer' (9, 85[9] cp. 86[8]). The term ***sānu***, 'summit', so frequently applied to the filter, is suggestive of ***divaḥ sānu***, 'the summit of heaven'. Such terms would naturally come to be connected with the terrestrial Soma, because heaven is the abode of the celestial Soma or ***amṛta*** (6, 44[23]).

Soma has been brought from heaven (9, 63[27]. 66[30]). The myth most commonly expressive of this belief is that of Soma and the eagle. It was brought by the eagle (1, 80[2]). The bird brought Soma from that highest heaven (4, 26[6]). The eagle brought the Soma or mead (***madhu***) to Indra (3, 43[7]; 4, 18[13]). The swift eagle flew to the Soma plant (5, 45[9]); the eagle tore off the sweet stalk for Indra (4, 20[6]). The eagle brought it for Indra through the air with his foot (8, 71[9]). Flying swift as thought, the bird broke through the iron castle (cp. 4, 27[1]), going to heaven he brought the Soma for the wielder of the bolt (8, 89[8]). The eagle bore the plant from afar, from heaven (9, 68[6]. 77[2]. 86[24]; 10, 11[4]. 99[8]. 144[4]). The myth is most fully dealt with in RV. 4, 26 and 27[50]. In the Brāhmaṇas it is Gāyatrī, a mystical sacerdotal name of Agni[51], that carries off the Soma. In the RV. the eagle is constantly distinguished from Indra as bringing the Soma to him. There is only one passage (unconnected with this myth) in which Indra seated

at the Soma offering is called an eagle (10, 99[8]). 'Eagle of heaven' is an epithet applied to Agni (7, 15[4]: otherwise twice said of the Maruts), the term eagle is connected with Agni Vaidyuta or lightning (TB. 3, 10, 5[1] cp. 12,1[2]), and Agni is often called a bird in the RV. (p. 89). On this evidence Bloomfield, who subjects his predecessors' interpretations of RV. 4, 27 to a searching criticism, with much plausibility explains the carrying off of Soma by the eagle as a mythological account of the simple phenomenon of the descent of lightning, darting from the cloud (i. e. the iron castle) and causing the fall of the ambrosial fluid Soma (i. e. the water of the cloud). At the same time he refers to a passage of the RV. (1, 93[6]) in which the descent of fire and of Soma are mentioned together[52]. A detail of the myth (probably a mere embellishment added by the individual poet) is the trait that as the eagle carried away Soma, the archer Kṛśānu[53] shot at him knocking out a feather (4, 27[3. 4]; cp. AB. 3, 25). This trait is related with greater detail in the Brāhmaṇas. Either a feather or a claw is here stated to have been shot off. Falling to the ground, it became a *parṇa* (*palāśa*) or a *śalyaka* tree. The tree hereby acquired a specially sacred character in connexion with the ritual[54].

Being the most important of herbs Soma is said to have been born as the lord of plants (9, 114[2]), which are also said to have Soma as their king[55] (9, 97[18–9]). He receives the epithet *vanaspati*, 'lord of the wood' (1, 91[6]; 9, 12[7]) and is said to have generated all plants (1, 91[22]). In the Brāhmaṇas plants are connected with Soma, being styled *saumya* (ŚB. 12, 1, 1[2])[56]. Irrespectively of his being lord of plants, Soma is often, like other leading gods, called a king[57]. He is also a king of rivers (9, 89[2]), a king of the whole earth (9, 97[58]), a king or father of the gods (9, 86[10]. 87[2]. 109[4]) a king of gods and mortals (9, 97[24]), and a king of Brāhmans (VS. 9, 40; TS. 1, 8[10]; MS. 2, 6[9]). He is of course often called a god; but in one passage he is described as 'a god pressed for the gods' (9, 3[6. 7]).

In the post-Vedic literature Soma is a regular name of the moon, which is regarded as being drunk up by the gods and so waning, till it is filled up again by the sun. In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad (5, 10[1]) the statement is found that the moon is king Soma, the food of the gods, and is drunk up by them[58]. Even in the Brāhmaṇas the identification of Soma with the moon is already a common-place[59]. Thus the AB. (7, 11) remarks that the moon is the Soma of the gods; the ŚB. (1, 6, 4[5]), that king Soma, the food of the gods, is the moon; and in the Kauṣītaki Br. (7, 10; 4, 4) the sacrificial plant or juice is symbolical of the moon-god. The mythology of the Brāhmaṇas already explains the phases of the moon as due to the gods and Fathers eating its substance, which consists of ambrosia[60]. Soma, as the moon, is in the YV. also conceived as having the lunar asterisms, the daughters of Prajāpati, for his wives[61]. In the AV., moreover, Soma several times means the moon (7, 81[3. 4]; 11, 6[7], &c.). A large number of scholars agree that even in a few of the latest hymns of the RV. (in the first and tenth books) Soma is already identified with the moon[62]. Most of them, however, hold that Soma as a god is celebrated in the Vedic hymns only as a personification of the beverage, regarding his identification with the moon as merely a secondary mythological growth[63]. The most important of the passages in which the identification is generally admitted, is that which describes the wedding of Soma and the sun-maiden Sūryā (10, 85)[64]. Here Soma is spoken of as 'in the lap of the stars', (v.[2]), and it is said that no one eats of that Soma which the priests know and which is contrasted with that which they crush (v. [3]). The Soma nature of the moon being referred

to as a secret known to Brāhmans only, shows that it cannot yet have been a popular notion. The process by which the celestial Soma gradually coalesced with the moon is not difficult to understand. Soma is, on the one hand, continually thought of as celestial and bright, sometimes as dispelling darkness and swelling in the waters; on the other hand, it is very often called a 'drop', *indu* (6, 44^{21})[65]. Comparison with the moon would therefore easily suggest itself. Thus Soma in the bowls is said in one passage to appear like the moon in the waters (8, 71^{8}; cp. 1, 105^{1}); and in another, Soma being described as the drop (*drapsa*) which goes to the ocean, looking with the eye of a vulture (10, 123^{8}), is generally admitted to allude to the moon.

HILLEBRANDT, however, in his Vedische Mythologie not only claims this identification for a number of other passages in the RV., but asserts that in the whole of the ninth book Soma is the moon (p. 309) and nowhere the ordinary plant (p. 326), the ninth book in fact being a book of hymns to the moon[66]. Soma, he maintains, means, in the earliest as well as the latest parts of the whole RV., only the Soma plant or juice on the one hand, and, as a deity, only the moon on the other (pp. 274. 340. 450). According to his view, the moon is a receptacle of Soma or *amṛta* and is the god whom the worshipper means when he presses the draught, which is part of the lunar ambrosia. HILLEBRANDT goes even further than this complete identification of Soma and the moon in the RV. He also asserts that the moon-god as Soma forms the centre of Vedic belief and cult (p. 277), being the creator and ruler of the world much more than the sun (p. 313), while Indra is the most popular Vedic god only next to the moon[67] (p. 315).

In opposition to this hypothesis, it has been argued that, in the vast majority of the references to Soma in the RV., the character of the god as a personification of the plant and juice is clear and obvious. On the other hand, while the identification of Soma and the moon is perfectly clear in the later literature, there is in the whole of the RV. no single distinct and explicit instance either of the identification or of the conception that the moon is the food of the gods. It is only in passages where the brilliance of Soma, so constantly connected with the sun, is vaguely expressed, that references to the moon can be found. At the same time it is possible that amid the chaotic details of the imagery of the Soma hymns, there may occasionally lurk a veiled identification of ambrosia and the moon. Here and there passages celebrating the luminous nature of Soma or referring to his swelling (*āpyāyana*), which affords a parallel to the swelling of the moon, may allude to such a notion. But on the whole, with the few late exceptions generally admitted, it appears to be certain that to the seers of the RV. the god Soma is a personification of the terrestrial plant and juice[68]. It is, moreover, hardly conceivable that all the Vedic commentators, in whose day Soma and the moon were believed to be one, should not know that Soma means the moon in the RV. also[69].

It is an undoubted fact that Soma, the Avestan Haoma, was already prepared and celebrated in the Indo-Iranian period. In the RV. Soma is described as growing on the mountains or a particular mountain; in the Avesta it is said to grow on a certain mountain. In the RV. Varuṇa places it on the rock; in the Avesta it is placed on the great mountain Haraiti by a skilful god. In the RV. it is brought by an eagle; in the Avesta it is distributed from its native mountain by certain auspicious birds. In both it is king of plants. In both it is a medicine which gives health, long life, and removes death. As Soma grows in the waters, so Haoma in the waters of Ardvī-sūra[70]. The pressing and offering of Soma was already an important

feature of Indo-Iranian worship. But while three daily pressings are referred to in the RV., only two are mentioned in the Avesta (Yasna 10, 2). In both it is stated that the stalks (*amśu* = *āsu*) were pressed, that the juice was yellow and was mixed with milk (Yasna 10, 13). In both the celestial Soma is distinguished from the terrestrial, and the beverage from the god. In both the mythical home of Soma is heaven, whence it comes down to earth. In both the Soma draught (like the sacrificial fire) had already become a mighty god and is called a king. As Soma is *vṛtrahan*, so Haoma is *verethrajan* and casts missiles (*vadare* = Vedic *vadhar*). Both are light-winning (*svarṣā* = *hvaresa*) and wise (*sukratu* = *hukhratu*). Both remove the machinations of the wicked, bestow victory over foes, and confer the celestial world. Both grant steeds and excellent children. The RV. and the Avesta even agree in the names of ancient preparers of Soma, Vivasvat and Trita Āptya on the one hand, and Vīvaṅhvant, Āthwya, and Thrita on the other[71]. The belief in an intoxicating divine beverage, the home of which was heaven, may be Indo-European. If so, it must have been regarded as a kind of honey-mead (Skt. *mádhu*, Gk. μέθυ, As. *medu*) brought down to earth from its guardian demon by an eagle (the Soma-bringing eagle of Indra agreeing with the nectar-bringing eagle of Zeus and with the eagle which, as a metamorphosis of Odhin, carried off the mead)[72]. This *madhu* or honey-mead, if Indo-European, was replaced in the Indo-Iranian period by Soma; but may have survived into the Vedic period, by amalgamating with Soma[73].

Etymologically *Soma* = *Haoma* means 'pressed juice', being derived from the root *su* = *hu*, 'to press'.

[1] Oldenberg, ZDMG. 42, 241. — [2] BRV. 1, 182. — [3] HVM. 1, 47. — [4] *Anna* = *surā* ŚB. 12, 7, 3[8]; cp. HVM. 1, 264. — [5] HVM. 1, 518. — [6] KHF. 128 f.; ZDMG. 32, 301. — [7] HVM. 1, 243—4. — [8] Op. cit. 28. — [9] Op. cit. 468 ff.; ORV. 389. — [10] Hillebrandt, Vedainterpretation 16. — [11] HVM. 1, 182. — [12] Op. cit. 151. — [13] Op. cit. 206—7. — [14] Windisch, FaR. 141. — [15] HVM. 1, 186. — [16] LRV. 3, 378—9. — [17] HVM. 1, 210. — [18] Op. cit. 229. — [19] Op. cit. 195. — [20] Op. cit. 256, note 3. — [21] Op. cit. 189. — [22] LRV. 5, 260. — [23] Otherwise HVM. 1, 392—3. — [24] Windisch, FaR. 140. — [25] PVS. 1, 87—8; KHF. 129. 142. 227; KZ. 1, 521 ff.; GGH. 70. 115; WVB. 1894, 4. 13. — [26] HRL. 123—4. — [27] BRV. 1, 165. — [28] Op. cit. 1, 170; lightning is associated with rain in 1, 39[9]; 5, 84[3]; 7, 56[13]; 10, 91[5] cp. 5, 83[4]; Bloomfield, AJP. 7, 470. — [29] BRV. 1, 204 — [30] HVM. 1, 340 thinks the horns are those of the moon. — [31] References in HVM. 1, 601. — [32] KRV. note 308; BRV. 1, 192. — [33] BRV. 1, 185; HVM. 1, 349. — [34] Roth, ZDMG. 35, 687; Weber, IS. 10, 360; HVM. 1, 79. — [35] BRV. 1, 300, note 2; HVM. 1, 403. — [36] BRV. 1, 185—6. — [37] KHF. 105; Macdonell, JRAS. 25, 472. — [38] HVM. 1, 387—8. — [39] References in HVM. 1, 388. — [40] Cp Haug, ZDMG. 7, 511. — [41] ZDMG. 7, 331. 375. — [42] VS. 3, 61 and comm., Āp. ŚS. 12, 5, 11; YN. 9, 8; cp. AIL. 20; HVM. 1, 63 ff. — [43] Twice, also said of Viṣṇu, once of the Maruts. — [44] 'Bergfroh', Hillebrandt, Vedainterpretation 15. — [45] On the habitat of the Soma plant, see Roth, ZDMG. 38. 134—9; MM., Biographies of Words (London, 1888) 222—42. — [46] JRAS. 25, 437. — [47] Windisch, FaR. 140. — [48] Also 6, 1, 6[1]; Kāṭh. 23, 10 in IS. 8, 31; VS. 1, 211; TB. 1, 1, 3[10]; 3, 2, 1[1]. — [49] HVM. 1, 361, note 3. — [50] Roth, ZDMG. 36, 353—60. 384; Ludwig, Methode 30. 66; Koulikovski, Revue de linguistique 18, 1—9; BRV. 3, 322 ff.; PVS. 1, 207—16; HVM. 1, 278—9; Bloomfield, FaR. 149—55; ORV. 180—1; WVB. 1894, p. 5. — [51] Cp. ŚB. 3, 9, 4[10]; KHF. 130 f. 144 f. 172. — [52] Bloomfield, JAOS. 16, 1—24; ORV. 176. 180 thinks there is no reason to see a natural agent in the bird, or to assume any connexion between the Soma and the water of clouds. — [53] Sp.AP. 224. — [54] KHF. 159 f. 170. 209; WVB. 1894, p. 5. — [55] Cp. ZDMG. 25, 647. — [56] HVM. 1, 390, note 4. — [57] Op. cit. 317—8. — [58] Deussen, System des Vedānta 415 ff. — [59] WVB. 1894, p. 16—7. — [60] HVM. 1, 296. — [61] Weber, Nakṣatra 2, 274 ff; Oldenberg, ZDMG. 49, 470; on Soma dwelling with Rohiṇī, cp. Jacobi, FaR. 71, note; R. Brown jr., Academy 42, 439. — [62] HVM. 1, 269 — [63] BRV. 1, 160. — [64] Weber, IS. 5, 178 ff.; WVB. 1894, p. 34; OST. 5, 237; Ehni, ZDMG. 33, 167—8; Jacobi, ib. 49, 227; Oldenberg, ib. 478. — [65] Ehni, l. c. — [66] Cp. Bloomfield, AJP. 14, 491—3; MM.

Fortnightly Review, Oct. 1893, 443 ff. (= Chips 4², 328—67) — [67] GUBERNATIS, Myth. des Plantes 2, 351, Letture sopra la mitol. vedica 106, and PVS. 1, 80 (cp. 2, 242) had called for a complete identification, but without attempting to prove the proposition (cp. GGA. 1889, p. 10). — [68] WHITNEY, PAOS. 1894, p. xcix f.; ORV. 599—612. — [69] HRI. 117. — [70] SPIEGEL, Av. Tr. 2, LXXII f.; DARMESTETER, Ormazd et Ahriman 140. — [71] Yasna IX—X; cp. SP.AP. 172; HVM. 1, 121. 265. 450; ORV. 178; MACDONELL, JRAS. 25, 485. — [72] ORV. 176. — [73] Op. cit. 178.

WINDISCHMANN, Ueber den Somakultus der Arier, Abh. d. Münchner Akad. 1846, p. 127 ff.; KHF. 105 ff.; WHITNEY, JAOS. 3, 299; WEBER, IS. 3, 466; WVB. 1894, p. 3. 13—17; HAUG, AB. Introd. p. 61—2; OST. 5, 258—71; BRV. 1, 148—225 &c.; BRI. 24; ROTH, ZDMG. 35, 680—92; SP.AP. 168—78; HVM. I; ZDMG. 48, 419 f.; E. H. MEYER, IF. 2, 161; KNAUER, Vedische Fragen, FaR. 61—7; HVBP. 68—74.

D. ABSTRACT GODS.

§ 38. Two Classes. — There are in the RV. two classes of deities whose nature is founded on abstraction. The one class consisting of the direct personfications of abstract notions such as 'desire' is rare, occurring only in the very latest hymns of the RV. and due to that growth of speculation which is so plainly traceable in the course of the Vedic age. The other and more numerous class comprises deities whose names primarily either denote an agent, in the form of a noun derived from a root with the suffix *-tṛ*, such as Dhātṛ, 'Creator', or designate some attribute, such as Prajāpati, 'Lord of Creatures'. This class, judged by the evolution of the mythological creations of the Veda, does not represent direct abstractions, but appears in each case to be derived from an epithet applied to one or more deities and illustrating a particular aspect of activity or character. Such epithets gradually becoming detached finally attained to an independent position. Thus Rohita, 'the Red One' (whose female form is Rohiṇī), originally an epithet of the sun, figures in the AV. as a separate deity in the capacity of a Creator[1].

A. Various Agent Gods. — The most important of the gods whose names denote an agent in *-tṛ*, is Savitṛ, who has already been treated among the solar deities (§ 15). Most of the others are of rare occurrence in the RV. Dhātṛ, found in a few passages as an appellative designating priests as 'establishers' of the sacrifice, occurs as the name of a deity about a dozen times and, with the exception of one indefinite mention in company with a number of other gods (7, 35³), only in the tenth book. In one of these passages the name is an epithet of Indra (10, 167³) and in another of Viśvakarman (10, 82²). The frequent ascription of the action of establishing (*√dhā*) the phenomena of the world to different gods, gradually led to the conception of a separate deity exercising this particular activity. Thus Dhātṛ generally has the independent character of a god who creates sun, moon, heaven, earth, and air (10, 190³), and is lord of the world (10, 128⁷). In a hymn to the Sun, Dhātṛ is invoked to grant a clear eye (10, 158³). He is besought with Viṣṇu, Tvaṣṭṛ, Prajāpati, to grant offspring (10, 184¹) and, by himself, to bestow length of days (10, 18⁵). He is also prayed to indefinitely with Viṣṇu and Savitṛ (10, 181¹⁻³) or with Mātariśvan and Deṣṭrī (10, 85⁴⁷). In the Naighaṇṭuka (5, 5) Dhātṛ is enumerated among the gods of the middle region and by Yāska (Nir. 11, 10) explained as the 'ordainer of everything'. In the post-Vedic period, Dhātṛ is the Creator and Preserver of the world, being the equivalent of Prajāpati or Brahmā. The rare name Vidhātṛ, the 'Disposer' is in two passages an epithet, beside Dhātṛ, once of Indra (10, 167³) and once of Viśvakarman (10, 82²); but appears twice in enumerations of deities to have an independent character (6, 50¹²; 9, 81⁵). Dhartṛ, 'Supporter',

frequently used (almost exclusively with the genitive of that which is supported) as an epithet of Indra and other gods, occurs once as an independent name along with Dhātṛ and other deities (7, 35[3]). Similarly, Trātṛ, the 'Protector', mostly employed as an epithet of Agni or Indra and, in the plural, of the Ādityas, occurs independently as 'the Protector God' in five passages along with other deities (1, 106[7]; 4, 55[5. 7]; 8, 18[20]; 10, 128[7]). In ROTH's opinion, Savitṛ especially and also Bhaga are intended by this god[2]. A 'Leader God' (*deva netṛ*) is invoked two or three times in one hymn (5, 50) as a guide to prosperity in life.

B. Tvaṣṭṛ. — The only deity bearing a name of this type, who besides Savitṛ is mentioned with any frequency, is Tvaṣṭṛ. His name occurs about 65 times in the RV., pretty uniformly in the family books (though rarely in the seventh as well as the eighth), but relatively oftenest in the first and tenth. No hymn is, however, devoted to his praise.

No part of Tvaṣṭṛ's physical form is mentioned except his arm or hand, it being characteristic of him to hold an iron axe in his hand (8, 29[3]). He is once described as yoking his two steeds to his chariot and shining greatly (6, 47[19]). Tvaṣṭṛ is beautiful-armed (*sugabhasti*: 6, 49[9]), or beautiful-handed (*supāṇi*: predominantly applied to him and Savitṛ).

He is a skilful workman (1, 85[9]; 3, 54[12]), producing various objects showing the skill of an artificer. He is in fact the most skilful of workmen, versed in crafty contrivances (10, 53[9]). He is several times said (5, 31[4] &c.) to have fashioned (√*takṣ*) the bolt of Indra. He also sharpens the iron axe of Brahmaṇaspati (10, 53[9]). He formed a new cup (1, 20[6]) which contained the food of the *asura* (1, 110[3]) or the beverage of the gods (1, 161[5]; 3, 35[5]). He thus possesses vessels out of which the gods drink (10, 53[9]). The AV. (9, 4[3. 6]) describes him as an old man bearing a bowl of wealth, a cup full of Soma. From Tvaṣṭṛ the swift horse was produced (VS. 29, 9), and he gives speed to the horse (AV. 6, 92[1]).

The RV. further states that Tvaṣṭṛ adorned all beings with form (10, 110[9]). He developes the germ in the womb and is the shaper of all forms, human and animal (1, 188[9]; 8, 91[8]; 10, 184[1]). Similar statements are frequently made in later Vedic texts (AV. 2, 26[1], &c.), where he is characteristically a creator of forms (ŚB. 11, 4, 3[3]; TB. 1, 4, 7[1])[3]. He himself is called omniform (*viśvarūpa*) oftener than any other deity in the RV. As fashioner of living forms, he is frequently described as presiding over generation and bestowing offspring (3, 4[9] &c.). Thus he is said to have fashioned husband and wife for each other from the womb (10, 10[5]; AV. 6, 78[3]). He has produced and nourishes a great variety of creatures (3, 55[19]). Beasts belong to Tvaṣṭṛ (ŚB. 3, 7, 3[11]. 8, 3[11]). He is indeed a universal father, for he produced the whole world (VS. 29, 9).

He is also the ancestor of the human race in so far as his daughter Saraṇyū, wife of Vivasvat, becomes the mother of the primeval twins Yama and Yamī (10, 17[1. 2], cp. 5, 42[13]). Vāyu is once said to be his son-in-law (8, 26[21]). Tvaṣṭṛ begot Bṛhaspati (2, 23[17]). Agni produced by the ten fingers, is the offspring of Tvaṣṭṛ (1, 95[2]), who, along with Heaven and Earth, the Waters, and the Bhṛgus, generated him (10, 2[7]. 46[9]). It is to be inferred that Tvaṣṭṛ was also the father of Indra (p. 57). Tvaṣṭṛ is especially a guardian of Soma, which is called 'the mead of Tvaṣṭṛ' (1, 117[22]). It is in his house that Indra drinks Soma and presumately steals it, even slaying his father in order to obtain it (p. 57). The 'omniform' Tvaṣṭṛ has a son named Viśvarūpa (the Omniform), who is a guardian of cows. The hostility of Indra is directed against the son in order to win these cows, just as against the father in

order to gain possession of the Soma. Even Tvaṣṭṛ himself is said to tremble with fear at the wrath of Indra (1, 80[14]) and is represented as inferior to Indra, inasmuch as not even he was able to perform a feat done by Indra (10, 49[10]). The TS. (2, 4, 12[1]) tells a story of how Tvaṣṭṛ, whose son had been slain by Indra, refused to allow the latter to assist at his Soma sacrifice, but Indra came and drank off the Soma by force. The Brāhmaṇas often relate a similar tale (ŚB. 1, 6, 3[6], &c.).

Probably because of his creative agency in the womb[4], Tvaṣṭṛ is closely allied with celestial females (*gnāḥ, janayaḥ*) or the wives of the gods, who are his most frequent attendants (1, 22[9] &c.)[5]. Tvaṣṭṛ is chiefly mentioned with gods of cognate activity, Pūṣan, Savitṛ, Dhātṛ, Prajāpati. 'Savitṛ' is indeed an attribute of Tvaṣṭṛ in two passages (3, 55[19]; 10, 10[5]) in which occurs the identical collocation *devas tvaṣṭā savitā viśvarūpaḥ*[6], 'god Tvaṣṭṛ, the omniform vivifier', and in both of which the generative or creative faculty of the deity is referred to. In the Kauśika Sūtra, Tvaṣṭṛ is identified with Savitṛ and Prajāpati[7], and in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, with Viśvakarman and Prajāpati. In the later mythology Tvaṣṭṛ is one of the twelve Ādityas and in the Mahābhārata and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa is once or twice a form of the sun.

The RV. adds a few rather indefinite traits, which throw no light on Tvaṣṭṛ's character. He is said to be the first (1, 13[10]) or the first-born (*agrajā*) and one who goes before (9, 5[9]). As a companion of the Aṅgirases he knows the region of the gods (10, 70[9]), goes to the place of the gods (2, 1[9]) between heaven and earth (MS. 4, 14[9]). He is a bestower of blessings and is possessed of excellent wealth (10, 70[9]. 92[11]). He is supplicated to grant riches to his worshippers and to delight in their hymns (7, 34[21]). Tvaṣṭṛ also confers long life (10, 18[6]; AV. 6, 78[3]).

The word is derived from a rare root *tvakṣ*, of which only one verbal form, besides some nominal derivatives, occurs in the RV., and the cognate of which, *thwakṣ*, is found in the Avesta. It appears to be identical in meaning with the common root *takṣ*, which is used with the name of Tvaṣṭṛ in referring to the fashioning of Indra's bolt. The meaning therefore appears to be the 'Fashioner' or 'Artificer'.

Tvaṣṭṛ is one of the obscurest members of the Vedic pantheon[8]. The obscurity of the conception is explained by KAEGI[9] as due to Tvaṣṭṛ, like Trita and others, having belonged to an earlier race of gods who were ousted by later ones; while HILLEBRANDT thinks Tvaṣṭṛ was derived from a mythical cycle outside the range of the Vedic tribes. Different explanations have been offered of Tvaṣṭṛ's original nature. Owing to Tvaṣṭṛ being called Savitṛ, A. KUHN[10] thought that he meant the sun, but seems later[11] to have withdrawn this view. LUDWIG[12] regards him as a god of the year, while OLDENBERG believes him to be a pure abstraction expressing a definite characteristic activity[13]. HILLEBRANDT holds KUHN's earlier view that Tvaṣṭṛ represents the sun, to be probable[14]. HARDY also considers him a solar deity[15]. It does not indeed seem unlikely that this god, in a period anterior to the RV., represented the creative aspect of the sun's nature. If such was the case the Rigvedic poets themselves were only very dimly conscious of it. The name itself would have encouraged the growth of mythical accretions illustrative of creative skill, the desire to supply the pantheon with a regular divine artificer being natural enough. Much in the same way it was supplied with a divine priest in the person of Bṛhaspati.

The cup of Tvaṣṭṛ has been explained as the 'bowl of the year' or the nocturnal sky. But neither of these could well have been conceived as full

of Soma and drunk by the gods. Hillebrandt's interpretation of it as the moon is more plausible (cp. p. 133).

[1] OST. 5, 395—6; V. Henry, Les Hymnes Rohitas, Paris 1891; Bloomfield, AJP. 12, 429—44; HRI. 209, n. 1. — [2] Roth, PW.; cp. GW.; WC. 9—10. — [3] Cp. PW. s. v. *tvaṣṭṛ*. — [4] Ibid. — [5] OST. 5, 229. — [6] Roth, Nir. Erl. 144. — [7] Weber, Omina und Portenta 391—2. — [8] GGH. 113—6. — [9] KRV. note 131. — [10] KZ. 1, 448. — [11] KHF. 109. — [12] LRV. 3, 333—5. — [13] ORV. 233. — [14] HVM. 1, 517. — [15] HVBP. 30—1.

ZDMG. 1, 522; Geiger, Ostiranische Kultur 304; BRI. 22; BRV. 3, 38—64; HVM. 1, 513—35; IF. 1, 8; Ehni, Yama 4—16; Oldenberg, SBE. 46, 416 f. 248.

§ 39. **Viśvakarman, Prajāpati.** — A few other abstract deities originating in compound epithets and all representing the supreme god who was being evolved at the end of the Rigvedic period, are found in the RV. As the name of a god Viśvakarman occurs only five times in the RV. and always in the tenth book. Two whole hymns (10, 81. 82) are dedicated to his praise. The word also occurs as an attribute once (8, 87[2]) of Indra and once (10, 170[4]) of the Sun as the 'all-creating'. It is not uncommon as an adjective in the later Vedas, where it also appears as an attribute of Prajāpati (VS. 12, 61). The two hymns of the RV. describe Viśvakarman thus. He is all-seeing, having eyes, as well as a face, arms, and feet, on every side. (In this the Brahmā of later mythology, who is four-faced and four-armed, resembles him.) He is also provided with wings. He is a seer, a priest, our father. He is a lord of speech (*vācas pati*), swift as thought, beneficent, the source of all prosperity. He knows all places and beings, and he alone gives their names to the gods. He is wise and energetic, the highest apparition (*paramā saṃdṛk*). He is an establisher (*dhātṛ*) and a disposer (*vidhātṛ*), having produced the earth and disclosed the sky. It seems likely that the word was at first attached as an epithet chiefly to the sun-god, but in the later Rigvedic period became one of the almost synonymous names given to the one god (10, 81[3]) the conception of whom was then being tentatively evolved, and who as Viśvakarman was, owing to the name, mainly thought of in his architechtonic aspect[1]. Viśvakarman in the Brāhmaṇas is expressly identified with the creator Prajāpati (ŚB. 8, 2, 1[10]. 3[13], cp. AB. 4, 22). In post-Vedic times he was conceived as the artificer of the gods.

Prajāpati occurs in one passage of the RV. (4, 53[2]) as an epithet of Savitṛ, who is spoken of as a supporter of heaven and *prajāpati* of the world[2], and in another, as an epithet of Soma compared with Tvaṣṭṛ and Indra (9, 5[9]). Otherwise the word is found four times as the name of a distinct deity, always in the tenth book. The god Prajāpati is invoked (10, 85[43]) to bestow abundant offspring (*prajām*), is besought, along with Viṣṇu, Tvaṣṭṛ, and Dhātṛ, to grant offspring (10, 184[1]), and is spoken of as making cows prolific (10, 169[4]). As a protector of generation and living beings Prajāpati is also often invoked in the AV.[3] In the one hymn devoted to his praise in the RV. (10, 121), he is invoked by this name only in the last verse. In this hymn he is celebrated as the creator of heaven and earth, of the waters and of all that lives; who was born (*jāta*) as the one lord (*pati*) of all that is, the one king of all that breathes and moves, the one god above the gods; whose ordinances all beings and the gods follow; who established heaven and earth; who traverses space in the atmosphere; who embraces with his arms the whole world and all creatures. Here Prajāpati is clearly the name of the supreme god. Though only mentioned once in the RV. in this sense, he is commonly in the AV. and VS., and regularly in the Brāhmaṇas, recognized as the chief god. He is the father of the gods (ŚB. 11, 1, 6[14]; TB. 8, 1, 3[4] &c.), having existed alone in the beginning (ŚB. 2

2, 4[1]). He created the Asuras as well (TB. 2, 2, 2[3])[4]. He is also described as the first sacrificer (ŚB. 2, 4, 4[1]; 6, 2, 3[1]). In the Sūtras Prajāpati is identified with Brahmā (AGS. 3, 4, &c.). In the place of this chief god of the later Vedic theology, the philosophy of the Upaniṣads put the impersonal Brahma, the universal soul or the Absolute.

A myth is told in the MS. (4, 2[12]) of Prajāpati being enamoured of his daughter Uṣas. She transformed herself into a gazelle; whereupon he transformed himself into the corresponding male. Rudra incensed at this aimed his arrow at him, when Prajāpati promised to make him lord of beasts if he did not shoot (cp. RV. 10, 61[7]). The story is several times referred to in the Brāhmaṇas (AB. 3, 33; ŚB. 1, 7, 4[1]; PB. 8, 2[10])[5]. The basis of this myth seem to be two passages of the RV. (1, 71[5]; 10, 61[5—7]) in which the incest of a father (who seems to be Dyaus) with his daughter (here apparently the Earth) is referred to and an archer is mentioned[6].

In the refrain of the first nine verses of RV. 10, 121 the supreme god is referred to as unknown by the interrogative pronoun *Ka*, Who? The answer given in the tenth verse, is that Prajāpati alone embraces all beings. This later led to the employment of *Ka* not only as an epithet of Prajāpati (AB. 3, 22[7]), but as a name, used by itself, of the supreme god (MS. 3, 12[5]). In the TS. (1, 7, 6[6]) Ka is expressly identified with Prajāpati[7].

In the first verse of RV. 10, 121 the supreme god is referred to as Hiraṇyagarbha, the 'Germ of Gold', the one lord of what exists. This is the only occurrence of the name in the RV., but it is mentioned several times in the AV. and the literature of the Brāhmaṇa period (cp. p. 13). Hiraṇyagarbha is also alluded to in a passage of the AV. (4, 2[8]) where it is stated that the waters produced an embryo, which as it was being born, was enveloped in a golden covering. In the TS. (5, 5, 1[2]) Hiraṇyagarbha is expressly identified with Prajāpati. In the later literature he is chiefly a designation of the personal Brahmā[8].

[1] OST. 4, 5—11; 5, 354—5; WC. 80—5; SPH. 33—40. — [2] Cp. BLOOMFIELD, AJP. 14, 493. — [3] See PW. s. v. *prajāpati*. — [4] Cp. OST. 5, 80—1. — [5] ASL. 529; OST. 4, 45; SBE. 12, 284, n. 1; DELBRÜCK, FaB. 24; WVB. 1894, p. 34; GELDNER, FaW. 21. — [6] Cp. BRV. 2, 109 f.; OLDENBERG, SBE. 46, 78 f. — [7] SPH. 27, n. 2; ASL. 433; IS. 2, 94; SBE. 12, 8. — [8] ASL. 569 f.; OGR. 295; OST. 4, 15—18; 5, 352. 355; WC. 50—1; HVM. 1, 380, n. 1; HRI. 141—2; GELDNER, l. c.

§ 40. Manyu, Śraddhā &c. — We have yet to deal with the deifications of abstract nouns. Manyu, Wrath, a personification suggested chiefly by the fierce anger of Indra, is invoked in two hymns of the RV. (10, 83. 84). He is of irresistible might and self-existent. He glows like fire, is a god, who is Indra, Varuṇa, Jātavedas. He slays Vṛtra, is accompanied by the Maruts, grants victory like Indra, and bestows wealth. United with Tapas, Ardour, he protects his adorers and slays their foes. One short hymn of the RV. (10, 151) is devoted to the praise of Śraddhā, Faith[1]. She is said to be invoked morning, noon, and night. Through Faith fire is kindled and ghee offered. Through Faith wealth is obtained. In the Brāhmaṇas Śraddhā is the daughter of the Sun (ŚB. 12, 7, 3[11]) or of Prajāpati (TB. 2, 3, 10[1]). Her relationships are still further worked out in the Epics and Purāṇas. Anumati, Favour (of the gods), occurs twice as a personification in the RV. She is besought to be gracious and let her worshippers long see the sun (10, 59[6]) and her protection is referred to (10, 167[3]). In the AV. and VS. she becomes a goddess of love and presides over propagation. The later ritual connected her with the moon, regarding her as representing the day before full-moon[2]. Aramati, Devotion, Piety, is occasionally personified

in the RV. The name has a counterpart in the Avestic Ārmaiti, a genius of earth as well as wisdom[3], but the personification can hardly go back to the Indo-Iranian period. Sūnṛtā, Bounty[4], appears to be personified as a goddess two or three times in the RV. (1, 40[3]; 10, 141[2]). Asunīti, Spirit-life, is personified in one passage of the RV. (10, 59[5.6]), being besought to prolong life and grant strength and nourishment[5]. Nirṛti, Decease, Dissolution, appears about twelve times in the RV. as a personification presiding over death.

Other personifications appear for the first time in the later Vedas. Kāma, Desire, is deified in the AV. (9, 2; 19, 52). Here he is not, as in post-Vedic literature, a god of love, but a deity who fulfils all desires. His arrows, with which he pierces hearts, are already referred to (AV. 3, 25[1]). He is described as the first who was born (AV. 9, 2[19]). The origin of the conception is most probably to be traced to the *kāma* 'desire', which in a cosmogonic hymn (p. 13) of the RV. (10, 129[4]), is called 'the first seed of mind'[6]. Kāla, Time, is personified as a cosmogonic force in the AV. (19, 53. 54)[7], and Skambha, Support, an abstraction postulated by the speculation of the AV. to uphold the universe created by Prajāpati, comes to be praised as the All-god (AV. 10, 8[2])[8]. Prāṇa, Breath, is also deified and identified with Prajāpati (AV. 11, 4[12] &c.)[9]. Other personified abstractions of a like nature are to be found in the AV.[10] Śrī as a personification of Beauty or Fortune first appears in the ŚB. (11, 4, 3[1])[11].

[1] Cp. OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 50, 450 f. — [2] ZDMG. 7, 608; IS. 5, 229. — [3] ZDMG. 7, 519; 8, 770; 9, 690—2; SP.AP. 151. 200—3; HVBP. 91; HRI. 136. — [4] OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 50, 440. — [5] But cp. MM., JRAS. 2, 460, n. 2. — [6] WEBER, IS. 5, 224; 17, 290; ZDMG. 14, 269; OST. 5, 402; SPH. 76—7. — [7] SPH. 78—82; HVBP. 88. — [8] SPH. 50—9; HRI. 209. — [9] SPH. 35. — [10] SPH. 14. — [11] GGH. 4.

§ 41. Aditi. — There is one deity who, if rightly interpreted as the personification of a pure abstraction, like those treated in the preceding paragraph, occupies an anomalous position in the RV. For the name is not limited to the latest portion, but occurs throughout the collection. This would be accounted for by the peculiar manner in which the personification came about, supposing the explanation offered below to be correct. Otherwise this deity would have to be classed with abstractions of the epithet type (§ 39).

The goddess Aditi is not the subject of any separate hymn, but is often incidentally celebrated in the RV., her name occurring nearly eighty times. Very rarely mentioned alone (8, 19[14]), she is constantly invoked with her sons, the Ādityas.

She has no definite physical features. She is often called a goddess (*devī*), who is sometimes styled *anarvā*, 'intact' (2, 40[6]; 7, 40[4]). She is widely expanded (5, 46[6]), extensive, a mistress of wide stalls (8, 67[12]). She is bright and luminous, a supporter of creatures (1, 136[3]: otherwise said of Mitra-Varuṇa only), and belongs to all men (7, 10[4]: also said of Heaven and Earth). She is invoked at morning, noon, and sunset (5, 69[3])[1].

Aditi is the mother of Mitra and Varuṇa (8, 25[3]; 10, 36[3]. 132[6]) as well as of Aryaman (8, 47[9]). Hence she is called the mother of kings (2, 27[7], cp. v. [1]), of excellent sons (3, 4[11]), of powerful sons (8, 56[11]), of heroic sons (AV. 3, 8[3]; 11, 1[11]), or of eight sons (10, 72[8]; AV. 8, 9[21]). She is once said to be the mother of the Rudras, being the daughter of the Vasus and (strange to say) sister of the Ādityas (8, 90[15]), and the AV. (6, 4[1]) mentions her brothers as well as her sons. In another passage of the AV. (7, 6[2] = VS. 21, 5) she is invoked as the great mother of the devout, the mistress of *ṛta*, strong in might, undecaying, widely extended, protecting, skilfully guiding. Such passages and the constant invocation of Aditi along with the Ādityas, her sons, show

that her motherhood is an essential and characteristic trait. Her epithet *pastyā*, housewife (4, 55[3]; 8, 27[5]) may possibly also allude to her motherhood. In the Epic and Purāṇic mythology Aditi is the daughter of Dakṣa and mother of the gods in general, and expressly of Vivasvat, the Sun, and of Viṣṇu in his dwarf incarnation. She is said to be the wife of Viṣṇu in VS. (29, 60 = TS. 7, 5[14]).

Aditi is several times spoken of as protecting from distress (*aṃhas*), and she is said to grant complete welfare or safety (10, 100; 1, 94[15]), but she is more frequently invoked to release from guilt or sin. Thus Varuṇa (1, 24[15]), Agni (4, 12[4]), and Savitṛ (5, 82[6]), are besought to free from guilt against Aditi. Aditi, Mitra, and Varuṇa are implored to forgive sin (2, 27[14]), Aditi and Aryaman, to loosen (the bonds of) sin (7, 93[7]). Worshippers beseech Aditi to make them sinless (1, 162[22]); praying that by fulfilling her ordinances they may be without sin towards Varuṇa (7, 87[7]) and that evildoers may be cut off from Aditi (10, 87[18]). Hence though other gods, Agni (3, 54[10]), Savitṛ (4, 54[3]), Sun, Dawn, Heaven and Earth (10, 35[2, 3]) are petitioned to pardon sin, the notion of releasing from it is much more closely connected with Aditi and her son Varuṇa, whose fetters that bind sinners are characteristic, and who unties sin like a rope and removes it (p. 26).

This notion is nearly allied to the etymology of the name. The word *aditi* is primarily a noun meaning 'unbinding', 'bondlessness', from *dí-ti* 'binding' (= Gk. δέ-σι-ς), derived from the root *dā*, 'to bind'. The past passive participle of this verb is employed to describe Śunaḥśepa 'bound' (*di-tá*) to the stake (5, 2[7]). Hence as a goddess Aditi is naturally invoked to release her worshippers like a tied (*baddha*) thief (8, 67[14]). The original unpersonified meaning of 'freedom' seems to survive in a few passages of the RV. Thus a worshipper exclaims, 'who gives us back to great *aditi*, that I may see father and mother'? (1, 24[1]). The Ādityas are besought (7, 51[1]) to 'place the offering in guiltlessness (*anāgāstve*) and freedom (*adititve*)'. The poet perhaps means the same thing when he prays to Heaven and Earth for 'the secure and unlimited gift of *aditi*' (1, 185[3]). The word *aditi* also occurs several times in the adjectival sense of 'boundless'. It is thus used as an attribute twice of Dyaus (5, 59[8]; 10, 63[3]) and more frequently of Agni (1, 94[15]; 4, 1[20]; 7, 9[3]; 8, 19[14]).

The indefiniteness of the name would easily have lent itself to mystical identifications, and the conception was naturally affected by the theogonic and cosmogonic speculations found in the more recent portions of the RV. Thus the gods are said to have been born from Aditi, the Waters, and Earth (10, 63[2]; cp. p. 14). In the verse immediately following, the 'boundless' Sky (*dyaur aditi*), their mother, is said to supply the gods with honied milk. Here therefore she appears to be identified with the sky[2]. Elsewhere (1, 72[9]; AV. 13, 1[38]) Aditi seems to be identified with the Earth, and this identification is frequent in the TS. and ŚB. In the Naighaṇṭuka the name is given as a synonym of earth, and, in the dual, of Heaven and Earth[3]. In many passages of the RV., however, she is distinguished from Heaven and Earth by being mentioned separately along with them (10, 63[10] &c.)[4]. In another passage (1, 89[10]) Aditi represents a personification of Universal Nature: 'Aditi is the sky; Aditi is the air; Aditi is the mother, and father, and son; Aditi is all the gods and the five tribes; Aditi is whatever has been born; Aditi is whatever shall be born' (p. 16; cp. Kaṭha Up. 4, 7).

Though according to the older mythology of the RV. Aditi is the mother of Dakṣa as an Āditya (2, 27[1]), she is in a cosmogonic hymn (10, 72[4. 5]) said to be his daughter as well as his mother by the reciprocal generation

which is a notion not unfamiliar to the RV. (p. 12; cp. 10, 90[5]). In two other hymns of the tenth book (5[7]. 64[5]) these deities are connected in such a way that Aditi can scarcely be the mother of Dakṣa, but seems rather to be subordinate to him. Though Aditi is the mother of some of the leading deities, she plays an inferior part in a few other passages also. Thus she celebrates, along with her sons Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, the praises of Savitṛ (7, 38[4]) and is said to have produced a hymn for Indra (8, 12[14], cp. 5, 31[5]).

Probably as the mother of the luminous Ādityas, Aditi is sometimes connected with light. She is asked for light (4, 25[3], cp. 10, 36[3]), her imperishable light is celebrated (7, 82[10]), and Dawn is called the face of Aditi (1, 113[19]). Occasionally Aditi is referred to in general terms which might apply to other deities. Thus she is implored to protect or bless her worshippers, their children, and their cattle (8, 18[6. 7]; 1, 43[2]). She is prayed to for wealth (7, 40[2]), her pure, intact, celestial, imperishable gifts are supplicated (1, 185[3]), and the large blessings bestowed by the Maruts are compared with the beneficent deeds of Aditi (1, 166[12]).

In some passages of the RV. (1, 153[3]; 8, 90[15]; 10, 11[1] &c.) as well as in later Vedic texts (VS. 13, 43. 49), Aditi is spoken of as a cow, and, in the ritual, a ceremonial cow is commonly addressed as Aditi[5]. Terrestrial Soma is compared to the milk of Aditi (9, 96[15]); and milk only can be meant[6] by the daughter of Aditi who yields to Soma as he flows to the vat (9, 69[3]). There may be a similar allusion when priests with their ten fingers are said to purify Soma on the lap of Aditi (9, 26[1]. 71[5]).

A review of the evidence indicates that Aditi has two and only two prominent characteristics. The first is her motherhood. She is the mother of a group of gods whose name represents a metronymic formation from hers. Her second main characteristic, in conformity with the etymological meaning of the name, is her power of releasing from the bonds of physical suffering and moral guilt. Mystical speculation on the name would lead to her being styled a cow, as representing boundless plenty, or to her being identified with the boundless earth, heaven, or universe. But how are we to account for so early a personification of such an abstract idea, and in particular for Aditi becoming the mother of the Ādityas? BERGAIGNE[7] thinks the transition to Aditi's motherhood is to be found in such an expression as *dyaur aditiḥ*, the 'boundless sky', the mother who supplies the gods with milk (10, 63[3]). According to this view, the rare and secondary adjectival meaning 'boundless' would have developed from being an epithet of the sky, otherwise characteristically regarded as a father, into an independent female deity. Nor does this explanation seem to account satisfactorily for the conception of Aditi releasing from bondage. Another explanation is possible. The expression *aditeḥ putrāḥ*, sons of Aditi, several times applied to the Ādityas in the RV., may in the pre-Vedic period have simply meant 'sons of freedom' (like *sahasaḥ putraḥ*, 'son of strength': p. 12) as describing a prominent quality of Varuṇa and cognate gods. Such an expression would easily lead to the personification of Aditi as a mother. Similarly Śavasī was evolved as a name of Indra's mother in the RV. itself from his epithet 'Son of Might' (*śavasaḥ*: p. 12) and Indra's epithet *śacīpati*, 'lord of might', later led to *śacī* being personified as the wife of that god, the compound being interpreted as 'husband of Śacī'. The formation of a metronymic Āditya, son of Aditi, would tend to the limitation of the group comprising her sons. The deified personification would naturally retain a connexion with the original meaning of existence free from all fetters, but would assume a few additional fluctuating attributes, such as brightness, from the Ādityas. As mother of some of the leading gods

or of the gods in general, she might occasionally be identified with Heaven and Earth, the universal parents, and the meaning of the word would encourage cosmogonic speculations. Thus Aditi, an entirely Indian goddess, is historically younger than some at least of her sons.

The opinion that Aditi is a personification of the idea of 'freedom from bondage' is favoured by WALLIS[8] and OLDENBERG[9]. MAX MÜLLER[10] thinks that Aditi, an ancient god or goddess, is the earliest name invented to express the infinite as visible to the naked eye, the endless expanse beyond the earth, the clouds, and the sky. ROTH at first[11] interpreted Aditi to mean 'inviolability, imperishableness', denoting as a personification the goddess of eternity. Later he explained her as 'eternity', the principle which sustains the Ādityas, or imperishable celestial light[12]. He regards her not as a definite but only an incipient personification. In the St. Petersburg Dictionary, however, he explains Aditi as a personification of the boundlessness of heaven as opposed to the finite earth. PISCHEL, on the other hand believes Aditi represents the earth[13]. This is also HARDY's opinion[14]. COLINET considers Aditi the female counterpart of Dyaus[15]. The Naighaṇṭuka gives *aditi* as a synonym of *pṛthivī* (earth), *vāc* (speech), *go* (cow), and, in the dual, of *dyāvā-pṛthivī* (heaven and earth). Yāska defines Aditi as 'the mighty mother of the gods', and following the Naighaṇṭuka (5, 5) locates her in the atmospheric region, while the Ādityas are assigned to the celestial, and Varuṇa to both[16].

1 OST. 5, 36, note 68. — 2 Op. cit. 5, 39, note 73. — 3 According to BRV. 3, 90, Aditi in 4, 55[1b] = 7, 62[4a] is synonymous with dyāvāpṛthivī. — 4 References in OST. 5, 40 f. — 5 ORV. 206 cp. 72. — 6 Otherwise BRV. 3, 94. — 7 BRV. 3, 90. — 8 WC. 45 f. — 9 ORV. 204—7 cp. SBE. 46, 329. — 10 Vedic Hymns, SBE. 32, 241; cp. LSL. 2, 619; HOPKINS, JAOS. 17, 91. — 11 Nirukta, Erl. 150—1. — 12 ZDMG. 6, 68 f.; so also KRV. 59, HILLEBRANDT, Aditi p. 20. — 13 PVS. 2, 86. — 14 HVBP. 94. — 15 Trans. of the 9th Or. Congress 1, 396—410. — 16 ROTH on Nir. 10, 4.

BENFEY, Hymnen des Sāmaveda 218 (= Unteilbarkeit); OST. 1, 26; 5, 35—53. 55; BRV. 3, 88—98; HILLEBRANDT, Ueber die Göttin Aditi, Breslau 1876; BRI. 19; DARMESTETER, Ormazd p. 82; COLINET, Etude sur le mot Aditi, Museon 12, 81—90; ROTH, IS. 14, 392—3; BLOOMFIELD, ZDMG. 48, 552, note 1; HRI. 72—3.

§ 42. Diti. — The name of Diti occurs only three times in the RV., twice along with that of Aditi. Mitra and Varuṇa are said to behold from their car Aditi and Diti (5, 62[8]). Sāyaṇa here explains the two as the indivisible earth and the separate creatures on it, ROTH[1], as 'the eternal and the perishable', and MUIR[2] as 'the entire aggregate of visible nature'. In a second passage (4, 2[11]), Agni is besought to grant *diti* and preserve from *aditi*. Here Sāyaṇa interprets the two words as 'liberal giver' and 'illiberal giver', ROTH as 'wealth' and 'penury'. BERGAIGNE[3] takes the words to designate the goddesses of the previous passage; but it is more likely that they are here quite different words, derived from *dā*, 'to give', and thus meaning 'giving' and 'non-giving'. This view seems to be favoured by both the context and the order in which the words occur. In the third passage (7, 15[12]) Diti is mentioned without Aditi, but along with Agni, Savitṛ, and Bhaga, being said to give (*dā*) what is desirable (*vāryam*). Diti is named along with Aditi as a goddess in the later Saṃhitās also (VS. 18, 22; AV. 15, 18[4]; 16, 6[7]). Her sons are mentioned in AV. 7, 7[1]. These are the Daityas, who in post-Vedic mythology are the enemies of the gods. The name of Diti as a goddess seems to be merely an antithesis to that of Aditi[4], formed from the latter to express a positive sense, as *sura*, 'god', was later (by false etymology) evolved from *asura*, 'demon'.

1 ZDMG. 6, 71. — 2 OST. 5, 42. — 3 BRV. 3, 97. — 4 MM., SBE. 32, 256; cp. WC. 46.

E. GODDESSES.

§ 43. Goddesses. — Goddesses occupy a very subordinate position in Vedic belief and worship. They play hardly any part as rulers of the world. The only one of any importance is Uṣas, who judged by the statistical standard ranks as a deity of the third class (p. 20). But, unlike nearly all the gods, she received no share in the Soma offering[1]. Next to her comes Sarasvatī (§ 33), who, however, only ranks with the lowest class of deities. A few other goddesses are praised in one hymn each. Pṛthivī, hardly separable from Dyaus, is praised in one short hymn of three stanzas (§ 34). Rātrī, Night, is also invoked in one hymn (10, 127). Like her sister Dawn, she is called the daughter of Heaven. She is not conceived as the dark, but as the bright starlit night. She shines manifoldly with her eyes. Decked with all splendour, she fills the valleys and heights, driving away the darkness with light. At her approach men return home like birds to their nests. She is invoked to keep away the wolf and the thief, guiding her worshippers to safety. Night probably became a goddess by way of antithesis to Dawn, with whom she is invoked in several verses as a dual divinity[2] (pp. 48. 129). Vāc, personified Speech, is celebrated in one hymn (10, 125 cp. 71), in which she describes herself. She accompanies all the gods and supports Mitra-Varuṇa, Indra-Agni, and the Aśvins. She bends Rudra's bow against the unbeliever. Her place is in the waters, the sea. She encompasses all beings. In another passage (8, 89^10. 11) she is called queen of the gods and divine[3]. In the Naighaṇṭuka (5, 5) Vāc is enumerated among the deities of the atmosphere; and thunder, or *mādhyamikā vāc*, 'the voice of the middle region', in the terminology of the commentators (Nir. 11, 27), may have been the starting point of the personification. A legend about Vāc frequently referred to in the Brāhmaṇas is that of Soma being bought back from the Gandharvas at the price of Vāc transformed into a woman (AB. 1, 27). Puraṃdhi, whose name occurs about nine times in the RV., is goddess of Plenty[4]. She is nearly always mentioned with Bhaga[5], two or three times also with Pūṣan and Savitṛ, and once with Viṣṇu and Agni. Pārendi, commonly regarded as identical with Puraṃdhi, is generally considered a goddess of riches and abundance (cp. Yaṣt 8, 38) in the Avesta[6]. HILLEBRANDT, however, thinks Puraṃdhi is a goddess of Activity[7]. Another goddess of abundance is Dhiṣaṇā, mentioned nearly a dozen times in the RV[8]. Iḷa, Nourishment, is the personification (mentioned less than a dozen times in the RV.) of the offering of milk and butter, thus representing plenty derived from the cow. Hence Iḍā is in the Brāhmaṇas frequently connected with, though never an actual name of, the cow; and in the Naighaṇṭuka (2, 11) it occurs as one of the synonyms of cow. Owing to the nature of the offering Iḷa is called butter-handed (7, 16^8) and butter-footed (10, 70^8). As a personification she generally appears in the Āprī hymns, in which she usually forms a triad with Sarasvatī and Mahī or Bhāratī[9]. It is doubtful whether the literal or the personified sense is intended by the phrase *iḷāyās pade*, 'in the place of nourishment' (i. e. of the sacrificial fire). Agni is once called the son of Iḷā, clearly in allusion to the place of his production (3, 29^9. 10). Purūravas is also said to be her son (10, 95^18). She is once called the mother of the herd (*yūtha*) and connected with Urvaśī (5, 41^19). She is once mentioned with Dadhikrāvan and the Aśvins in reference to the morning sacrifice (7, 44^2). In the ŚB. she is called the daughter of Manu (1, 8, 1^8; 11, 5, 3^5) as well as of Mitra-Varuṇa (1, 8, 1^27; 14, 9, 4^27; AŚS. 1, 7^7). The name of the goddess Bṛhaddivā occurs four times in hymns to the

Viśvedevas. She is called a mother (10, 64^{10}) and is mentioned with Iḷā (2, 31^{4}; 5, 41^{19}), Sarasvatī and Rākā (5, 42^{12}). Rākā (probably from $\sqrt{}$*rā*, to give) is mentioned only twice in the RV. as a rich and bountiful goddess, who is invoked with others (2, 32^{7}; 5, 42^{12}). Sinīvālī is referred to in two hymns of the RV. (2, 32; 10, 184). She is a sister of the gods, broad-hipped, fair-armed, fair-fingered, prolific, a mistress of the family, and is implored to grant offspring. She is invoked with Sarasvatī, Rākā, as well as Guṅgū (who is only mentioned here). In the AV. (8, 46^{3}) Sinīvālī is called the wife of Viṣṇu. The later Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas also mention a goddess Kuhū, a personification of the new moon[10]. Rākā and Sinīvālī are in later Vedic texts connected with phases of the moon, the former being the presiding deity of the actual day of full moon, and the latter, of the first day of new moon. There is nothing to show that any such connexion is to be found in the RV[11].

A few other goddesses occasionally mentioned in the RV. have already been incidentally referred to. Pṛṣni, the mother of the Maruts (p. 78) presumably represents the mottled storm-cloud[12]. The word is also used as an adjective in the sense of speckled (cp. 7, $103^{6.\,10}$), in the singular as an attribute of both bull and cow, and in the plural, of the cows which milk Soma for Indra (1, $84^{10.\,11}$; 8, 6^{19}. 7^{10}. 58^{3}). It thus came to mean 'speckled cow', and finally 'speckled cloud'. Saraṇyū occurs once in the RV. (10, 17^{2}) as the name of Tvaṣṭṛ's daughter, wedded to Vivasvat. The most likely interpretation seems to be that which identifies her with the sun-maiden Sūryā or Uṣas, the Dawn[13]. The word also occurs four times as an adjective in the RV. meaning 'swift'. It is an ordinary Sanskrit formation, derived with the suffix *-yu* from *saraṇa*, speed ($\sqrt{}$*sṛ*, to run), like *caraṇ-yu* and others.

Goddesses as wives of the great gods similarly play an insignificant part in the Veda. They are altogether without independent character, simply representing the spouses whom such gods as Indra must have had. Hardly anything about them is mentioned but their names, which are simply formed from those of the gods with the feminine suffix *-ānī*. Thus *Indrāṇī* is simply 'wife of Indra'[14]. Varuṇānī and Agnāyī also occur in the RV., but rarely. Rudrāṇī is not found till the Sūtras, but she plays a decidedly more important part in the cult than any of the other goddesses in *-ānī*[15]. The wife of the Aśvins is once in the RV. called Aśvinī (= Sūryā: p. 51)[16]. The 'wives of the gods' (*devānāṃ patnīḥ*) occasionally mentioned in the RV. have in the Brāhmaṇas an established place assigned to them in the cult apart from the gods (ŚB. 1, 9, 2^{11})[17].

[1] BERGAIGNE, Recherches sur l'histoire de la liturgie védique, p. 9. — [2] OST. 5, 191; HRI. 79 f. — [3] WEBER, IS. 9, 473 ff.; BRI. 16; OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 39, 58—9; WC. 85—6; HRI. 142—3. 226. — [4] PVS. 2, 202—16; BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. 16, 19; ORV. 63. — [5] Cp. OLDENBERG, SBE. 46, 190. — [6] DARMESTETER, Ormazd et Ahriman 25; SBE. 4, LXX; 23, 11; MILLS, SBE. 31, 25; PVS. 1, 202; SP.AP. 207—9; COLINET, BOR. 2, 245; 4, 121; Trans. Or. Cong. 1892, 1, 396—420. — [7] HILLEBRANDT, WZKM. 3, 188—94. 259—73; cp. also V. HENRY, Vedica, 1re série, p. 1 ff., Mémoires de la Société de ling. 9. — [8] PVS. 2, 82 ff.; OLDENBERG, SBE. 46, 120—2. — [9] WEBER, IS. 1, 168—9; BRV. 1, 325; GGH. 51; ORV. 238. 326; SBE. 46, 11. 156. 191. 288; BAUNACK, KZ. 34, 563. — [10] ZDMG. 9, LVIII. — [11] IS. 5, 228 ff. — [12] Cp. ROTH on Nir. 10, 39, p. 145. — [13] BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. 15, 172—88, where the opinions of his predecessors are stated. — [14] ORV. 172; cp. LEUMANN, KZ. 32, 299. — [15] ORV. 219. — [16] KRV. n. 148; on Sūryā and the Aśvins cp. WEBER, IS. 5, 178—89; BRV. 2, 486; PVS. 1, 13—29; OLDENBERG, GGA. 1889, 7—8; ORV. 241. — [17] On female divinities cp. HOPKINS, PAOS. 1889, p. CLXII; on Saramā (above pp. 63—4) see below, § 62.

F. DUAL DIVINITIES.

§. 44. A peculiar feature of Vedic mythology is the celebration in pairs of a number of deities whose names are joined in the form of a special kind of dual compound in which both members are dual, accented, and occasionally separable[1]. About a dozen gods are thus conjointly praised in at least sixty hymns of the RV. The name of Indra enters into seven or more than half of these combinations, but by far the largest number of hymns — twenty-three, and parts of several others — is addressed to the pair *Mitrā́váruṇā*. Eleven are dedicated to *Indrā́gnī*, nine to *Indrā-váruṇā*, about seven to *Índra-vāyū́*, six to *Dyā́vā-pṛthivī́*, two each to *Índrā-sómā* and *Índrā-bṛ́haspátī*, and one each to *Índrāviṣṇū*, *Índrā-pūṣáṇā*, *Somā-pūṣáṇā*, *Somā-rudrā*, and *Agnī́-ṣómā*. A few other couples, including the names of nine or ten deities not mentioned above, are invoked in detached verses. These are *Indra-nāsatyā*, *Indrā-parvatā*, *Indrā-marutaḥ*, *Agnī-parjanyā*, *Parjányā-vā́tā* (once *Vā́tā-parjanyā́*), *Uṣā́sānáktā* or (less often) *Náktoṣā́sā*, *Sū́ryā-mā́sā or Sūryā-candramā́sā*.

There can be little doubt that the analogy for this favourite formation was furnished by Dyāvāpṛthivī, Heaven and Earth[2], the pair which to early thought appeared so indissolubly connected in nature, that the myth of their conjugal union is found widely diffused among primitive peoples[3] and has therefore probably come down to the Veda from a period anterior to that immediately preceding the separation of the Indo-European nations. In the RV. itself this couple is so closely associated that while they are invoked as a pair in six hymns, not one is devoted to the praise of Dyaus alone and only one of three verses to that of Pṛthivī. So hard was it for the poets to dissociate the two, that even in this hymn Pṛthivī is praised for sending the rain of heaven from her cloud (5, 84^{3}). The dual compound, moreover, occurs much more frequently than the name of Dyaus as a god. It occurs, including the comparatively rare synonyms *Dyā́vākṣā́mā* and *Dyā́vābhū́mī*, about a hundred times, or more frequently than the name of any other pair. Heaven and Earth are also called *rodasī*, the two worlds (spoken of as sisters, 1, 185^{5}, owing to the gender of the word), an expression occurring at least a hundred times in the RV. Heaven and Earth are parents, being often styled *pitarā*, *mātarā*, *janitrī*, and also separately addressed as father and mother (1, 159^{1-3}. 160^{2}). They are primeval parents (7, 53^{2}; 10, 65^{8}). Their marriage is referred to in the AB. (4, 27^{5-6})[4]. They have made and sustain all creatures (1, 159^{2}. 160^{2}. 185^{1}). Though themselves footless, they support much offspring with feet (1, 185^{2}). They are the parents of the gods also; for to them exclusively belongs the epithet *devápútre*, 'having the gods as sons'. They are in particular said to be the parents of Bṛhaspati (7, 97^{8}) and, with the Waters and Tvaṣṭṛ, to have begotten Agni (10, 2^{7}). At the same time they are in different passages spoken of as themselves created by individual gods. Thus a poet observes that he who produced heaven and earth must have been the most skilful artisan of all the gods (1, 160^{4}; 4, 56^{3}). Indra is said to have generated or fashioned them (6, 30^{5}; 8, 36^{4}; 10, 29^{6}. 54^{3}). Viśvakarman produced them (10, 81^{2} cp. AV. 12, 1^{60})[5]. They received their forms from Tvaṣṭṛ (10, 110^{9}). They sprang from the head and feet of Puruṣa (10, 90^{14}). But one poet is puzzled as to how they were produced and which of the two first came into being (1, 185^{1}; cp. p. 13)[6]. Many of the epithets applied to Dyāvāpṛthivī are suggested by their physical characteristics. The one is a prolific bull, the other a variegated cow (1, 160^{3}). They are both rich in seed (1, 159^{2}; 6, $70^{1.2}$). They yield milk, ghee, and honey abundantly

(6, 70^{1-5}), and produce *amṛta* (1, 159^{2}. 185^{6}). They never grow old (6, 70^{1}). They are great (1, 159^{1}) and wide-extended (1, 160^{2}). They are broad and great abodes (1, 185^{6}). They are fair-faced, wide, manifold, with ends which are far away (1, $185^{6.7}$). Sometimes, however, moral qualities are attributed to them. They are wise and promote righteousness (1, 159^{1}). As father and mother they guard beings (1, 160^{2}) and protect from disgrace and misfortune (1, 185^{10}). They grant food and wealth (6, 70^{6}; 1, 159^{5}) or bestow great fame and dominion (1, 160^{5}). They are sufficiently personified to be called leaders of the sacrifice and to be conceived as seating themselves around the sacrifice (4, $56^{2.7}$), as coming to their worshippers along with the heavenly folk (7, 53^{2}), or taking the sacrifice to the gods (2, 41^{20}). But Heaven and Earth never attained to a living personification or importance in worship. These two deities are quite coördinate. But in most of the other couples one of the two greatly predominates, his characteristic qualities being shared by his companion. Thus Indra-Agni are conjointly called 'wielders of the bolt' and 'Vṛtra-slayers'. Occasionally an attribute of the lesser deity is predicated of both. Thus Indra-Viṣṇu are together said to have taken wide strides (6, 69^{5}). Frequent association of this kind may lead to a deity receiving by himself an epithet to which he originally had no right. Thus Agni when mentioned alone is often called a 'Vṛtra-slayer'. The characteristics of each member of the pair are, however, in some passages distinguished[7].

Next to Heaven and Earth, the pair most frequently named is Mitra-Varuṇa. These two deities are invoked conjointly in many more hymns than are dedicated to their separate praise. As Mitra has hardly any individual traits, the same attributes and functions belong to the pair conjointly as to Varuṇa alone. Scarcely anything need therefore be here added to what has already been said about Varuṇa. The couple are conceived as young men (3, 54^{10}; 7, 62^{5}). Like various other gods, they are spoken of as shining (*candra*), bright (*śuci*), sunlike (*svardṛś*), ruddy (*rudra*), and terrible (*ghora*). The priority of the name of Mitra in the compound might seem to indicate that he was originally the more important deity; it is, however, probably due simply to the tendency to make the shorter word the first member of a compound. This dual invocation goes back to the Indo-Iranian period, for Ahura and Mithra are thus coupled in the Avesta[8].

Indra-Varuṇa, the two universal monarchs (1, 17^{1}), hollowed out the channels of the waters and set the sun in motion in the sky (7, 82^{3}). They are vanquishers of Vṛtra (6, 68^{2}), aid in battle (4, 41^{11}), and grant victory (1, 17^{7}). They cast their mighty bolt against the wicked (4, 41^{4}). They bestow protection and prosperity (1, $17^{7.8}$), fame, wealth, and abundance of steeds (4, $41^{2.10}$; 6, 68^{8}). They are drinkers of the pressed Soma, their car comes to the sacrifice, and they are invoked to exhilerate themselves seated on the sacrificial grass (6, $68^{10.11}$). In some passages the characteristics of each member of the pair are distinguished. Thus Varuṇa is besought to divert his wrath from his worshippers, and Indra to procure them wide space (7, 84^{2}). Indra is contrasted as the warlike god who slays Vṛtra, with Varuṇa who supports men in peace and wisdom (6, 68^{3}; 7, $82^{5.6}$. 85^{3}). The association of the couple Indra-Agni[9] is very intimate; for Indra is invoked conjointly with Agni in more hymns than with any other deity[10], while Agni is otherwise addressed as a dual divinity only in one hymn and two detached verses with Soma and in one verse with Parjanya. Indra-Agni, the best of Soma-drinkers (1, 21^{1}), come on their car to drink Soma (1, 108^{1}), and are invited together to come and drink it (7, 93^{6}; 8, $38^{4.7-9}$), to sit down on the sacrificial grass at the offering, and to exhilerate themselves with the

pressed draught (1, 109^{5}). They are often called Vṛtra-slayers. They are armed with the bolt (6, 59^{3} &c.), and their lightning is sharp (5, 86^{3}). They are fort-destroyers who aid in battle (1, 109$^{7\cdot 8}$). They together demolished the 99 forts of the Dāsa (3, 12^{6}) and are invincible in battle (5, 86^{2}). They released the rivers from their imprisonment (8, 48^{8}) and accomplished heroic deeds together (1, 108^{5}). They are bountiful (5, 86^{3}). All these are traits characteristic of Indra. Indra-Agni are also called the two priests of sacrifice (8, 38^{1}), and are wise (8, 40^{3}). They are lords of the abode (*sadaspatī*) and drive away the goblins (1, 21^{5}). These features are more appropriate to Agni. The two gods are twin brothers who have one father (6, 59^{2}). They are once called Aśvins[11] (1, 109^{4}), possibly in allusion to this close relationship. They bestow food, wealth, strength, cattle, steeds (4, 60$^{13-14}$). They are greater than heaven and earth, rivers, and mountains (1, 109^{6}). The two gods are once contrasted, though not when addressed as a pair; Indra being said to slay, but Agni to burn, the Dasyus (6, 28^{4}). The two hymns (4, 49; 7, 97) addressed to Indra-Bṛhaspati consist chiefly of invitations to drink Soma and of prayers to bestow great wealth abounding in steeds and to promote devotion. Indra-Vāyu are constantly invited to come and drink Soma (1, 23$^{1-2}$ &c.), little else being said about them. They come to the offering with their teams (4, 47$^{2-4}$) or in their golden-seated car (4, 46^{4}) and seat themselves on the sacrificial litter (7, 91^{4}). They are thousand-eyed, lords of devotion (*dhiyas patī:* 1, 23^{3}), and lords of might (*śavasas patī*: 4, 47^{3}). They help in battle (7, 92^{4}) and bestow wealth in steeds, cattle, and gold (7, 90^{6}). Indra-Soma perform the warlike exploits characteristic of Indra or the great cosmic actions so often ascribed to him. They made the waters flow for man, released the seven rivers, slew the dragon, depressed the wheel of the sun (4, 28$^{1\cdot 2}$; 6, 72^{3}). The true work of the two bountiful gods was that they destroyed their foes and broke open what was enclosed in the rock (4, 28$^{4\cdot 5}$). They performed the first great deeds in finding the sun and light, dispelling the darkness, causing the sun to shine, supporting heaven, and spreading out the earth (6, 72$^{1\cdot 2}$). They too placed ripe milk in the raw bodies of cows (ib.^{4}). They grant victorious might to men (ib.^{5}). Indra-Viṣṇu, who are receptacles of Soma, lords of intoxication (*madapatī*), are invited to come with their steeds, to drink Soma, and to fill their belly with it. The two gods strode out widely in the intoxication of Soma, made the air broader, and spread out the spaces for existence. Ever victorious, they grant wealth, and conduct safely across dangers. As generators of all prayers, they are besought to hear the invocations of their worshippers (6, 69)[12]. Indra-Pūṣan are invoked conjointly in only one short hymn (6, 57), and their names form a dual compound only twice. When Indra made the great waters flow, Pūṣan was his companion. With him as a friend, Indra slays Vṛtras (6, 56^{2}). One of them drinks Soma and is drawn by two steeds with which he slays Vṛtras, while the other desires gruel (*karambha*) and is drawn by goats. Mention is once (1, 162^{2}) made of the abode (*pāthas*) of Indra-Pūṣan, to which a goat conducts the sacrificial horse. The two gods are as usual also besought to confer welfare and booty.

Soma-Pūṣan (2, 40) drive away darkness and are invoked to quicken the seven-wheeled five-reined car, yoked by thought, which measures out space. They are generators of wealth, of heaven and earth, and protectors of the world (cp. 10, 17^{3}), whom the gods made the centre of immortality. For them Indra is invoked to produce ripe milk in the raw cows. Together they bestow victory over foes and grant abundance of wealth and food.

But they are also contrasted. One of them has made his abode high in heaven, while the other dwells on earth and in air; one generated all beings, while the other moves seeing everything[13]. Soma-Rudra (6, 74) are invoked to drive away sickness and decay from the house, to place all remedies in the bodies of their worshippers, to remove from them all sin, and to free from the fetter of Varuṇa. Wielding sharp weapons, they are besought to have mercy and are implored for prosperity to man and beast. Agni-Soma are celebrated together for having released the confined streams, obtained the light, and set the luminaries in the sky. At the same time they are distinguished, Mātariśvan being said to have brought the one from heaven, and the eagle the other from the rock (1, 93). Their joint help and protection are invoked, and they are besought to grant cattle, horses, offspring, health, happiness, and wealth (10, 19[1]. 66[7]). This pair is mentioned several times in the AV. In the MS. (3, 7[1]) they are spoken of as 'two eyes'. The ŚB. refers to them as brothers (11, 1, 6[19]), also stating that the sun belongs to Agni and the moon to Soma (1, 6, 3[24]). In the ritual Agni-Soma seem never to receive a share in the Soma offering, but only cakes and animal sacrifices. It is somewhat remarkable that the two great ritual deities, who form a very frequent couple in the sacrificial literature, should, outside the one hymn (1, 93) devoted to their praise, be mentioned only twice as a pair, and that only in the most recent part of the RV.[14]

A few other pairs are invoked in detached verses only. Agni-Parjanya are mentioned in one passage (6, 52[16]). They are together besought to bestow food and progeny, but are at the same time contrasted, the one being said to have produced the oblation (*iḷām*) and the other offspring (*garbham*). Parjanya-Vāta are invoked in four passages. As bulls of earth they are besought (6, 49[6]) to impel the watery vapours (*purīṣāṇi*). Along with Indra-Vāyu and other gods, they are invoked as vaporous (*purīṣiṇā*) bulls (10, 65[9]). In another enumeration they are entreated to bestow abundant food (6, 50[12]). They are also once (10, 66[10] cp. Nir. 7, 10) invoked as connected with 'the thundering buffalo' (probably Dyaus[15]). Dawn and Night are invoked several times. They are mentioned almost exclusively in Viṣvedeva or Āprī hymns. They are rich goddesses (2, 31[5]; 10, 70[6]), divine maidens (7, 2[6]; 10, 110[6]), daughters of heaven (5, 41[7]; 10, 70[6]). They are like two wives (1, 122[2]) and abound in milk (2, 3[6]). Changing their colour they suckle a single child who beams between heaven and earth (1, 96[5]). They are two sisters who are of one mind but of different colour, whose path is the same and endless, who, taught by the gods, move alternately and never clash or stand still (1, 113[3]). They are the shining mothers of order (1, 142[7]); they conduct with bright rays every offering (5, 41[7]) and weave the web of sacrifice (2, 3[6]). They are bountiful, much invoked, and sit on the sacrificial grass (7, 2[6]). They are great and well-adorned (10, 36[1]. 110[6]; 1, 13[7]. 142[7]). Appearing alternately they arouse all living things (2, 31[5])[16]. Sun and Moon are mentioned five times in the form of *sū́ryāmā́sā* and three times in that of *sūryā́candramásā*. These are the only dual compounds formed with the name of Sūrya[17]. In most cases the concrete luminaries only are meant. Thus they are said to move alternately so that we may see (1, 102[2]). It is the act of Bṛhaspati that sun and moon rise alternately (10, 68[10]). The Creator fashioned sun and moon (10, 190[3]). A poet says, 'let us go on our path like sun and moon' (5, 51[15]). There is, however, an incipient personification when the pair is invoked with other deities (10, 64[3]. 92[12]. 93[5]). In a few passages sun and moon, though not expressly mentioned, are evidently thought of in their dual character. 'The two go round the sacrifice like

playing children; the one surveys all beings, the other is born again, ordering the seasons' (10, 85^{18}). There is no doubt that they are meant by the two bright eyes of Varuṇa (8, 41^{9}) and by the two eyes of heaven made by the immortals (1, 72^{10}).

1 KHF. 161 f.; OGR. 297 f.; HVM. 1, 98. — 2 SP.AP. 159; cp. ORV. 93. 240. — 3 TYLOR, Primitive Culture 322—8 (Chapter on Mythology). — 4 HAUG Translation of the AB., vol. 2, 308. — 5 Cp. ibid. 2, 299. — 6 Cp. Nirukta 3, 22; MM., LSL. 2, 606. — 7 RV. 2, $40^{4.5}$; 6, 52^{16}. 57^{2}. 68^{3}; 7, 36^{2}. $82^{5.6}$. 83^{9}. 84^{2}. 85^{3}. — 8 OST. 5, 70; EGGERS, Mitra 29—31; OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 50, 46. — 9 OST. 5, 220; MACDONELL, JRAS. 25, 470. — 10 Cp. FAY, AJP. 17, 14. — 11 LSL. 2, 614. — 12 MACDONELL, JRAS. 27, 175. — 13 OST. 5, 180; HVM. 1, 456. — 14 OLDENBERG, Die Hymnen des Rigveda I, 267; HILLEBRANDT, GGA. 1890, p. 401; HVM. 1, 458—61. — 15 Cp. LRV. 4, 228. — 16 KRV. 52; OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 39, 89; HRI. 79. — 17 OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 50, 63.

G. GROUPS OF GODS.

§ 45. The mythology of the Veda recognised a certain number of more or less definite groups of divine beings, generally associated with some particular god. The largest and most important of these, the Maruts, whose number in the RV. is variously stated to be 21 or 180 (p. 78), is, as has been shown, constantly described as attending Indra in his warlike exploits (p. 57). The same group under the name of Rudras is occasionally associated with their father Rudra (7, 10^{4}. 35^{6}). The number of the Rudras, treated as a separate class in the Brāhmaṇas, is stated to be eleven in the AB. and ŚB. (p. 19) but is thirty-three in the TS. (1, 4, 11^{1}). The smaller group of the Ādityas, whose number in two passages of the RV. is seven or eight (p. 43) and in the Brāhmaṇas becomes twelve, is in the RV. constantly associated either with their mother Aditi (7, 10^{4} &c.) or with their chief Varuṇa (7, 35^{6} &c.). This group is more definite than that of the Maruts inasmuch as its members have separate names. A third group frequently mentioned in the RV. is more vague than the other two, for they are neither characterized nor is their number mentioned. That they were conceived as specially connected with Indra, is shown by two passages in which Varuṇa or Aditi with the Ādityas, Rudra with the Rudras, and Indra with the Vasus, are invoked (7, 10^{4}. 35^{6}). But in later Vedic texts Agni is the leader of the Vasus[1]. They are regarded as eight in number in the AB. and ŚB. (p. 19), but in the TS. (5, 5, 2^{5}) become 333. The three groups of the Ādityas, Rudras and Vasus are invoked together in a few passages of the RV. (2, 31^{1}; 10, 66^{12} cp. 7, 10^{4}. 35^{6})[2]. The Brāhmaṇas distinguish, as three kinds of gods, the Vasus of earth, the Rudras of air, and the Ādityas of heaven (ŚB. 1, 3, 4^{12}; 4, 3, 5^{1}). In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad (3, 6—10) five groups are mentioned, the Vasus being connected with Agni, the Rudras with Indra, the Ādityas with Varuṇa, the Maruts with Soma, and the Sādhyas with Brahmā (cp. RV. 10, $9^{7.16}$)[3]. There is besides the group of the semi-divine Aṅgirases who are chiefly connected with Bṛhaspati (§§ 36, 54) and the small one of the three Ṛbhus who are nearly always associated with Indra (§ 46). Finally, a comprehensive group is formed of the Viśvedevāḥ or All-gods, who occupy an important position in the sacrifice, for at least forty entire hymns of the RV. are devoted to their praise. It is a factitious sacrificial group meant to represent all the gods in order that none should be excluded in laudations intended to be addressed to all. But the All-gods are sometimes conceived as a narrower group, being invoked with other groups, such as the Vasus and Ādityas (2, 3^{4})[4].

1 IS. 5, 240; BRV. 2, 370; BLOOMFIELD, FaR. 151. — 2 LRV. 6, 147; cp. PERRY, JAOS. 16, 178. — 3 WEBER, IS. 9, 6; SPH. 23. — 4 HRI. 137. 143, note 1. 182.

H. LOWER DEITIES.

§ 46. Ṛbhus. — Besides the higher gods of the Veda there are a number of mythical beings not regarded as having the divine nature fully and originally. The most important of these are the Ṛbhus. They are celebrated in eleven hymns of the RV. and are mentioned by name over a hundred times. They form a triad. Their individual names, which often occur, are Ṛbhu or less commonly Ṛbhukṣan ('chief of the Ṛbhus'), Vāja, and Vibhvan. These three names are several times mentioned together, sometimes only two of them, while occasionally Ṛbhu is referred to alone. They are most often spoken of in the plural as *ṛbhavaḥ*, but the plural of each of their names may designate the triad. Sometimes the plurals of all three (4, 36^{3}; 8, 48^{1}) or of only two (*Vājā Ṛbhukṣaṇaḥ* or *Vājā Ṛbhavaḥ*) appear to be used together pleonastically to indicate the trio. Once the combination *Vājo Vibhvāṅ Ṛbhavaḥ* occurs (4, 36^{6}). Occasionally an indefinite group seems to be meant, as all (*viśve*) the Ṛbhus (7, 51^{3}), or Ṛbhu with the Ṛbhus, Vibhvan with the Vibhus (7, 48^{2}) are invoked. In the latter passage Ṛbhu and Vibhvan are evidently thought of as chiefs of groups of the same name. The three Ṛbhus are once distinguished as eldest, younger, and youngest (4, 33^{5}).

The Ṛhbus are about a dozen times called by the patronymic name of Saudhanvana, sons of Sudhanvan, 'the good archer'. They are also once collectively addressed as the son (*sūno*) of Indra (4, 37^{4}). In the same verse they are invoked as 'children of might' (*śavaso napātaḥ*), as if a play on the meaning of *napāt* (also 'grandson') were intended, in contrast with the epithet 'son of might' (*śavasaḥ sūnu*), which is applied exclusively to Indra. The epithet *śavaso napātaḥ* is almost peculiar to them, being applied to them five times and otherwise only once to Mitra-Varuṇa. In one passage (3, 60^{3}) they are spoken of as 'children of Manu' (*manor napātaḥ*) and their parents (*pitarā*) are several times mentioned. In one hymn they address Agni as their brother (1, 161$^{1.3}$).

They are very frequently invoked to come to the sacrifice (4, 34$^{1.3}$. 37^{1}) and to drink the Soma juice (4, 34^{4}. 36^{2}; 7, 48^{1}). Being high in heaven they are besought to come to the Soma in the lower abodes (4, 37^{3}). In this they are generally associated with Indra (3, 60$^{4-6}$; 4, 33^{3}. 34^{6}. 35^{7}), a few times with the Maruts (1, 20^{5}. 111^{4}; 4, 34^{11}), and once with the Ādityas, Savitṛ, Mountains, and Rivers (4, 34^{8}). In other respects also they are closely connected with Indra. They are Indra-like (4, 37^{5}) and Ṛbhu is like a new Indra (1, 110^{7}). With Indra they help mortals to victory (4, 37^{6}) and are invoked with him to crush foes (7, 48^{3}). They are said to have obtained the friendship of Indra by their skilful work (3, 60^{3}; 4, 35$^{7.9}$); for it is they who fashioned his steeds. In the hymns devoted to their praise, they are rarely invoked with gods other than Indra, there being only one such passage (4, 34^{8}) in which Indra is not mentioned as well. Indra's connexion with them is indeed so characteristic, that he is, like the eldest of the triad, called 'chief of the Ṛbhus' (*ṛbhukṣan*), a term also two or three times applied to Indra's associates, the Maruts. In some of the Viśvedeva hymns they are brought into connexion with a few other gods, chiefly Tvaṣṭṛ.

The references to the physical aspect or the equipment of the Ṛbhus are scanty. They are of sunlike appearance (1, 110^{4}). They have a car (1, 161^{7}), which is drawn by steeds (7, 48^{1}). Their car is bright, their steeds are fat; they wear metal helmets and fair necklaces (4, 37^{4}). Ṛbhu is a possessor of steeds (*aśvin*: 4, 37^{5}). The Ṛbhus are characteristically deft-

handed (*suhastāḥ*) and skilful (*apás*, *suapas*: 4, $33^{1.8}$ &c.), their skilful deeds being incomparable (3, 60^{4}). They are frequently said to have acquired the rank of gods in consequence of their marvellous skill. Through their wondrous deeds they obtained divinity (3, 60^{1}). By their skilful deeds they became gods and immortal, alighting like eagles in heaven (4, 35^{8}). They are men of the air who by their energy mounted to heaven (1, 110^{6}). For their skilful services they went the path of immortality to the host of the gods (4, 35^{3}), obtaining immortality among the gods and their friendship (4, $33^{3.4}$. 35^{3}. 36^{4}). But they were originally mortals, children of Manu, who by their industry acquired immortality (3, 60^{3}; 1, 110^{4}). The AB. (3, 30^{2}) speaks of them as men who by austerity (*tapas*) obtained a right to partake of Soma among the gods. The gods rejoiced so greatly in their work, that Vaja became the artificer of the gods, Ṛbhukṣan of Indra, and Vibhvan of Varuṇa (4, 33^{9}). They went to the gods and obtained the sacrifice, or a share of the sacrifice, among the gods through their skilful work (1, $20^{1.8}$. $121^{6.7}$). Thus the third or evening pressing or libation (*savana*) belongs to them, they having obtained it by their skilful work (1, 161^{8}; 4, 33^{11}. 34^{4}. 35^{9}). They are thus sometimes expressly invoked as gods (4, 36^{5}. 37^{1}).

Like the higher gods, they are besought to give prosperity and wealth (4, 33^{8}. 37^{5}), in cattle, horses, heroes (4, 34^{10}), and to grant vigour, nourishment, offspring, dexterity (1, 111^{2}). They grant treasures to the Soma presser (1, 20^{7}; 4, 35^{6}). He whom they help is invincible in fight (4, 36^{0}), and Ṛbhu and Vāja are besought to give aid and booty in battle (1, 115^{5}).

The same verb *takṣ*, to fashion, is generally used with reference to the manual skill of the Ṛbhus as to that of Tvaṣṭṛ. The five great feats of dexterity by which they became gods, are spoken of with pretty uniform frequency and are all or most of them mentioned in nearly every hymn dedicated to their praise. They fashioned or made a car (1, 111^{1}. 161^{3}; 4, 33^{8}. 36^{2}), which is horseless, reinless, three-wheeled, and traverses space (4, 36^{1}). The car which goes round they fashioned for the Aśvins (1, 20^{3}. 161^{6}; 10, 39^{12}). When in a verse (4, 34^{9}) which enumerates each of their feats with a single word, they are said to have fashioned the Aśvins themselves, this appears to be only a loose way of referring to the same exploit.

For Indra they fashioned the two bay steeds (*harī*) which waft him (4, 33^{10} &c.). It appears to be only a varied reference to the same feat when the Ṛbhus are represented as desiring to make a horse or as having made one horse after another (1, $161^{3.7}$).

They further fashioned or made a cow (1, 161^{3}; 4, 34^{9}), which yields nectar (1, 20^{3}) and is all-stimulating and omniform (4, 33^{8}). This cow they formed out of hide (1, 110^{8}) or extracted (*ariṇīta*) from a hide (1, 161^{7} &c.). They guarded her and formed her flesh (4, 33^{4}). That they formed this cow for Bṛhaspati may be inferred from a verse (1, 161^{6}) which states that Indra yoked the two bay steeds and the Aśvins the car, while Bṛhaspati drove up the omniform (cow). A minor feat, only twice referred to and perhaps connected with the foregoing one, consists in their having re-united the mother with her calf (1, 110^{8}. 111^{1}).

The Ṛbhus also rejuvenated their parents (1, 20^{4}. 111^{1}; 4, 35^{5}), who were frail and lay like decaying posts (1, 110^{8}; 4, $33^{2.3}$). They made the two who were old young again (1, $161^{3.7}$). When in the brief enumeration of their feats already referred to (4, 34^{9}), they are simply said to have fashioned their parents, the same feat is doubtless meant. It was their laudable fame among the gods, that they made their frail and very old parents young again so as to walk (4, 36^{3}). In the first verse of the same hymn it is said

to have been the great proclamation of their divine power, that they made heaven and earth to thrive. The latter thus seem to be intended by their parents.

The exhibition of skill which is most frequently mentioned and appears to have been thought the greatest, as showing the Ṛbhus in the character of successful rivals of Tvaṣṭṛ, consists in their having made the one cup, the work of Tvaṣṭṛ, into four (1, 20[6]. 110[3]; 4, 35[2. 3]. 36[4]). This cup is the drinking vessel of the gods (1, 161[5]; 4, 35[5]) or of the Asura (1, 110[3]). The Ṛbhus were commissioned by the gods through their messenger Agni, to make the one cup, which was of wood, into four, promising as a reward that they should receive worship equally with the gods (1, 161[1. 2]). Tvaṣṭṛ praised (*panayat*) the proposal of the Ṛbhus to make two, three, or four cups, and acquiesced (*avenat*) when he saw the four shining cups (4, 33[5. 6]). But in another passage it is said that Tvaṣṭṛ, on seeing the four cups, hid himself among the females and desired to kill the Ṛbhus for desecrating the drinking vessel of the gods (1, 161[4. 5]), though the Ṛbhus in a previous verse of the same hymn (v. [1]) disclaim any wish to desecrate it. They are described as measuring out like a field the one wide drinking vessel (*pātra*), desiring fame among the immortals (1, 110[5]). The same feat is less definitely referred to when they are said to have formed or fashioned cups (1, 161[9]; 3, 60[2] cp. 4, 35[5]).

The skill of the Ṛbhus is incidentally exemplified by the statement that they fashioned prayer (10, 80[7]), sacrifice (3, 54[12]), and the two worlds (4, 34[9]), or that they are supporters of the sky (10, 66[10]).

Another myth connects the Ṛbhus with Savitṛ. They are said to have been round the sky, wind-sped, in swift course (4, 33[1] cp. 1, 161[12]). After much wandering they came to the house of Savitṛ, who conferred immortality on them when they came to Agohya (1, 110[2. 3]). When, slumbering for twelve days, they had rejoiced in the hospitality of Agohya, they made fair fields and directed the streams, plants occupied the arid ground and waters the lowlands (4, 33[7]). By their skill they made grass on the heights and waters in the depths, when they slumbered in the house of Agohya (1, 161[11]). Having slept, they asked Agohya as to who had awakened them; in a year they looked around (ib. [13]).

The word *ṛbhu-* is apparently derived from the root *rabh*, to grasp (cp. 2, 3[8])[1], thus meaning 'handy', 'dexterous'. It frequently occurs in the RV. as an adjective and is several times thus used as an attribute of Indra, Agni, and the Ādityas. It seems to be identical with the German *elbe* and the English *elf*[2]. Vāja (from the root *vaj*) means the 'vigorous one'[3], and Vibhvan[4] (from *vi* and the root *bhū*), 'the eminent' (artist). Thus both the name of the Ṛbhus and the account given of them in the RV. indicate that their essential character is that of skilful artificers.

It is clear that they were regarded as not having been gods from the beginning. Whether their close connexion with Indra has in any way to do with their original nature is doubtful. It is also uncertain who is meant by their patronymic Saudhanvana, since the word *sudhanvan* occurs only twice in the RV. as an attribute of Rudra and of the Maruts. It is, however, most probable that their parents who are mentioned so often, represent heaven and earth[5]. The notion that they produce fertility is connected with their sojourn of twelve days in the house of Savitṛ or Agohya, the sun 'who cannot be concealed'[6]. They have therefore by various scholars[7] been taken to be genii of the three seasons[8], which are at a stand-still during the twelve days of the winter solstice. The cup of Tvaṣṭṛ possibly represents the moon,

and the four into which it was transformed by the Ṛbhus, its four phases. On the whole it seems probable that the Ṛbhus were originally terrestrial or aerial elves, whose dexterity gradually attracted to them various myths illustrative of marvelous skill. But the evidence furnished by the RV. is hardly sufficient to warrant any certain conclusion.

[1] Cp. WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. p. 70. — [2] BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 298; cp. A. KUHN, KZ. 4, 103—20; WACKERNAGEL, KZ. 24, 297. — [3] 'Riches' according to BRV. 2, 407. — [4] Cp. OLDENBERG, SBE. 46, 191. — [5] A. KUHN, Entwicklungsstufen 134; AIL. 366. — [6] WVB. 1894, 37, note 3; according to BRV. 3, 52, 'from whom nothing is concealed'. — [7] AIL. l. c.; LRV. 3, 335; KRV. 53—4; HVM. 1, 515; HVBP. 100. — [8] According to WEBER, l. c., they are genii of creative time, past, present, and future; according to BRV. 2, 412, three ancient skilful sacrificers who acquired immortality and whose number is connected with the triad of sacrificial fires.

NÈVE, Essai sur le Mythe des Ribhavas, Paris 1847; cp. ROTH, ZDMG. 2, 126; OST. 5, 226—7; GKR. 119; GRV. 1, 103; BRV. 2, 403—13; 3, 51—5; GGH. 108. 110; WC. 24—6; E. H. MEYER, Germanische Mythologie 124; Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum 13, 31—5; ORV. 235—6 (cp. L. v. SCHROEDER, WZKM. 9, 253).

§ 47. The Apsarases. — Apsaras denotes a kind of nymph that even in the RV. appears almost completely separated from her physical basis. The information there obtainable is very scanty, as the name occurs only five times. The Apsaras smiles at her beloved (the Gandharva mentioned in the preceding verse) in the highest heaven (10, 123[5]). Vasiṣṭha was born of the Apsaras (7, 33[12]) and the Vasiṣṭhas are said to have sat close to the Apsarases (ibid. [9]). The Apsarases of the sea are described as flowing to Soma (9, 78[3]), with reference to the water which is mixed with the juice. The long-haired ascetic with semi-divine powers is spoken of as able to move on the path of the Apsarases and the Gandharvas (10, 136[6]). The Apsaras is also doubtless meant by the aqueous nymph (*apyā yoṣā*), the wife of the Gandharva in the waters (10, 10[4]).

More is said about the Apsarases in the AV. Their abode is in the waters, whence they come and go in a trice (AV. 2, 2[3]); and they are besought to depart from the vicinity of men to the river and the bank of the waters (AV. 4, 37[3]). The goddesses accompanying the Gandharva Viśvāvasu are described as connected with clouds, lightning, and stars (AV. 2, 2[4]). They are expressly called wives of the Gandharvas (AV. 2, 2[5]), and their connexion with the latter has assumed the character of a formula in the later Saṃhitās (VS. 30, 8; AV. 8, 9[9], &c.)[1]. In the ŚB. (11, 5, 1[4]) the Apsarases are described as transforming themselves into a kind of aquatic bird (*ātayaḥ*: cp. RV. 9, 5[9]). In the post-Vedic literature they are very often spoken of as frequenting forest lakes and rivers, espescially the Ganges, and they are found in Varuṇa's palace in the ocean[2]. The etymological meaning of the word is most probably 'moving in the waters'[3].

The above evidence indicates that the oldest conception of the Apsaras is that of a celestial water nymph, already regarded in the RV. as the consort of a genius named Gandharva. In the later Saṃhitās the sphere of the Apsarases extends to the earth and in particular to trees. They are spoken of as inhabiting banyans (*nyagrodha*) and sacred fig-trees (*aśvattha*), in which their cymbals and lutes resound (AV. 4, 37[4]). Elsewhere the same trees as well as other varieties of the fig-tree (*udumbara* and *plakṣa*) are said to be the houses of Gandharvas and Apsarases (TS. 3, 4, 8[4]). The Gandharvas and Apsarases in such trees are entreated to be propitious to a passing wedding procession (AV. 14, 2[9])[4]. In the ŚB. (11, 6, 1) the Apsarases are described as engaged in dance, song, and play. Post-Vedic texts even speak of mount-

ains, both mythical and actual, as favourite resorts of these two classes of beings[5]. The AV. adds the traits that the Apsarases are fond of dice and bestow luck at play (AV. 2, 2[5] &c.), but that they are feared especially as causing mental derangement, magic therefore being employed against them (AV. 2, 3[5] &c.).

The love of the Apsarases, who are of the great beauty[6] (cp. ŚB. 13, 4 3[7. 8]), is enjoyed not only by the Gandharvas, but occasionally even by men (cp. 10, 95[9]). A myth turning on such a union is related of at least one individual Apsaras in Vedic literature. The names only of several other Apsarases are there mentioned. The AV. refers to three, Ugrajit, Ugraṃpaśyā, and Rāṣṭrabhṛt (AV. 16, 118[1. 2]), while the VS., among several others, speaks of Urvaśī and Menakā (VS. 15, 15—19). The ŚB. (3, 4, 1[22]) also specifies Śakuntalā, the ancestress of the royal family of the Bharatas[7] (ŚB. 13, 5, 4[13]), as well as Urvaśī (ŚB. 11, 5, 1[1]).

The only one of these names occurring in the RV. is that of Urvaśī. That she was there regarded as an Apsaras, appears from the fact that Vasiṣṭha is said in one verse to have been born of Urvaśī and, in the next, of an Apsaras (7, 33[11. 12]). She is once invoked with the streams (5, 41[19]). Her name is otherwise only mentioned[8] twice in a late and obscure hymn (10, 95[10. 17]), which consists of a dialogue between her and her lover Purūravas, son of Iḷā. She is there described as aqueous (*apyā*), as filling the atmosphere, and traversing space (the latter expression is also applied to the celestial Gandharva in 10, 139[5]). She is said to have spent four autumns among mortals (v. [16]) and is besought to return (v. [17]). The request is apparently refused; but Purūravas receives the promise that his offspring shall worship the gods with the offering, while he himself shall enjoy bliss in heaven (*svarga*: v. [18]). Several verses of this hymn find their setting in a continous story told in the ŚB. (11, 5, 1), which fills in details partly based on a misunderstanding of the text of RV. It is there related that the Apsaras Urvaśī joins herself with Purūravas, son of Iḷā, in an alliance, the permanence of which depends on the condition that she shall never see him naked. The Gandharvas by a stratagem produce a noise during the night. Purūravas springs up naked, when he is seen by Urvaśī illuminated by a flash of lightning. Urvaśī vanishes forthwith. Purūravas wanders about in search of her, till he at last observes her swimming in a lotus lake with other Apsarases in the form of an aquatic bird. Urvaśī discovers herself to him and, in response to his entreaties, consents to receive him for one night a year later[9]. He returns at the appointed time, and on the following day the Gandharvas grant him the boon of becoming one of themselves by producing fire in a particular way. Excepting 10, 95, the name of Purūravas, which means 'calling aloud', occurs only in one passage of the RV. (1, 31[4]), where Agni is said to have caused the sky to thunder (*vāśaya*) for the righteous man (*manave*) Purūravas. The word may here, however, have the adjectival sense. Purūravas and Urvaśī have by some scholars[10] been interpreted as sun and dawn.

1 See PW. s. v. *gandharva*. — 2 HOLTZMANN, ZDMG. 33, 635. 641. — 3 Explained by YN. 5, 13 by *ap-sāriṇī*; cp. MEYER, Indogermanische Mythen 1, 183; GGH. 10; PVS. 1, 79 cp. 183 ff.; LUDWIG, Methode 91; otherwise WEBER, IS. 13, 135, GW., BURY, BB. 7, 339. — 4 HAAS, IS. 5, 394; 13, 136; E. H. MEYER, op. cit. 13. — 5 HOLTZMANN, ZDMG. 33, 640 f.; v. SCHROEDER, op. cit. 67; MANNHARDT, Wald- und Feldkulte 1, 99 ff. — 6 In the Epic period the Apsarases have become regular celestial courtesans. — 7 Cp. WEBER, IS. 1, 198—201; HOLTZMANN, ZDMG. 33, 635 f.; LEUMANN, ZDMG. 48, 80—2; v. BRADKE, ibid. 498 ff. — 8 Cp. OLDENBERG, SBE. 46, 323. — 9 They have a son named Āyu: cp. KHF. 65. 71;

IS. 1, 197; GVS. 1, 283; BRV. 2, 324; OLDENBERG, SBE. 46, 28. — [10] WEBER, IS. 1, 196; MM., Oxford Essays p. 61; Essays 1, 408—10; Chips 4[2], 109 f.

LASSEN, Indische Alterthumskunde 1, 432, note 2; KHF. 71—8; ROTH, Nirukta 155—6; GRV. 2, 488; BRV. 2, 90—6; v. SCHROEDER, op. cit. 1, 23—39 (cp. WZKM. 9, 253); OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 37, 81; 39, 52 n. 4. 73—6; GGA. 1890, 420 ff.; GVS. 1, 243—95; SIECKE, Die Liebesgeschichte des Himmels, Strassburg 1892 (Urvaśī = moon); HRI. 137.

§ 48. Gandharvas. — With the Apsaras or Apsarases are associated even in the RV., as has been shown, a male being or beings named Gandharva. Of the twenty occurrences of the word in the RV. only three are in the plural, while of the thirty-two occurrences in the AV. half are in the plural. The name is found a few times in the Avesta as Gandarewa[1] (a dragon-like monster) and only in the singular. This points to the Gandharvas as a class having been gradually developed from a single being. In the later Saṃhitās they are spoken of as forming a distinct class by the side of Gods, Fathers and Asuras (AV. 11, 5[2]; TS. 7, 8, 25[2]). Their number is fixed as 27 in some Yajus texts and is even said to be 6333 in the AV. (11, 5[2])[2]. The fact that the conception goes back to the Indo-Iranian period, accounts to some extent for its obscurity. The evidence of the RV. is, moreover, so scanty and vague that no certain result as to its definite original character is attainable. It is worthy of note that the name is found only once in books II to VII, while in book VIII it occurs twice as that of a being hostile to Indra. The word seems sometimes to be only an appellative[3]. It is occasionally accompanied by the epithet *viśvāvasu*, 'possessing all goods' (9, 86[36]; 10, 139[4. 5]; AV. 2, 2[4]; VS. 2, 3). This epithet is in one hymn used alone to designate Gandharva (10, 85[21. 22] cp. [40. 41]); and in the later Saṃhitās, the Brāhmaṇas, and the post-Vedic literature, it frequently occurs as the name of an individual Gandharva.

In the RV. Gandharva seems to be localized in the high region of air or sky. He is a measurer of space (10, 139[5]). He is found in the fathomless spaces of air (8, 66[5]). He is heavenly (*divya*) and stands erect on the vault of heaven (10, 123[7]). He is the lover on whom the Apsaras smiles (ib. [5]). His abode is in heaven (AV. 2, 2[1. 2]) and the Blest live with the Gandharvas (AV. 4, 34[3]). In several passages Gandharva is closely connected with some form of celestial light. Thus he is brought into relation with the sun, 'the golden-winged bird, the messenger of Varuṇa' (10, 123[6]), with the sun-bird (10, 177[2]), with the sun-steed (1, 163[2]), with Soma likened to the sun (9, 85[12]). He is further connected with the 27 stars of the moon's orbit (VS. 9, 7) and in particular with Rohiṇī (AV. 13, 1[23]). He is possibly also associated with the rainbow[4] in one hymn of the RV. (10, 123). In the VS. (18, 38 ff.) the Gandharvas are enumerated with Agni, Sun, Moon, and Wind. In post-Vedic literature one of the names of the mirage is 'city of the Gandharvas'[5].

Gandharva is, moreover, in the RV. often associated (chiefly in the ninth book) with Soma. He guards the place of Soma and protects the races of the gods (9, 83[4] cp. 1, 22[14]). Observing all the forms of Soma, he stands on the vault of heaven (9, 85[12]). Together with Parjanya and the daughter of the sun, the Gandharvas cherish Soma (9, 113[3]). Through Gandharva's mouth the gods drink their draught (AV. 7, 73[3]). The MS. (3, 8[10]) states that the Gandharvas kept Soma for the gods, but having allowed it to be stolen, were as a punishment excluded from the Soma draught. Doubtless owing to this association with Soma, Gandharva is described as knowing plants (AV. 4, 4[1]). It is probably as a jealous guardian of Soma that Gandharva in the RV. appears as a hostile being, who is pierced by Indra in

the regions of air (8, 66[5]) or whom Indra is invoked to overcome (8, 1[11]). For in a later text Soma is besought to elude the Gandharva Viśvāvasu in the form of an eagle (TS. 1, 2, 9[1]). Soma is further said to have dwelt among the Gandharvas or to have been stolen by the Gandharva Viśvāvasu, but to have been bought from the Gandharvas, as they were fond of females, at the price of the goddess Vāc (AB. 1, 27; TS. 6, 1, 6[5]; MS. 3, 7[3]). The trait of hostility appears to be old, for in the Avesta (Yt. 5, 38) the hostile Gandarewa, dwelling in the sea Vourukaṣa, the abode of the white Haoma, is fought with and overcome by Keresāspa. Moreover, the archer Kṛśānu, who shoots at the eagle that carries off the Soma (RV. 4, 27[3]), appears to be a Gandharva[6], being expressly said to be one in TA. 1, 9[3].

Gandharva is sometimes connected with the waters. 'Gandharva in the waters' and the 'aqueous nymph' are alluded to as the parents of Yama and Yamī (10, 10[4]). Soma poured into water is called 'the Gandharva of the waters' (9, 86[36]). Gandharva, connected with the Apsarases, is also said to dwell in the waters in the AV. (2, 2[3]; 4, 37[12]). In the Avesta Gandarewa is a lord of the abyss who dwells in the waters (Yt. 15, 28).

The union of Gandharva with the water nymph is typical of marriage. He is therefore connected with the wedding ceremony, and the unmarried maiden is said to belong to Gandharva as well as to Soma and Agni (10, 85[40—1]). The Gandharva Viśvāvasu in the first days of wedlock is regarded as a rival of the husband (ib. [22]), and the Gandharvas' love of women is prominent in later texts (cp. MS. 3, 7[3]). The Gandharvas and Apsarases thus preside over fertility and are prayed to by those who desire offspring (PB. 19, 3[2]).

Of the conception of the Gandharvas being celestial singers, which appears in the Epics and later, there seems to be no distinct trace in the RV. (cp. 10, 177[2]. 11[2]).

There are only two or three references to their physical appearance in the RV. They are wind-haired (3, 38[6]) and Gandharva has brilliant weapons (10, 123[7]). The AV. is more definite (especially 4, 37; 8, 6[1] ff.). Here they are said to be shaggy and to have half animal forms, being in many ways dangerous to men. Elsewhere, however, they are spoken of as handsome (ŚB. 13, 4, 3[7. 8]). The RV. adds the touch that Gandharva wears a fragrant (*surabhi*) garment (10, 123[7]), while in the AV. (12, 1[23]) the odour (*gandha*) of the earth is said to rise to the Gandharvas.

This suggests the derivation from *gandha* as possible. But such an etymology, even if true, would seem to shed no light on the original conception. The name has even been identified with Κένταυρος; but in order to justify this equation the aid of popular etymology has to be called in[7] as well as the doubtful epenthesis of *u* assumed in the Greek word[8]. The two conceptions, moreover, appear to have nothing in common. The utmost, from a review of the evidence, it seems possible to say about the original nature of the Gandharva is, that he was a bright celestial being, sometimes thought of as dwelling in the waters with his spouse the Apsaras. Various conjectures have, however, been made by different scholars. Some regard the Gandharvas as wind-spirits[9], others think that Gandharva represents the rainbow[10], or a genius of the moon[11], or Soma[12], or the rising sun[13], or a cloud-spirit[14].

[1] Yasht 5, 37; 19, 41; cp. SP AP. 276; BARTHOLOMAE, ZDMG. 42, 158. — [2] WVB. 1894, p. 34. — [3] HVM. 1, 427. — [4] Disputed by BERGAIGNE and HILLEBRANDT; cp. ORV. 246, note 1. — [5] See PW. s. v. *gandharva-nagara*, *-pura*. — [6] KHF. 151—2; WVB. 1894, 7—9 (cp. 1888, p. 13, n.); as to Kṛśānu, cp. also WEBER, IS. 2, 313—4; KUHN in KZ. 1, 523; ROTH, ZDMG. 36, 359; BRV. 3, 30 ff.; SP.AP. 223—4; BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. 16, 20; ORV. 181. — [7] v. SCHROEDER, GGH. 73;

MEYER, Indog. Mythen 164 f. — [8] Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 1, 481. — [9] MANNHARDT 201; MEYER, op. cit. 1, 219 f.; V. SCHROEDER, op. cit. 71; HVM. 1, 446. — [10] ROTH, Nir. Erl. 145; GRV. 2, 400; DPV. 253; KIRSTE, WZKM. 9, 164. — [11] PW.; LRV. 4, 158; HRI. 157. — [12] BRV. 2, 38 ff. — [13] WC. 34. 36 cp. LRF. 101. — [14] KHF. 153.

A. KUHN, KZ. 1, 513 ff.; WEBER, IS. 1, 90; 5, 185. 210; 13, 134 f.; MEYER, op. cit. 11—2. 16—8. 23. 55. 179; BRV. 3, 64—7; PVS. 1, 77—81; SP.AP. 210—15; HVM. 1, 427—66; ORV. 244—9; ZDMG. 49, 178—9.

§ 49. Tutelary Deities. — The name of Vástoṣ páti occurs only seven times in the RV., and one hymn of three stanzas (7, 54) is devoted to his praise. He is there invoked to grant a favourable entry, to remove disease, to bless man and beast, to confer prosperity in cattle and horses, and always to afford protection. In the first verse of the hymn immediately following (7, 55[1]) he is described as a destroyer of disease, who assumes all forms. He is once (7, 54[2]) identified with Soma, being addressed as Indu. In a verse of a hymn to the All-gods (5, 41[8]) he is invoked in immediate juxtaposition with Tvaṣṭṛ and is perhaps identified with him as the great artificer. In another verse (8, 17[14]) he is called a firm pillar, a cuirass of Soma-pressers, and seems to be identified with Indra. In the only passage of the tenth book which mentions him, he is spoken of as the observer of ordinances who, along with prayer (*brahma*), was fashioned by the gods (10, 61[7]). According to GELDNER[1] Rudra is here meant, Vāstoṣpati being an epithet of that god in TS. 3, 40, 10[3]. Though identified with various deities in the above passages, there seems no sufficient reason to suppose that the name was originally attached to any one particular greater deity as an epithet (like *gṛhapati* to Agni). The Gṛhya Sūtras (ĀGS. 2, 9[9]; SGS. 3, 4; PGS. 3, 4[7]) prescribe that Vāstoṣpati is to be propitiated when a new house is to be entered. This, together with the contents of the hymn devoted to his praise, points to his having been simply a tutelary deity of the house[2], as the name itself 'Lord of the dwelling' implies. He thus seems to be one of the lower order of deities which in primitive beliefs animate, inhabit, or preside over natural objects such as trees and mountains.

To the same order belongs Kṣetrasya pati the tutelary deity of the field. He is invoked, in the first three verses of 4, 57, to grant cattle and horses as well as to fill heaven and earth, plants and waters with sweetness[3]. In a verse of a hymn to the All-gods (7, 35[10]) he is besought, along with Savitṛ, the Dawns, and Parjanya, to bestow prosperity. In a similar hymn (10, 66[13]), worshippers express a desire to have him as a neighbour. The Gṛhya Sūtras state that he is sacrificed to or worshipped when a field is ploughed (AGS. 2, 10[4]; SGS. 4, 13[5]). In one verse of a hymn addressed to agricultural deities (4, 57[6]) Sītā, the Furrow, is invoked to grant rich blessings and crops. Sītā later appears (PGS. 2, 17[9]) as the wife of Indra (perhaps because that god is once in the RV. called *urvarāpati*, 'lord of the field': 8, 21[3] cp. 4, 57[7]) and bears the patronymic Sāvitrī (TB. 2, 3, 10[1]). In the Sūtra passage just mentioned the blessings of Urvarā, the arable Field, described as 'having a garland of threshing-floors', are invoked.

[1] FaW. 21; V. = Agni, WC. 22. — [2] Cp. BLOOMFIELD, SBE. 42, 343—4. — [3] PERRY, DRISLER Memorial 241, thinks Pūṣan is probably meant. Cp. WINDISCH, Berichte der k. sächs. Gesellschaft 1892, p. 174; ORV. 254—5.

IV. MYTHICAL PRIESTS AND HEROES.

§ 50. Manu. — As the appellation Manu or Manus is often used in the sense of 'man', there is sometimes an uncertainty as to when it has the value of a proper name in the RV. It appears to have the latter signification

nearly twenty times in the form of Manu and almost as often in that of Manus. Manu is five times styled a father, and in two of these passages more definitely as 'our father' (2, 33[13] &c., cp. § 9). Sacrificers are spoken of as the people (*viśaḥ*) of Manus (4, 37[1] &c.) and Agni is said to abide among the offspring of Manu (1, 68[4]). Manu was the institutor of sacrifice. For when he had kindled the fire, he presented the first offering with the seven priests to the gods (10, 63[7]). The sacrifice of Manu is the prototype of the present sacrifice. For the latter is compared to the sacrifice which Manus offered to the gods (1, 76[5]). Such comparisons are frequently made with the adverb *manuṣvat*, 'like Manus'. Worshippers make Agni the accomplisher of sacrifice, as Manus did (1, 44[11]). They kindle Agni like Manus (5, 21[1] &c.). Like Manus, they invoke Agni who was kindled by Manu (7, 2[3]). They offer Soma as Manus did (4, 37[3]). Soma is prayed to flow as he once flowed for Manu (9, 96[12]). Manu established Agni as a light for all people (1, 36[19]). Manu is also mentioned with other ancient sacrificers, with Aṅgiras and Yayāti (1, 31[17]), with Bhṛgu and Aṅgiras (8, 43[13]), with Atharvan and Dadhyañc (1, 80[16]), with Dadhyañc, Aṅgiras, Atri and Kaṇva (1, 139[9]). The gods (1, 36[10]), Mātariśvan (1, 128[2]), Mātariśvan and the gods (10, 46[9]), and Kāvya Uśanā[1] (8, 23[17]) are said to have given Agni to Manu or to have instituted him a sacrificer for Manu. In the last four passages the word has perhaps only the appellative meaning of 'man'.

Indra is said to have drunk Soma beside Manu Vivasvat (Vāl. 4[1]) or Manu Sāṃvaraṇi (Vāl. 3[1]), and to have drunk the Soma of Manus, three lakes, to strengthen himself for the Vṛtra-fight (5, 29[7]). Soma is said to have been brought to Manu by the bird (4, 26[4]). In the TS. and the ŚB. Manu is also frequently described as a celebrator of religious ceremonies.

Manu appears to have been regarded as the son of Vivasvat even in the RV.; for he is once (Vāl. 4[1] cp. 3[1]) called Manu Vivasvat (cp. p. 42). In the AV. (8, 10[24]) and the ŚB. (13, 4, 3[3]), as well as in post-Vedic literature, he bears the regular patronymic Vaivasvata. Yama also is a son of Vivasvat, and the first of mortals. Manu is thus a doublet of Yama as ancestor of the human race[2]. But Manu is regarded as the first of men living on earth, while Yama, as first of men who died, became the king of the dead in the other world. Hence in the ŚB. (13, 4, 3[3–5]) Manu Vaivasvata is described as ruler of men, and Yama Vaivasvata as ruler of the Manes. Yāska (Nir. 12, 10) explains Manu to be the son of Vivasvat, the sun (*Āditya*), and of Savarṇā the substitute of Saraṇyū (cp. 10, 17[2]; p. 125), counting him (Nir. 12, 34) among the divine beings of the celestial region (Naigh. 5, 6).

The ŚB. (1, 8, 1[1–10]) relates a legend of how Manu was saved in a ship from a deluge, which swept away all other creatures, by a fish (in post-Vedic mythology an Avatār of Viṣṇu). Manu is then said to have become the progenitor of mankind through his daughter Iḍā, who was produced from his offerings. That the story of the flood was known as early as the time of the AV. is implied in a passage of that Saṃhitā (19, 39[8])[3]. The myth of the deluge occurs in the Avesta also, and may be Indo-European[4]. It is generally regarded as borrowed from a Semitic source[5], but this seems to be an unnecessary hypothesis[6].

[1] An ancient sage and sacrificer, see § 58B. — [2] Possibly ancestor of the Āryans only, as he is in several passages contrasted with Dasyus, cp. OST. 1, 174; SP.AP. 272. — [3] HRI. 160. — [4] LINDNER, Die iranische Flutsage, FaR. 213—6. — [5] BURNOUF, Bhāgavata Purāṇa, preface, LI—LIV; WEBER, IS. 1, 160 ff.; SP.AP. 271—4; ORV. 276 note. — [6] MM., India 133—8; HRI. 160.

KHF. 21; KZ. 4, 91; CORSSEN, KZ. 2, 32; WEBER, IS. 1, 194; ZDMG. 4, 302; 18, 286; ROTH, ZDMG. 4, 430; ZDMG. 5, 525 ff.; KZ. 12, 293; 19, 156; ASCOLI,

KZ. 17, 334; MUIR, JRAS. 1863, 410—16; 1865, 287 ff.; OST. 1, 162—96; BRV. 1, 62—70; ORV. 275—6; HRI. 143.

§ 51. Bhṛgus. — Bhṛgu is a name met with twenty-one times in the RV., besides two occurrences in the adverbial form *bhṛguvat*. It is found only once in the singular; and appears therefore to have properly designated a group of mythical beings. Mentioned twelve times in Agni hymns, they are chiefly connected with the communication of fire to men. Mātariśvan brought Agni as a treasure to Bhṛgu (1, 60[1]) or kindled the hidden Agni for[1] the Bhṛgus (3, 5[10]). Mātariśvan and the gods fashioned Agni for Manu, while the Bhṛgus with might produced him (10, 46[9]). The Bhṛgus found Agni lurking in the waters (10, 46[2]); worshipping him in the waters, they placed him in the abodes of Āyu or man (2, 4[2] cp. [4]). They established Agni like a friend well-deposited in the wood (6, 15[2]) or as a treasure among men (1, 58[6]). For Agni is the Bhṛgus' gift (3, 2[4]). Rubbing him they invoked him with prayer (1, 127[7]). With songs of praise they caused him to shine forth (10, 122[5]) in wood (4, 7[1]). They brought him to the navel (cp. p. 92) of the earth (1, 143[4]). While Atharvan established rites with sacrifices, the Bhṛgus showed themselves as gods with their dexterity (10, 92[10]). Their skill, primarily manifested in producing fire, is incidentally spoken of as artistic. For worshippers make a prayer for Indra or the Aśvins as the Bhṛgus (made) a car (4, 16[20]; 10, 39[14]).

They are an ancient race. For sacrificers speak of them, together with the Aṅgirases and Atharvans, as their Soma-loving fathers (10, 14[6]) and invoke Agni as the Bhṛgus (*bhṛguvat*), the Aṅgirases, and Manu did (8, 43[13]). They implore Indra to hear their prayer like those of the Yatis and Bhṛgus (8, 6[18]), or to aid them as he did the Yatis, Bhṛgus, and Praskaṇva (8, 3[9]). The Bhṛgus are mentioned, along with the Druhyus and Turvaśa, as the foes of king Sudās (7, 18[6]). In the last three passages their name appears in the historical character of the designation of a tribe. The Bhṛgus are invoked to drink soma with all the thirty-three gods, the Maruts, the Waters, the Aśvins, Uṣas, and Sūrya (8, 35[3]). They are compared with suns and said to have gained all their desires (8, 3[16]). In one passage (9, 101[13]) they are connected with an unknown myth, when worshippers express a wish to drive away the niggardly, as the Bhṛgus the demon (*makham*).

Thus the Bhṛgus never designate actually existing priests in the RV., but only a group of ancient sacrificers and ancestors, to which Bhṛgu bears the relation of chief, just as Aṅgiras does to the group of the Aṅgirases, or Vasiṣṭha to that of the Vasiṣṭhas.

The myth of the descent of fire and its communication to man is chiefly connected with Mātariśvan and the Bhṛgus. But while Mātariśvan brings it from heaven as lightning, the Bhṛgus do not fetch it, but are rather regarded as kindling it for the establishment and diffusion of the sacrifice on earth.

In the later Vedic literature Bhṛgu occurs as the name of a seer representing a tribe (AV. 5, 19[1]; AB. 2, 20[7]). He arises as a spark from Prajāpati's seed and being adopted by Varuṇa receives the patronymic Vāruṇi (AB. 3, 34[1] cp. PB. 18, 9[1]) and is expressly called a son of Varuṇa (SB. 11, 6, 1[1])[2].

Etymologically the word *bhṛgu* means 'shining' from the root *bhrāj*, 'to shine'. BERGAIGNE[3] thinks there can hardly be a doubt that *bhṛgu* was originally a name of fire, while KUHN[4] and BARTH[5] agree in the opinion that the form of fire it represents is lightning. KUHN[6] and WEBER[7] further identify the Bhṛgus as fire-priests with the Greek φλεγύαι.

[1] Cp. OLDENBERG, SBE. 46, 243. — [2] WEBER, ZDMG. 9, 240 ff. — [3] BRV. 1,

52—6; cp. HOPKINS, JAOS. 16, 280. — 4 KHF. 9—14. — 5 BRI. 10. — 6 KHF. 21—2. — 7 ZDMG. 9, 242. — OST. 1, 170; ORV. 123; HRI. 168.

§ 52. Atharvan. — The name of Atharvan occurs fourteen times in the RV., thrice in the plural, and is also several times found in the AV. Atharvan generally appears in the character of an ancient priest. He rubbed Agni forth (6, 16[13]) and priests rub Agni as Atharvan did (6, 15[17]). Agni produced by Atharvan became the messenger of Vivasvat (10, 21[5]). Atharvan first established (order) by sacrifices, while the Bhṛgus showed themselves gods by their skill (10, 92[10]). By sacrifices Atharvan first extended the paths; then the sun was produced (1, 83[5]). Atharvan along with Father Manu and Dadhyañc practised devotion (1, 80[16]). Indra is the helper of Atharvan as well as of Trita, Dadhyañc and Mātariśvan (10, 48[2]). The goblin-destroying Agni is invoked to burn down the fool with divine flame like Atharvan (10, 87[12]). The AV. adds some further traits. Atharvan brought a cup of Soma to Indra (AV. 18, 3[54]). A miraculous cow was given to him by Varuṇa (AV. 5, 11; 7, 104). Atharvan is a companion of the gods, is related to them, and dwells in heaven (AV. 4, 1[7], &c.). In the ŚB. Atharvan is spoken of as an ancient teacher (14, 5, 5[22]. 7, 3[28]).

In the plural the Atharvans are enumerated as Fathers along with the Aṅgirases, Navagvas, and Bhṛgus (10, 14[6]). They dwell in heaven and are called gods (AV. 11, 6[13]). They destroy goblins with a magical herb (AV. 4, 37[7]).

In a few passages of the RV. the word *atharvan* appears to have the appellative meaning of 'priest'. Thus it is an attribute of Bṛhaddiva, the composer of a hymn (10, 120[9] cp. [8]). In this sense it seems to be an epithet of Agni, when a seer is described as pouring the libation on the Atharvan (8, 9[7]). The word also means priest when it is said that the Atharvans mix Soma (9, 4[2]) or that they receive a hundred cows from a patron (6, 47[24]). That this is the original sense is borne out by the fact that the cognate Avestan word *āthravan* signifies 'fire-priest', which is also the etymological sense; for *ātar* (for *āthar*), fire, is the same as the Vedic *athar-*[1], which also occurs in *athar-yú*, flaming (said of Agni, 7, 1[1]). This old name must then have been mythologically applied to designate an ancient priestly race of a semi-divine character, generally represented in the singular by their chief.

1 BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 360; cp. BLOOMFIELD, SBE. 42, XXIII, n. 2; BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 5, 221, rejects the connexion of *ātar* with *atharvan*. — Cp. also LASSEN, Indische Alterthumskunde 1, 523; KHF. 10; IS. 1, 289 ff.; OST. 1, 160; BRV. 1, 49; HRI. 160, n. 1.

§ 53. Dadhyañc. — Dadhyañc, who is the son of Atharvan (6, 16[14]; 1, 116[12]. 117[22]), is mentioned nine times in the RV. and, with one exception, only in the ninth, the tenth, and especially the first book. He is a seer who kindled Agni (6, 16[14]) and is mentioned with Atharvan, Aṅgiras, Manu, and other ancient sacrificers (1, 80[16]. 139[9]).

The Aśvins gave a horse's head to Atharvan's son Dadhyañc, who then proclaimed to them the (place of the) mead (*madhu*) of Tvaṣṭṛ (1, 117[22]). With the head of a horse Dadhyañc proclaimed to the Aśvins the (place of the) mead (1, 116[12]). The Aśvins won the heart of Dadhyañc; then the horse's head spoke to them (1, 119[9]). Indra is also connected with this myth. For it is said that, when seeking the head of the horse hidden in the mountains, he found it in Śaryaṇāvat and slew with the bones of Dadhyañc ninety-nine Vṛtras (1, 84[13. 14]). Indra, besides producing cows from the dragon for Trita, gave cowstalls to Dadhyañc (and) Mātariśvan (10, 48[2]). These are probably the cowstalls which Dadhyañc opens by the power of

Soma (9, 108[4]). It is noteworthy that in the only older passage (6, 16[14]) in which the name of Dadhyañc occurs, he is the son of the ancient fire-priest Atharvan and is himself a kindler of fire. Otherwise he is chiefly connected with the secret abode of Soma and with Indra in the release of the cows. Owing to his horse's head and his name he can hardly be altogether dissociated from the steed Dadhikrā. The etymological sense of ***dadhi-añc***, 'curd-ward' might signify either 'possessing'[1] or 'fond of' 'curdled milk'. In BERGAIGNE's opinion Dadhyañc does not differ essentially in origin from Soma[2]. The evidence is, however, insufficient to justify any certain conclusion. But it does not seem an altogether improbable conjecture that Dadhyañc originally represented the lightning form of fire. The horse's head would indicate its speed, the voice with which it speaks, the thunder, its bones, the thunderbolt. His connexion with the secret abode of Soma, would resemble that of the eagle with the celestial Soma. The name, too, suggests the curdling effect of the thunderstorm. In post-Vedic literature the name generally occurs in the form of Dadhīca, and in the Mahābhārata the thunderbolt for slaying Vṛtra is said to have been fashioned out of his bones[3].

1 'Uni au lait', BRV. 2, 457. — 2 BRV. 2, 458. — 3 PW. s. v. — Cp. also BRV. 2, 456—60; GRV. 2, 84; PERRY, JAOS. 11, 138; LRF. 120—2; OERTEL, JAOS. 18, 16—18.

§ 54. Aṅgirases.[1] — Of the more than sixty occurrences of this name in the RV. about two-thirds are in the plural. Derivatives of the word are also found there about thirty times. The whole of one hymn (10, 62) is voted to the praise of the Aṅgirases as a group.

The Aṅgirases are sons of heaven[2] (3, 53[7]; 10, 67[2] cp. 4, 2[15]). They are seers who are sons of the gods (10, 62[4]). A single Aṅgiras being regarded as their ancestor, they are also termed 'sons of Aṅgiras' (10, 62[5]). Poets speak of them as 'fathers' (ib. [2]), 'our fathers' (1, 71[2]), or 'our ancient fathers' (1, 62[2]). They are once mentioned as fathers with the Atharvans and Bhṛgus (10, 14[6]), being especially associated with Yama (ib.[3-5]). They are also in a more general way connected with other groups of divine beings, the Ādityas, Vasus, Maruts (7, 44[4]; 8, 35[14]), or the Ādityas, Rudras, Vasus, as well as the Atharvans (AV. 11, 8[13]). Soma is offered to them (9, 62[9]), and they are invoked like gods (3, 53[7]; 10, 62). They are ***brahman*** priests (7, 42[1]). They found Agni hidden in the wood (5, 11[6]) and thought of the first ordinance of sacrifice (10, 67[2]). It is by sacrifice that they obtained immortality as well as the friendship of Indra (10, 62[1]).

With the latter deity the Aṅgirases are closely associated. To them Indra disclosed the cows (8, 52[3]), for them he opened the stall (1, 51[3]. 134[4]), and drove out the cows which were hidden, casting down Vala (8, 14[8]). Accompanied by them Indra pierced Vala (2, 11[20]) and drove out the cows (6, 17[6]). As their leader Indra is twice called *aṅgirastama*, chief Aṅgiras (1, 100[4]. 130[3]). Soma (as inspiring Indra) is also once said to have opened the cowstall for the Aṅgirases (9, 86[23]). In connexion with the myth of the deliverance of the cows the song of the Aṅgirases is characteristic. Praised by them Indra pierced Vala (2, 15[8]), and burst the cowstalls (4, 16[18]), slew Vala and opened his citadels (6, 18[5]), or dispelled the darkness, spread out the earth, and established the lower space of heaven (1, 62[5]). So characteristic is their singing that the Maruts with their varied songs are said to be like the Aṅgirases (10, 78[5]), and the gods are invoked to the offering with the chants of the Aṅgirases (1, 107[2]). Hymns addressed by actual priests to Indra are also several times compared with those of the Aṅgirases (1, 62[1, 2] &c). Incidentally Indra assumes a less prominent position than the Aṅgirases in the myth of the cows. Thus the Aṅgirases are said to have emptied the

stall containing cows and horses, with Indra as their companion (10, 62^{7}). Here we have the transition to the omission of Indra altogether, his characteristic action being directly attributed to the Aṅgirases themselves. By the rite they drove out the cows and pierced Vala (ib. ^{2}), caused the sun to mount the sky, and spread out mother earth (ib. ^{3}). By the rite they cleft the rock and shouted with the cows (4, 3^{11}). Singing they found the cows (1, 62^{2}). They burst the rock with their songs and found the light (1, 72^{2}). The Aṅgirases are further connected with the finding of the cows of the Paṇis for Indra by Saramā (10, $108^{8.10}$), who is said to have assisted Indra and the Aṅgirases in tracking them (1, 62^{3} cp. 72^{8}). The Aṅgirases are also described alone as having found the cows and steeds of Paṇi (1, 83^{4}). Bṛhaspati, who is connected with the same myth (10, $108^{6.11}$), receives the epithet *Āṅgirasa* when piercing the rock and capturing the cows (6, 73^{1}) or giving cows like Bhaga (10, 68^{2}).

Bṛhaspati is even directly called Aṅgiras when he drives out the cows and releases the waters with Indra (2, 23^{18}). Otherwise in nearly all the occurrences of the word in the singular, Aṅgiras is an epithet of Agni, who is the first seer Aṅgiras (1, 31^{1}), the ancient Aṅgiras (10, 92^{15}) or the oldest (1, 127^{2}) and the most inspired (6, 11^{3}) of the Aṅgirases. Agni is several times also called the chief Aṅgiras (1, 75^{2} &c.). This term is, however, once or twice applied to Indra, Uṣas, and Soma. Sometimes Aṅgiras only designates an ancient priest without direct allusion to Agni, as when 'the ancient Aṅgiras' is mentioned in an enumeration of ancestors (1, 139^{9}) or when the context shows that in the form *aṅgirasvat* the singular sense 'like Aṅgiras' is meant (1, 45^{3}). In one passage (1, 31^{17}), in which the poet exclaims, 'O Agni, come to us as to Manus, as to Aṅgiras, o Aṅgiras', the name designates both the ancestor and Agni.

According to the tradition found in the Anukramaṇī of the RV., the Aṅgirases must have been regarded as an actual priestly family, as the composition of the ninth book is attributed to members of it[3]. Priestly families also seem to be alluded to in the compound Atharva-aṅgirasaḥ, which occurs as a designation of the AV. in that Veda itself (AV. 10, 7^{20}) and later (ŚB. 11, 5, 6^{7} &c.)[4].

On the whole it seems probable that the Aṅgirases were originally conceived as a race of higher beings intermediate between gods and men, as attendants of Agni, who is so often described as a messenger between heaven and earth (p. 96), and that their priestly character was a later development[5]. They may possibly have been personifications of the flames of fire as messengers to heaven (cp. RV. 7, 3^{3}). This view is borne out by the etymological connexion of *aṅgiras* with the Greek ἄγγελος, 'messenger'[6]. WEBER, however, is of opinion that they were originally priests of the Indo-Iranian period[7].

[1] KHF. 10; OST. 5, 23; GW.; BRV. 1, 47—8; 2, 308—21; WC. 69—72; ORV. 127—8. — [2] Cp. BDA. 45. — [3] Cp. WEBER, History of Ind. Lit., Engl. tr. p. 31. — [4] Cp. BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. 17, 180—2; SBE. 42, XVII—XXVII. — [5] Cp. ROTH, PW.; BRV. 2, 309; cp. HVBP. 109; ORV. 127. — [6] BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 188; HRI. 167. — [7] IS. 1, 291 ff.

§ 55. A. Virūpas[1]. — Closely connected with the Aṅgirases are the Virūpas, whose name is mentioned three times in the plural. The Aṅgirases, the Virūpas, are sons of heaven (3, 53^{7}). The Virūpas are seers, sons of Aṅgiras, born from Agni, from heaven (10, $62^{5.6}$). Virūpa once occurs as the name of a single being, who sings the praises of Agni, in a stanza (8, 64^{6}) immediately following one in which Aṅgiras is invoked. The name also has the singular sense in the adverb *virūpavat*, 'like Virūpa', as is indicated by

the occurrence in the same stanza (1, 45[3]) of *Priyamedhavat, Atrivat,* besides *Aṅgirasvat.* The word once occurs in its patronymic form in a verse (10, 14[5]) in which Yama is invoked with the Aṅgirases and the Vairūpas. As the word is most usually a simple adjective meaning 'of variable form' and, when a name, is always found in company with that of Aṅgiras or the Aṅgirases, it would seem to have been hardly more than an epithet of the latter.

B. Navagvas[2]. The name of these beings occurs altogether fourteen times in the RV., six times in association with that of the Aṅgirases. The Navagvas are spoken of as 'our ancient fathers' (6, 22[2]), or as 'our fathers' along with the Aṅgirases, the Atharvans, and the Bhṛgus (10, 14[6]). Like the Aṅgirases, they are connected with the myth of Indra, Saramā, and the cows of the Paṇis (1, 62[3. 4]; 5, 45[7]; 10, 108[8]). Indra with the Navagvas as his friends sought the cows (3, 39[5]). Pressing Soma they laud Indra with songs; they broke open the stall of the cows (5, 29[12]). In one hymn they are described as having sung with the pressing stones for ten months (5, 45[7. 11]). In two of its occurrences in the plural the word *navagva* is a simple adjective, being in one of these cases an attribute of the rays of Agni (6, 6[3]). It is also found three times in the singular, when it appears to be an epithet of Aṅgiras (4, 51[4]; 10, 62[6]) or of Dadhyañc (9, 108[4]). It apparently means 'going in (a company of) nine'[3], designating as a plural noun a group of nine ancient priestly ancestors.

C. Daśagvas[2]. This name occurs seven times in the RV., three times in the singular, and only twice unassociated with that of the Navagvas. The Daśagvas were the first who offered sacrifice (2, 34[12]). Indra with the Navagvas sought the cows and with the ten Daśagvas found the sun (3, 39[5]). With the Navagvas and the Daśagvas Indra rent the rock and Vala (1, 62[4]). The Navagvas and Daśagvas praise Indra and broke open the stall of the cows (5, 29[12]). The dawns shine on the Navagva Aṅgira and the seven-mouthed Daśagva (4, 51[4]). Daśagva, mentioned with Navagva, is once spoken of as chief Aṅgiras (10, 62[6]). Daśagva is described in one passage as having been succoured by Indra (8, 12[2]). The name, being merely a numerical variation of Navagva, was most probably suggested by the latter.

D. The seven Ṛṣis[4]. The ancient seers are represented by a definite numerical group as 'the seven Ṛṣis', who are, however, only mentioned four times in the RV. One poet speaks of them as 'our fathers, the seven seers' (4, 42[8]). They are called divine (10, 130[7]), and in another passage (10, 109[4]) the 'seven ancient seers' are associated with the gods. The number may have been suggested by that of the seven technical priests (enumerated in 2, 1[2]), of whom they would, in that case, have been regarded as the prototypes. In the ŚB. they become individualized by each receiving a name (ŚB. 14, 5, 2[6]; Bṛhadār. Up. 2, 2[6]). In the same Brāhmaṇa (2, 1, 2[4] cp. 8, 1, 10) they are also regarded as the seven stars in the constellation of the Great Bear and are stated to have been originally bears[5]. This identification is doubtless due partly to the sameness of the number in the two cases and partly to the similarity of sound between *ṛṣi*, 'seer', and *ṛkṣa,* which in the RV. means both 'star' (1, 24[10]) and 'bear' (5, 56[3]).

Probably the same ancient sacrificers are referred to as the seven priests (*viprāḥ*) who with the Navagvas praise Indra (6, 22[2] cp. 3, 31[5]; 4, 2[15]), or the seven Hotṛs[6] with whom Manu made the first offering to the gods (10, 63[7]). Similarly the 'two divine Sacrificers' (*daivyā hotārā*) mentioned nearly a dozen times in the RV. seem to have been the celestial counterpart of two technical priests[7].

[1] GW. s. v. *virupa*; BRV, 2, 307, note 4. — [2] BRV. 2, 145—6. 307—8. —

3 Cp. YN. 11, 19; BRV. 2, 145: 'having nine cows'. — 4 ROTH, PW.; OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 42, 236; ORV. 276—8. — 5 WEBER, IS. 1, 167; EGGELING, SBE. 12, 282, n. 2. — 6 Cp. HOPKINS, JAOS. 16, 277; ORV. 383—4; SBE. 46, 189. 322. — 7 ORV. 391; SBE. 46, 11; cp. BRV. 1, 234—5.

§ 56. Atri. — This is one of the seers of ancient days most frequently mentioned in the RV. The name occurs there about forty times in the singular and six times in the plural as a designation of his descendants. Atri is spoken of as a seer belonging to the five tribes (1, 117^{3}) and is mentioned along with Manu and other ancestors of the human race (1, 39^{9}).

Agni is said to have helped Atri (7, 15^{5}) as a well as other ancient seers (1, 45^{3}; 10, 150^{5}). Indra also heard the prayer of Atri (8, 36^{7}) and opened the cowstall for him and the Aṅgirases (1, 51^{3}). Atri is, however, chiefly represented as the protégé of the Aśvins, and the characteristic myth about him is connected with them. They delivered Atri from the darkness (6, 50^{10}; 7, 71^{5}). They rescued him out of a chasm (5, 78^{4}) with all his host (1, 116^{8}. 117^{3}), when they destroyed the wiles of the malignant demon (1, 117^{3}). The chasm into which he has fallen and from which they deliver him is a burning one, but they gave him a strengthening draught (1, 116^{8}. 118^{7}). They made the burning chasm (*ṛbīsa*) or his abode (*gṛha*) agreeable for him (10, 39^{9}; 8, 62^{7}); they prevent the fire from burning him (8, 62^{8}). They rescued Atri who was in the heat (10, 80^{3}), they protected him from the heat with coolness (1, 119^{6}; 8, 62^{3}), and made the burning heat agreeable for him (1, 112^{7}). Once they are said to have rejuvenated Atri, who had grown old (10, 143$^{1. 2}$).

In one hymn Atri is said to have found the sun when it was hidden by the demon Svarbhānu and to have placed it in the sky (5, 40$^{6. 8}$). But in the very next verse (9) this deed is attributed to the Atris collectively. The AV. also refers to Atri finding and placing the sun in the sky (AV. 13, 2$^{4. 12. 36}$). In the ŚB. Atri is a priest who dispelled darkness (4, 3, 4^{21}), originated from Vāc (1, 4, 5^{13}), and is even identical with her (14, 5, 2^{5}).

The plural form of the name in the RV. regularly occurs in the last or one of the last verses of a hymn. The Atris here designate the family of seers who are the composers of the hymns (5, 39^{5} &c.). The whole of the fifth book is attributed to the family of the Atris, and about one-fourth of the occurrences of the name in the singular or plural are found in that book.

The name is perhaps derived from the root *ad*, to eat, in the sense of 'devouring', as the cognate word *atrin*, a frequent adjective in the RV. used to describe demons, seems to have this meaning. The word *atri*[1] itself is once employed as an attribute of Agni, probably with this signification (2, 8^{5}). BERGAIGNE[2] is even of opinion that, though Atri has become a priest, he originally represented some form of Agni. The name of Atri is four times accompanied or, in the next verse, followed by that of Saptavadhri. The latter is a protégé of the Aśvins, a seer whom they are invoked to release from captivity (5, 78$^{5. 6}$), and who is said to have sharpened the blade of Agni with his prayer (8, 62^{8}). For Atri Saptavadhri the Aśvins made the burning chasm agreeable (10, 39^{9}). The two are therefore probably identical[3].

1 Cp. OLDENBERG, SBE. 46, 35. 214. — 2 BRV. 2, 467—72. — 3 Op. cit. 467; BAUNACK, ZDMG. 50, 266. — Cp. also PW., s. v. Atri; OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 42, 213; BAUNACK, ZDMG. 50, 266—87.

§ 57. Kaṇva &c. — The name of Kaṇva occurs about sixty times in the RV. as that of an ancient seer and of his descendants, the occurrences in the singular and plural being nearly equally divided. Kaṇva is spoken of as the son of Nṛṣad (10, 31^{11}) and bears the patronymic Nārṣada (1, 117^{8};

AV. 4, 19²). He is mentioned in an enumeration of ancient ancestors such as Manu and Aṅgiras (1, 139⁹). The gods gave Agni to Kaṇva and others, who kindled him and were blessed by him (1, 36¹⁰· ¹¹· ¹⁷). Agni helped Kaṇva, as well as Atri, Trasadasyu, and others, in battle (10, 50⁵), and is spoken of as a friend and chief of the Kaṇvas (10, 115⁵). Indra conferred gold and cattle on Kaṇva, Trasadasyu, and others (Vāl. 1¹⁰· 2¹⁰). The Maruts bestowed wealth on Kaṇva along with Turvaśa and Yadu (8, 7¹⁸). The Aśvins are several times said to have helped Kaṇva (1, 47⁵. 112⁵; 8, 5²⁵. 8²⁰). He was blind when succoured by the Aśvins (8, 5²³), who restored his sight (1, 118⁷).

Most of the hymns of the eighth book of the RV. are attributed to the family of Kaṇva, and poets there speak of themselves as Kaṇvas. The name as that of a family is therefore historical. But the ancestor whose name was transferred to them in reality[1] never appears in the RV. as that of a contemporary. Roth thinks his origin may have been mythical like that of Aṅgiras[2]; and Bergaigne is of opinion that the blind Kaṇva represents the sun during the night or, more generally, the hidden Agni or Soma[3].

Medhyātithi, a descendant of Kaṇva, being called by the patronymic Kāṇva (8, 2⁴⁰), is mentioned nine times in the RV., occasionally with Kaṇva in enumerations of ancestors (1, 36¹⁰· ¹¹· ¹⁷). The name seems to mean 'he who has a sacrificial guest (i. e. Agni)'. Priyamedha, whose name occurs four or five times and is found beside that of Kaṇva (8, 5²⁵), belongs to the past, but his descendants often speak of themselves in the plural as Priyamedhas[4].

[1] Oldenberg, ZDMG. 42, 216—7. — [2] PW. s. v. Kaṇva. — [3] BRV. 2, 465. — [4] Oldenberg, ZDMG. 42, 217.

§ 58. A. Kutsa[1]. This warlike hero belonging to the Indra myth is mentioned nearly forty times in the RV. The name occurs only once in the plural as a designation of a family of singers who address a hymn to Indra (7, 25⁵). Kutsa is four times called by the patronymic Ārjuneya, son of Arjuna (1, 112²³ &c.). Mention is made of a son of his, whom Indra aided in fight against a Dasyu (10, 105¹¹). Kutsa is young and brilliant (1, 63³). He is a seer, who called upon Indra for aid when plunged in a pit (1, 106⁶). Kutsa rides on the same car as Indra (4, 16¹¹; 5, 29⁹), who wafts him (5, 31⁸; 8, 1¹¹) or takes him as his charioteer (2, 19⁶; 6, 20⁵). Kutsa is similar to Indra (4, 16¹⁰) and is even invoked with him in a dual compound as *Indrākutsā*, the pair being besought to come on their car (5, 31⁹).

The foe against whom Kutsa is associated with Indra is Śuṣṇa. Indra smote Śuṣṇa for Kutsa (1, 63³. 121⁹; 4, 16¹²; 6, 26³), aided Kutsa against Śuṣṇa (1, 51⁶), subjected Śuṣṇa to him (7, 19²), or, associated with Kutsa and the gods, vanquished Śuṣṇa (5, 29⁹). Indra is invoked to fight with Kutsa against Śuṣṇa (6, 31³) or to bring Kutsa as a slayer of Śuṣṇa (1, 175⁴). Indra fights for Kutsa even against the gods (4, 30²—⁵) or against Gandharva (8, 1¹¹). The conflict with Śuṣṇa results in the stealing of the wheel of the sun (1, 175⁴; 6, 31³). For Kutsa pressed by his foes Indra tore off the wheel of the sun (4, 30⁴) while the other he gave to Kutsa to drive on with (5, 29¹⁰). This miracle of stopping the sun (cp. 1, 121¹⁰; 10, 138³) seems to be a transference of the myth of Indra gaining the sun for human happiness, to the reminiscence of a semi-historical battle. In winning the sun Indra is said to have made wide space for his charioteer Kutsa (6, 20⁵). He is invoked to crush the fiends with Kutsa and to roll forward the wheel of the sun (4, 16¹²). In one passage Indra is said to have subjected other foes than Śuṣṇa to Kutsa, viz. Tugra, Smadibha, and the Vetasus (10, 49⁴).

Kutsa, whom Indra aided and loved (1, 33[14]), nevertheless sometimes appears as his enemy. Thus Indra struck down the heroes of Kutsa, Āyu, and Atithigva (2, 14[7]), harassed Āyu, Kutsa, and Atithigva (Vāl. 5[2]), delivered these three into the hand of the young king Tūrvayāṇa (1, 53[10]), or smote them to the earth for him (6, 18[13]). This seems to indicate the historical character of Kutsa. For a deity of light would naturally have been regarded by the Vedic poets as always a friend, and a demon of darkness always as a foe. Tradition also attributes a number of the hymns of the first and ninth book of the RV. to a seer Kutsa of the family of the Aṅgirases. BERGAIGNE, however, thinks that Kutsa is purely mythical, originally a form of Agni (or Soma), sometimes seeming to represent the sun. In the Naighaṇṭuka (2, 20) *kutsa* appears as one of the synonyms of thunderbolt (*vajra*).

B. Kāvya Uśanā[2]. The ancient seer Uśanā is mentioned eleven times in the RV. He is twice called a sage (*kavi*) and five times receives the epithet Kāvya. He is characteristically wise; for Soma uttering wisdom is compared (9, 97[7]) and, owing to his wisdom, is identified with Uśanā (9, 87[3]). Kāvya Uśanā established Agni as the *hotṛ* of sacrifice (8, 23[17]). He is said to have driven hither the cows, in the same verse in which Atharvan, the institutor of sacrifice, is referred to as having prepared the path of the sun (1, 83[5]). He was a protégé of Indra (6, 20[11]), who rejoiced with him (1, 51[11]) and who is represented as identifying himself with Uśanā as well as Kutsa and others (4, 26[1]). He was associated with Indra when the latter, along with Kutsa, vanquished Śuṣṇa (5, 29[9]). Uśanā also fashioned for Indra the bolt for slaying Vṛtra (1, 121[12]; 5, 34[2] cp. 1, 51[10]).

C. Several other ancient seers of a historical or semi-historical character are mentioned in the RV. Such are Gotama, Viśvāmitra, Vāmadeva, Bharadvāja and Vasiṣṭha[3] to whom, or to whose families, the composition of the second, third, fourth, sixth, and seventh books are respectively attributed. Agastya is another seer mentioned several times in the RV.[4]. More or less historical warriors of the olden time are king Sudās, Purukutsa and his son Trasadasyu, as well as Divodāsa Atithigva[5].

Even the most mythical of the ancestors of man or of particular families treated of in this chapter seem, with perhaps two or three exceptions, to have been either actual men of bygone days or to have been projected into the past to represent the first progenitors of actually living men. The deeds attributed to them are partly historical reminiscences, partly aetiological myths, and partly poetical creations. By association with the gods they are often drawn into participation in the mythological actions, such as the winning of the sun, on which the order of nature is founded. Most of what is told about the priestly ancestors, is intended to furnish evidence of sacerdotal art and power, which are therefore treated supernaturally. It is not likely that they represent powers of nature and are faded gods come down to earth[6].

[1] KHF. 54 ff.; BRV. 2, 333—8; PERRY, JAOS. 11, 181; PVS. 1, 24; GVS. 2, 35. 163 ff.; ZDMG. 42, 211; ORV. 158—60; JAOS. 18, 31—3. — [2] BRV. 2, 338—41; SP.AP. 281—7. — [3] Cp. BRV. 1, 50—2; OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 42, 203 ff.; OERTEL, JAOS. 18, 47—8. — [4] Cp. ZDMG. 34, 589 ff.; 39, 65—8. — [5] OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 42, 199—247; HRI. 111. — [6] Cp. GRUPPE, Die griechischen Culte 1, 298 ff.; ORV. 273—4.

V. ANIMALS AND INANIMATE OBJECTS.

§ 59. General Traits. — Animals enter to a considerable extent into the mythological creations of the Veda. There are still numerous traces surviving from a more primitive age, when the line dividing men from animals

was not definitely drawn (§ 65) and gods might be conceived as having animal forms also. The higher Vedic gods themselves being anthropomorphic in character, the supernatural beings of the Veda which have an animal form belong to a lower order, being semi-divine only or demoniac according as the animal is useful to man, as the cow, or injurious, as the serpent. Moreover, just as man has attached to him various animals which are serviceable to him, so the great anthropomorphic gods are naturally surrounded by a celestial animal world of a similar character. Lastly, actual animals are in the ritual connected with mythological conceptions of the gods. They are symbolical representatives intended only as an instrument for the time being to influence the gods they in some respect resemble. This fetishistic point of view is probably the faded remnant of a more primitive identification of gods with visible objects. The part which such animal fetishes play in Vedic times is, however, no longer great, since the representation of deities by animals conflicted with the higher conception prevailing of the gods as mighty men dwelling in heaven and coming invisibly to the sacrifice.

§ 60. The Horse[1]. — A. Dadhikrā. Besides the celestial horses which draw the cars of the gods, various individual divine steeds occur in Vedic mythology. One of the most notable of these is Dadhikrā, who is celebrated in four rather late[2] hymns of the RV. (4, 38—40; 7, 44). The name is mentioned there twelve times, interchanging with the extended form Dadhikrāvan, which is found ten times. The name hardly ever occurs in other Vedic texts. Dadhikrā is so characteristically a steed that the word is given in the Naighaṇṭuka (1, 14) as a synonym of horse. He is swift (4, $38^{2.9}$. 39^{1}), being the first steed at the head of chariots (7, 44^{4}) and a vanquisher of chariots (*rathatur*), who speeds like the wind (4, 38^{3}). The people praise his swiftness and every Pūru praises him as he runs on a precipice as it were (ib. $^{9.3}$). He bounds along the curves of the paths (4, 40^{4}). He is also conceived as winged. For he is called bird-like, his wing being compared with that of a bird and of a speeding eagle (4, $40^{2.3}$). He is likened to a swooping eagle and even directly called an eagle (4, $38^{5.8}$). In one passage (4, 40^{5}) he is spoken of as the swan (*haṃsa*) dwelling in light, as well as the Vasu in the air, the priest at the altar, the guest in the house — all epithets appropriate to various forms of Agni.

Dadhikrā is a hero, smites the Dasyus, and is victorious (4, $38^{1-3.7}$). His adversaries fear him as the thunder of heaven, when he fights against a thousand; he wins booty in combats and the tribes cry after him in contests (ib. $^{8.5.4}$). Making himself (*kṛṇvāna*) a garland, he tosses the dust and scatters it from his brows (ib. $^{6.7}$). He belongs to all the tribes, pervades the five tribes with his power, as Sūrya the waters with his light, and observes the assemblies (ib. $^{2.10.4}$). Mitra-Varuṇa gave him, the victorious steed, like shining Agni, to the Pūrus (4, 39^{2} cp. $38^{1.2}$); they gave us the horse Dadhikrā as a blessing for the mortal (ib. ^{5}).

The steed Dadhikrāvan is praised when Agni is kindled at the dawning of Uṣas (4, 39^{3}). He is invoked with the Dawns (ib.^{1}. 40^{1}), who are prayed to turn to the sacrifice like Dadhikrāvan (7, 41^{6}). He is regularly invoked with Uṣas, nearly as often with Agni, less frequently with the Aśvins and Sūrya, sometimes with other deities also (3, $20^{1.5}$; 7, 44^{1-4}; 10, 101^{1}); but Dadhikrā is invoked first (7, 44^{1}).

The etymological meaning, being uncertain[3], cannot be said to throw any additional light on the original nature of Dadhikrā. The second part of the compound may be a by-form of the root *kṛ*, 'to scatter', and the word would then mean 'scattering curdled milk', in allusion to the dew or

rime appearing at sunrise, according to ROTH and GRASSMANN[4], who both think that Dadhikrā represents in the form of a steed the circling ball of the sun. This view is supported by the fact that the deity with whom Dadhikrā is most closely connected is Uṣas, that the sun is often conceived as a steed or bird (p. 31) and that he is sometimes regarded as warlike (ib.). The statement that Dadhikrā was given by Mitra and Varuṇa might be connected with the notion of the sun being the eye of those deities. BERGAIGNE thinks that the name of Dadhikrā refers rather to lightning, but that he represents Agni in general, including his solar and lightning forms[5]. LUDWIG[6], PISCHEL[7], V. BRADKE[8], and OLDENBERG[9], however, agree in the opinion that Dadhikrā was not a deity, but an actual horse, famous as a racer or charger, which received divine honours.

It has already been remarked (p. 142) that Dadhyañc is allied to Dadhikrā in name, and possibly in nature, since he is spoken of as having a horse's head.

B. Tārkṣya. Nearly related to Dadhikrā is Tārkṣya, whose name is mentioned only twice in the RV. (1, 89⁶; 10, 178¹). One late hymn, consisting of three stanzas (10, 178), is devoted to his praise. He is there described as a god-impelled mighty steed (*vājin*), a vanquisher of chariots (cp. 6, 44⁴), swift, and speeding to battle. He is invoked as a gift of Indra. In the identical words applied to Dadhikrā (4, 38¹⁰), he is said to have pervaded the five tribes with his power, as Surya the waters with his light. That he was primarily conceived as a steed is shown (v.²; 1, 89⁶) by his epithet *ariṣṭanemi*, 'whose fellies are intact' (which in VS. 15, 18 appears as an independent name beside Tārkṣya and Garuḍa). In the Naighaṇṭuka (1, 14) the word *tārkṣya* occurs as a synonym of 'horse'. In one or two later Vedic texts Tārkṣya is, however, referred to as a bird; and in the Epic and subsequent literature, he is identical with the swift bird Garuḍa, the vehicle of Viṣṇu. It seems on the whole probable that Tārkṣya originally represented the sun in the form of a divine steed[10]. The word seems to be derived from Tṛkṣi, the name of a man, with the patronymic Trāsadasyava, once mentioned in the RV. (8, 22⁷). This derivation leads FOY[11] to believe that Tārkṣya was an actual race horse (like Dadhikrā), belonging to Tṛkṣi of the family of Trasadasyu.

C. Paidva. Another mythical steed is that which the Aśvins are said to have brought to Pedu (1, 119¹⁰; 7, 71⁵) and which is therefore called Paidva (1, 116⁶; 9, 88⁴). The object of the gift was to replace an inferior horse, as may be inferred from the description of Pedu as *aghāśva*, 'he who has a bad horse' (1, 116⁶). This steed is several times spoken of as 'white', *śveta* (1, 116⁶, &c.). He is praiseworthy (1, 119¹⁰; 10, 39¹⁰; cp. 4, 38²) and is to be invoked (1, 116⁶) by men, like Bhaga (10, 39¹⁰). He is compared with Indra (1, 119¹⁰) and is called a 'dragon-slayer', *ahihan* (1, 117⁹. 118⁹ cp. 9, 88⁴), an epithet otherwise peculiar to Indra. He is a conqueror invincible in battles, seeking heaven (1, 119¹⁰). Here again the evidence, as far as it goes, appears to favour the interpretation of the steed of Pedu as symbolical of the sun[12].

D. Etaśa. The word *etaśa*, which occurs a few times as an adjective meaning 'swift', more frequently signifies 'steed' in the RV. In the plural it designates the horses of the sun (7, 62²; 10, 37³. 49⁷). It occurs about a dozen times as a proper name in the singular, always connected with the sun, often with reference to the wheel of the sun. Savitṛ is the steed (*etaśa*) who measured out the terrestrial regions (5, 81³). The swift god Etaśa draws the bright form of the sun (7, 66¹⁴). Yoked to the pole, Etaśa moves the

wheel of the sun ($7, 63^2$); he brought the wheel of the sun ($1, 121^{13}$; $5, 31^{11}$). Indra urged on the steed (*etaśa*) of the sun ($8, 1^{11}$ cp. $9, 63^8$). Indra helped Etaśa contending in a race with Sūrya ($1, 61^{15}$). It may be gathered from stray references to this mythical contest, that Etaśa being at first behind takes up the lost wheel of the sun and fixes it to the car of Sūrya; he has now gained the lead, and in the end Sūrya seems to concede to him the place of honour before his own car[13]. It appears to be impossible to suggest any satisfactory interpretation of this myth. It can, however, hardly be doubted that Etaśa represents the steed of the sun.

E. The Horse symbolical of Sun and Fire. That the horse is symbolical of the sun, is indicated by a passage of the RV. in which Dawn is said to lead a white steed ($7, 77^3$), and is suggested by another ($1, 163^2$) in which the sacrificial steed is said to have been fashioned by the gods out of the sun[14]. In a particular form of the Soma ritual, the horse also appears to be symbolical of the sun[15].

Agni, the swift and agile god, is often, as has been shown (p. 89), spoken of as a steed. In the ritual the horse is symbolical of Agni. A horse is stationed so as to look at the place where fire is produced by friction. When the fire is borne towards the east, it is deposited in the track of the horse which goes in front[16]. In the ceremony of piling the fire-altar, the horse is addressed with the verse: 'In heaven is thy highest birth, in air thy navel, on earth thy home' (VS. 11, 12). Such a rite is explained in the ŚB. as bringing Agni together with himself[17]. The same Brāhmaṇa speaks of lightning as a horse descended from the waters or the clouds (ŚB. $5, 1, 4^5$; $7, 5, 2^{18}$).

[1] Cp. GUBERNATIS, Zoological Mythology 1, 283 ff. — [2] E. V. ARNOLD, KZ. 34, 303. — [3] Cp. WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. p. 15. — [4] ROTH, PW.; GW. s. v.; cp. HRI. 55, note 5. — [5] BRV. 2, 456–7; cp. MACDONELL, JRAS. 25, 471; MM., SBE. 46, 282. — [6] LRV. 4, 79. — [7] PVS. 1, 124; cp. HILLEBRANDT, Vedainterpretation 17—18. — [8] ZDMG. 42, 447—9. 462—3. — [9] ORV. 71; SBE. 46, 282. — [10] PW.; BRV. 2, 498; HIRZEL, Gleichnisse und Metaphern im RV. (1890) 27. 62–3; GRIFFITH, Transl. of SV. 69, note 1. — [11] KZ. 34, 366—7. — [12] Cp. BRV. 2, 51—2. — [13] BRV. 2, 330 — 3; ORV. 169 f.; cp. PVS. 1, 42; GVS. 2, 161 ff. [14] Cp. AB. 6, 35 &c.; KHF. 52; WEBER, IS. 13, 247, n. 3; Die Nakṣatra 2, 270. – [15] ORV. 81. — [16] ORV. 77. — [17] ORV. 80.

§ 61. A. The Bull. — Indra is in the RV. constantly designated a bull, a term applied much less frequently to Agni, and occasionally to other gods, such as Dyaus (p. 22). In the AV. ($9, 4^9$) a bull is addressed as Indra, and in the ŚB. ($2, 5, 3^{18}$) the bull is stated to be Indra's form[1]. In the Avesta the bull appears as one of the incarnations of Verethraghna, the Avestan Indra[2]. In one of the sacrifices of the Vedic ritual, a bull also represents the god Rudra[3]. A bull plays a part in the obscure and much discussed myth of Mudgala and Mudgalānī (RV. 10, 102)[4].

B. The Cow. — Owing to its great utility on earth, the cow naturally enters largely into the conceptions of Vedic mythology. The beams of Dawn are personified as cows[5], which draw her car (p. 47). The rain-cloud is personified as a cow, the mother of a (lightning) calf (pp. 10. 12). This cloud-cow is individualized as Pṛśni[6], the mother of the Maruts (VS. 2, 16), her milk ($6, 48^{22}$) and udder being several times referred to (cp. p. 125). The bountiful clouds are doubtless the prototypes of the many-coloured cows which yield all desires (*kāmadughā*) in the heaven of the Blest ($AV. 4, 34^8$) and which are the forerunners of the Cow of Plenty (*kāmaduh*) so often mentioned in post-Vedic poetry[7]. Iḍā, the personification of the offering of milk and butter, has a tendency to be regarded as a cow (p. 124). Aditi

also is sometimes spoken of as a cow (p. 122). The gods are sometimes called cow-born, *gojātāḥ*. The most frequent application of the cow is, however, in the myth of the kine released from the rock by Indra (pp. 59. 61).

The terrestrial cow herself has already acquired a certain sanctity in the RV., being addressed as Aditi and a goddess, while the poet impresses on his hearers that she should not be killed (8, $90^{15.16}$ cp. VS. 4, 19. 20). The inviolability of the cow is further indicated by her designation *aghnyā*, 'not to be slain', which occurs sixteen times in the RV. (the corresponding masculine form *aghnya* being found only three times). In the AV. the worship of the cow as a sacred animal is fully recognised (AV. 12, 4. 5.)[8]. In the ŚB. (3, 1, 2^{21}) he who eats beef is said to be born again (on earth) as a man of evil fame; though beef is allowed to be cooked for guests (ŚB. 3, 4, 1^{2})[9].

[1] Cp. MS. 1, 10^{16}; TB. 1, 6, 7^{4}; Āp. ŚS. 8, 11^{19}. — [2] ORV. 76, note 2. — [3] ORV. 82. — [4] Last treated of by V. HENRY (with reference to his predecessors) in JA. 1895 (6), 516—48. — [5] Cp. GRUPPE, op. cit. 1, 77. — [6] Cp. ROTH, Nir. Erl. 145; PW. s. v. — [7] KHF. 188. — [8] HRI. 156; cp. BLOOMFIELD, SBE. 42, 656. — [9] WVB. 1894, p. 36; HRI. 189; cp. WINTERNITZ, Hochzeitsrituell 33.

§ 62. The Goat &c. — In the RV. the goat is specially connected with Pūṣan as drawing his car (p. 35). It also appears there as a divine being in the form of Aja ekapād, the one-footed Goat (§ 27)[1]. In the the later Vedic literature the goat is several times connected or identified with Agni[2].

The ass appears in Vedic mythology mainly as drawing the car of the Aśvins (p. 50)[3].

The dog[4] is found in the RV. mythologically in the form of the two brindled hounds of Yama, called Sārameya (p. 173). This name indicates that they were regarded as descendants[5] of Saramā[6] (p. 63), the messenger of Indra. There is nothing in the RV. directly showing that Saramā was there conceived as a bitch, though in the later Vedic literature she is regarded as such and by Yāska (Nir. 11, 25) is described as the 'bitch of the gods' (*devaśunī*).

The boar occurs in the RV. as a figurative designation of Rudra, the Maruts, and Vṛtra[7]. In the TS. and TB. this animal appears in a cosmogonic character as the form assumed by the Creator Prajāpati when he raised the earth out of the waters. A later development of it is the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu[8].

In the later Saṃhitās the tortoise is raised to a semi-divine position as 'lord of waters' (VS. 13, 31)[9], or, as Kaśyapa, often appears beside or identical with Prajāpati in the AV., where he receives the epithet *svayambhū*, 'self-existent' (AV. 19, 53^{10})[10]. In the AB. (8, 21^{10}) the earth is said to have been promised to Kaśyapa by Viśvakarman. In the ŚB. Prajāpati is described as changing himself into a tortoise (7, 4, 3^{5}), in which form he produced all creatures (7, 5, 1^{1})[11]. This assumed form of the creator became in post-Vedic mythology the tortoise incarnation of Viṣṇu[12]. In the TS. (2, 6, 3^{3}) the sacrificial cake (*puroḍāśa*) is said to become a tortoise.

A monkey appears in a late hymn of the RV. (10, 86) as Indra's favourite, who is expelled for his mischievousness by Indrāṇī, but is finally restored to favour (§ 22, p. 64).

Frogs awakened by the rains are in RV. 7, 103 the objects of a panegyric as bestowing cows and long life, and seem to be conceived as possessing magical powers[13]. This hymn has, however, been interpreted by MAX MÜLLER[14] as a satire on Brahmans. BERGAIGNE interprets the frogs as meteorological phenomena[15].

1 ORV. 72; SBE. 46, 62; BLOOMFIELD, SBE. 42, 625. 664, who thinks Aja ekapād is undoubtedly the Sun, with reference to TB. 3, 1, 2[8] ('Aja ekapād has risen in the east', &c.), a passage which, however, is not cogent for the Rigvedic conception. — 2 ORV. 78. — 3 WVB. 1894, p. 26, n. 2. — 4 Cp. HOPKINS, The Dog in the RV., AJP. 1894, 154—5; BLOOMFIELD, SBE. 42, 500. — 5 Cp. WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar², 1216. — 6 Op. cit. 1166 b; WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. § 52 a.; KRV. n. 149; ZDMG. 13, 493—9; 14, 583. — 7 Cp. KHF. 177—8; Entwicklungsstufen 136; IS. 1, 272, note; HOPKINS, JAOS. 17, 67. — 8 MACDONELL, JRAS. 27, 178—89. — 9 Cp. IS. 13, 250. — 10 Cp. SPH. 81. — 11 Cp. IS. 1, 187. — 12 MACDONELL, JRAS. 27, 166—7. — 13 ORV. 70; BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. 17, 173—9. — 14 ASL. 494—5; cp. OST. 5, 436. — 15 BRV. 1, 292 &c.; cp. HRL 100—1.

§ 63. The Bird. — Birds figure largely in Vedic mythology. Soma is often compared with or called a bird[1] (p. 106). Agni in particular is frequently likened to or directly designated a bird[2], once being spoken of as the eagle of the sky (p. 89)[3]. The sun is also sometimes conceived as a bird (p. 31)[4], twice under the name of *garutmat*[5]. The fact that Viṣṇu's vehicle in post-Vedic mythology is Garuḍa, the chief of the birds, is probably based on the same notion (cp. p. 39). The main application of the bird in the Veda is as the eagle which carries off the Soma for Indra and which appears to represent lightning[6]. In the Kāṭhaka it is Indra himself who in the form of an eagle captures the Soma or *amṛta*. Similarly in the Avesta, Verethraghna assumes the form of Vāraghna, the swiftest of birds, and in Germanic mythology, the god Odhin transforming himself into an eagle, flies with the mead to the realm of the gods (p. 114)[7].

Ominous birds as well as beasts are occasionally connected with certain gods by whom they are supposed to be sent. Thus in the RV. the owl and the pigeon are spoken of as messengers of Yama (§ 77)[8]. In the Sūtras the owl is 'the messenger of evil spirits'; while the beast of prey besmeared with blood and the carrion vulture are called messengers of Yama[9]. In the RV. a bird of omen is once invoked to give auspicious signs (2, 42[43]).

1 Cp. BENFEY, SV. glossary, s. v. *śyena*. — 2 BLOOMFIELD, FaR. 152. — 3 KHF. 29. — 4 v. BRADKE, ZDMG. 40, 356. — 5 GW.; HRI. 45. — 6 BRI. 11. — 7 ORV. 75. — 8 Cp. ZDMG. 31, 352 ff.; BLOOMFIELD, SBE. 42, 474. — 9 ORV. 76.

§ 64. Noxious Animals. — These generally appear as demons or show demoniac traits. Demons are sometimes in the RV. referred to with the generic term *mṛga*, 'wild beast' (1, 80[7]; 5, 29[4]. 32[3]). One demon who is mentioned three times (2, 11[18]; 8, 32[26]. 66[2]) is called Aurṇavābha, 'Spider-brood'; another referred to only once (2, 14[4]) is named Uraṇa, 'Ram'.

The most common animal form applied in this way is the serpent[1] (*ahi* = Av. *azhi*)[2]. This is generally only another designation of the demon Vṛtra, who probably received his name (cp. § 68) as a formidable enemy of mankind enveloping his prey like a serpent in his coils[3]. The Vṛtra-slayer Indra, who is also called the serpent-slayer, is said to have slain the serpent (8, 82[2] cp. 4, 17[1]); the identity of Ahi and Vṛtra is clear where the terms interchange (1, 32[1. 2. 7—14]); and by the 'first-born of the serpents' (ib.[3. 4]) no other can be meant than 'Vṛtra, the most Vṛtra' (ib.[5]). In several passages, too, the words are in apposition and may be translated 'the serpent Vṛtra'[4]. When Ahi is mentioned alone, the results of Indra's victory over him are the same as in the case of Vṛtra, the god causing the waters to flow, delivering the seven streams, or winning the cows[5]. The waters are also described as encompassed by the serpent, the action being expressed by the root *vṛ* (2, 19[2]) among others. They are similarly said to be swallowed ($\sqrt{gras}$) by the serpent (4, 17[1]; 10, 111[9]). Ahi is armed with lightning thunder and hail (1, 32[13]). He is bright, for the Maruts are called *ahi-bhānavaḥ*, 'shining like Ahi' (1, 172[1]); and the term *ahi* is applied to Agni,

who is described as a 'raging serpent, like the rushing wind' (1, 79[1])[5]. Soma is once besought to deliver an enemy to Ahi (7, 104[9]). The plural of the word is occasionally used to express a race of demons (9, 88[4]; 10, 139[6]), of whom *the* Ahi is the first-born (1, 32[3. 4]).

The serpent, however, also appears as a divine being in the form of Ahi budhnya (§ 26), who seems to represent the beneficent side of the character of Ahi Vṛtra.

In the later Saṃhitās the serpents (*sarpāḥ*) are found as a class of semi-divine beings beside the Gandharvas and others. They are spoken of as being in earth, air, and heaven (VS. 13, 6; cp. TB. 3, 1, 1[7]). They are often mentioned in the AV.[6], one hymn of which (11, 9) is sometimes interpreted as an invocation of certain serpent divinities[7]. In the Sūtras offerings to the serpents of earth, air, and heaven (AGS. 2, 1[9]; PGS. 2, 14[9]) are prescribed; serpents are satiated along with gods, plants, demons, &c. (SGS. 4, 9[3]. 15[4]; AGS. 3, 4[1]), and blood is poured out for them (AGS. 4, 8[27]). In this worship the serpent, owing to its hurtfulness, is naturally regarded as having a demoniac nature, which has to be propitiated. In a similar sense offerings are sometimes made to ants (KS. 116).

[1] Cp. BENFEY, GGA. 1847, p. 1484; GUBERNATIS, Zoological Mythology 2, 392—7; WINTERNITZ, Der Sarpabali, Vienna 1888. — [2] SP.AP. 257. — [3] Cp. SP.AP. 261. — [4] BRV. 2, 204. — [5] GRIFFITH, RV. Transl. 1, 133, note 1; MACDONELL, JRAS. 25, 429. — [6] WEBER, Jyotiṣa 94; PW. s. v. *sarpa*. — [7] Cp. BLOOMFIELD, SBE. 42, 631—4.

§ 65. Survival of prehistoric notions. — The primitive conception that man does not differ essentially from beast, has left a few traces in the form of a belief in beings of the werewolf order. These are represented by the man-tigers (VS. 30, 8; SB. 13, 2, 4[2])[1] and by the Nāgas, human beings in appearance but in reality serpents, which are first mentioned under this name in the Sūtras[2] (AGS. 3, 4[1]). It does not seem likely that the later serpent worship had any connexion with the myth of the Vṛtra serpent, but its development was probably due rather to the influence of the aborigines. For on the one hand there is no trace of it in the RV., and on the other it has been found prevailing very widely among the non-Aryan Indians. The Aryans doubtless found the cult extensively diffused among the natives when they spread over India, the land of serpents[3].

Similarly, there are possibly in the RV. some survivals of totemism or the belief in the descent of the human race or of individual tribes or families from animals or plants. Kaśyapa, 'Tortoise', the name of a seer (9, 114[2]) and of a priestly family (AB. 7, 27), is also frequently found in the AV. and the later Vedic literature[4] as that of a cosmogonic power nearly related to or identified with the Creator Prajāpati. In a passage of the SB. (7, 5, 1[5]) Prajāpati appears in the form of a tortoise (*kūrma*). Here it is remarked that, as *kūrma* is identical with *kaśyapa*, 'therefore men say: all beings are the children of the tortoise (*kaśyapa*)'. The RV. (7, 18[6. 19]) mentions as tribal names the Matsyas (Fishes)[5], the Ajas (Goats), and the Sigrus (Horse-radishes). As names of Vedic priestly families also occur the Gotamas[6] (Oxen), the Vatsas (Calves), the Sunakas (Dogs), the Kauśikas (Owls), and Māṇḍukeyas[7] (Frog-sons). The father of Saṃvaraṇa (a name occurring in RV. 5, 53[10]), from whom the kings of the Kurus claimed descent, is in the Epic called Ṛkṣa (Bear)[8]. HOPKINS, however, expresses a doubt whether the names of animals ever point to totemism in the RV.[9]

[1] Cp. the Man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu. — [2] Cp. WINTERNITZ, Sarpabali 43. — [3] ORV. 69, note 2. — [4] PW. s. v.; IS. 3, 457. 459. — [5] Also mentioned in

Manu 2, 19. — [6] Superlative of *go*. — [7] See PW. sub vocibus. — [8] ORV. 85—6; Bloomfield, JAOS. 15, 178, note. — [9] PAOS. 1894, p. cliv.

§ 66. Deified Terrestrial Objects. — A. Besides the phenomena and forces of nature, mostly aerial and celestial, and the earth itself (§ 34), various natural features of the earth's surface, as well as artificial objects, are treated as deities in the RV. It is the worship of inanimate things chiefly regarded as useful to man[1]. It is not pantheistic, since each object is regarded as a separate divinity[2], but is rather fetishistic in its character.

Rivers personified as goddesses have already been dealt with (§ 33).

Mountains (*parvata*) are often in the RV. conceived as divinely animate, being invoked as deities nearly twenty times in the plural and four times in the singular. In this capacity they never appear alone, but only with other natural objects such as waters, rivers, plants, trees, heaven and earth (7, 34[23], &c.), or with gods like Savitṛ, Indra, and others (6, 49[14], &c.). They are invoked as manly, firmly fixed, rejoicing in plenty (3, 54[23]). Parvata is even three times lauded with Indra in the dual compound *Indrāparvatā* (1, 122[3]. 132[6]). The pair are spoken of as driving in a great car and are besought to come to the offering (3, 53[1]). Here Parvata seems to be a mountain god, conceived anthropomorphically as a companion of Indra.

Plants (*oṣadhi*) are also personified as divine. The whole of a long hymn of the RV. (10, 97)[3] is devoted to their praise, mainly with reference to their healing powers[4]. They are called mothers and goddesses (v. [4]), and Soma, to whom trees are subject, is described as their king. In another text a herb to be used medicinally is spoken of as a 'goddess born on the goddess earth' (AV. 6, 136[1]). An animal sacrifice is even offered to plants in order to remove their obstruction to the attainment of offspring (TS. 2, 1, 5[3]).

Large trees, called *vanaspati*, 'lord of the forest', are a few times addressed as deities either in the plural (7, 34[23]; 10, 64[8]) or the singular (1, 90[8]; Vāl. 6[4]), chiefly along with Waters and Mountains. Later texts refer to the adoration paid to large trees passed in marriage processions[5] (cp. p. 134).

The forest as a whole appears as a deity under the name of Araṇyānī, the jungle goddess, who is invoked in RV. 10, 146. Here she is called the mother of beasts, abounding in food without tillage; and the various uncanny sounds heard in her dark solitudes are weirdly described. The plant, tree, and forest deities, however, play a very insignificant part not only in the RV., but even in the AV. and in the ritual of the lesser domestic sacrifices; while in the Buddhist literature they seem to have been more closely connected with human life than any other lower deities[6].

B. Implements. Another group of inanimate objects susceptible of personification and worship is formed by various implements of sacrifice. The deification of these is by Barth[7] called by the rather misleading name of ritualistic pantheism[8]. The most important of these objects is the sacrificial post, which under the name of *vanaspati* and *svaru* is deified and invoked in RV. 3, 8. The tree is here described as well-lopped with the axe, as anointed and adorned by priests; and the posts set up by priests are gods, and as gods go to the gods (vv. [6. 9]). In the tenth or eleventh verses of the Āprī hymns[10], the post is described as thrice anointed with ghee and being set up beside the fire is invoked to let the offering go to the gods. In other verses of the same hymns the sacrificial grass (*barhis*) is twice (2, 3[4]; 10, 70[4]) addressed as a god, and more frequently the doors leading to the place of sacrifice, as goddesses (*devīr dvāraḥ*).

The pressing stones (*grāvan*, also *adri*) are deified in three hymns (10, 76. 94. 175). They are spoken of as immortal, unaging, and more

mighty even than heaven[11]. When pressing they are like steeds or bulls and the sound of their voice reaches to heaven. They are invoked to drive away demons and destruction, and to bestow wealth and offspring. In two verses of the RV. (1, 28[5, 6]) the mortar and pestle are invoked to resound aloud and to press Soma for Indra.

The AV. ascribes divine power of the highest order to Ucchiṣṭa, the 'remnant' of the sacrifice (AV. 11, 7)[12] as well as to different sacrificial ladles[13].

Agricultural implements named Śuna and Sīrā, probably the ploughshare and the plough, are invoked in a few verses of the RV. (4, 57[5—8]), and a cake is assigned to them at the sacrifice in the ritual (ŚB. 2, 6, 3[5]).

Weapons, finally, are sometimes deified. The whole of RV. 6, 75 is devoted to the praise of various implements of war, armour, bow, quiver, and arrows. The arrow is adored as divine and is besought to grant protection and to attack the foe (vv. [11. 15. 16]). The drum (*dundubhi*) is invoked to drive away dangers, foes, and demons (vv. [29—31]); and a whole hymn of the AV. (5, 20) celebrates its praises[14].

C. Symbols. Material objects are occasionally mentioned in the later Vedic literature as symbols representing deities. Something of this kind (possibly an image) must be meant even in a passage of the RV., in which the poet asks, 'Who will buy this my Indra for ten cows? When he has slain his foes he may give him back to me' (4, 24[10]; cp. 8, 1[5]). References to idols[15] begin to appear in the later additions to the Brāhmaṇas and in the Sūtras[16].

The wheel is in various ritual performances employed as a symbol of the sun, as representing both its shape and its motion. It is thus used in the Vājapeya sacrifice[17], in the ceremony of laying the sacrificial fire, and at the solstitial festival[18]. In post-Vedic mythology, moreover, one of the weapons of Viṣṇu is a wheel (*cakra*)[19].

Gold or a firebrand was employed as a symbol of the sun, when drawing water after sunset (ŚB. 3, 9, 2[9]); gold served the same purpose when the sacrificial fire was made up after sunset instead of before (ŚB. 12, 4, 4[6]); and in piling the fire-altar, a disc of gold was placed on it to represent the sun (ŚB. 7, 4, 1[10])[20].

A symbol must have been used, as at a later period, in the phallic worship which was known in the earliest Vedic period, as is shown by the occurrence in two passages of the word *śiśnádevāḥ*, 'those who have a phallus for their deity'. Such worship was, however, repugnant to the religious ideas of the RV.; for Indra is besought not to let the *śiśnadevāḥ* approach the sacrifice (7, 21[5]), and he is said to have slain the *śiśnadevāḥ*, when he won the treasure of the hundred-gated fort (10, 99[3]). In the post-Vedic period the phallus or *liṅga* became symbolical of Śiva's generative power and its worship is widely diffused in India even at the present day[21].

[1] HRI. 166. — [2] HRI. 135. — [3] Cp. ROTH, ZDMG. 25, 645—8. — [4] Cp. DARMESTETER, Haurvatāt et Ameretāt 74—6. — [5] ORV. 252; tree-worship also appears in the Sūtras, where a newly married couple are said to bring offerings to the *udumbara* and to invoke its blessing: WINTERNITZ, Hochzeitsrituell 101—2. — [6] ORV. 259—61. — [7] BRI. 37, note. — [8] HRI. 135. — [9] Cp. OLDENBERG, SBE. 46, 12. 253—5. — [10] Cp. ROTH, Nir. XXXVI, Erl. 117—8. 121—4; ASL. 463—6; WEBER, IS. 10, 89—95; GRV. 1, 6; KRV. n. 126; OLDENBERG, SBE. 46, 9—10. — [11] HVM. 1, 151. — [12] OST. 5, 396; SPH. 87—8. — [13] OST. 5, 398. — [14] ROTH, FaB. 99. — [15] The allusion to idols of Agni, seen in RV. 1, 145[4. 5] by BOLLENSEN (ZDMG. 47, 586), is inconclusive. — [16] WEBER, Omina und Portenta 337. 367 f.; IS. 5, 149; KRV. note 79 a; HRI. 251. — [17] WEBER, Vājapeya 20. 34 f. — [18] ORV. 88, note 4. — [19] V. BRADKE, ZDMG. 40, 356. — [20] ORV. 255—61. 87—92. — [21] V. SCHROEDER WZKM. 9, 237; HRI. 150.

VI. DEMONS AND FIENDS.

§ 67. A. Asuras. — Opposed to the beneficent gods is a body of malevolent beings called by various designations. Asura is throughout the Vedic literature the name of the celestial demons who are regarded as the regular adversaries of the gods in their mythical conflicts and who only rarely appear as present foes of men (e. g. AV. 8, 6[5]; KS. 87[16]; 88[1]). The term, however, occurs only a few times in the RV. with the later sense of demon. It is there found only four times in the plural with this meaning. Indra is invoked to scatter the godless Asuras (8, 85[9]). Otherwise they are only mentioned in the tenth book, always as opposed to the gods in general. The gods, it is said, smote the Asuras (10, 157[4]). Agni promises to devise a hymn by which the gods may vanquish the Asuras (10, 53[4]). The gods are even said to have placed faith in the formidable Asuras (10, 151[3]). The word also occurs three times as the designation of an individual demon. Bṛhaspati is besought to pierce with a burning stone the heroes of the wolfish Asura (2, 30[4]). Indra shattered the forts of the crafty Asura Pipru (10, 138[3]) and Indra-Viṣṇu smote the 100000 heroes of the Asura Varcin (7, 99[5]). The sense of 'demon' is also found in the epithet *asurahan*, 'Asura-slayer', which occurs three times and is applied to Indra (6, 22[4]), to Agni (7, 13[1]), and to the Sun (10, 170[2]). The older Rigvedic notion of the conflict of a single god with a single demon, mainly exemplified by Indra and Vṛtra, gradually developed into that of the gods and the Asuras in general being arrayed against each other in two hostile camps. This is the regular view of the Brāhmaṇas. A new and frequent feature of the conflicts constantly described in these works is that the gods are worsted at the outset and only win by artifice. The most notable illustration of this notion is the myth of Viṣṇu taking his three strides in the form of a dwarf on behalf of the gods[1].

In the Brāhmaṇas the Asuras are associated with darkness (ŚB. 2, 4, 2[5])[2]. Day belongs to the gods, night to the Asuras (TS. 1, 5, 9[2]). They are, however, constantly spoken of as being the offspring of Prajāpati and as having originally been equal to and like the gods[3]. It is perhaps for this reason that malignant spirits are sometimes included by the term *deva* (TS. 3, 5, 4[1]; AV. 3, 15[5]).

In the AV. and later *asura* means 'demon' only; but in the RV. the word is predominantly a designation of gods, and in the Avesta Ahura (= *asura*) is the name of the highest god. Thus the sense of 'god' is clearly the older. An attempt has been made to explain the transition from this meaning to that of 'devil', from national conflicts in consequence of which the Asuras or gods of extra-Vedic tribes became 'demons' to the Vedic Indian[4]. There is, however, no traditional evidence in support of this view. The explanation seems rather to be found in the following development within the Veda itself[5]. *Asura* as compared with *deva* has in its older sense a peculiar shade of meaning. It is especially applied to Varuṇa or Mitra-Varuṇa[6], whose *māyā* or 'occult power' is particularly dwelt upon[7]. But the word *māyā* in the sense of 'craft' is also applied to hostile beings[8] and is closely connected with the bad sense of *asura* (10, 124[5]. 138[3])[9]. To the Vedic poets *asura* must therefore have meant 'possessor of occult power'[10] and as such would have been potentially applicable to hostile beings. In one hymn of the RV. (10, 124) both senses seem to occur[11]. Towards the end of the Rigvedic period the application of the word to the gods began to fall into disuse. This tendency was perhaps aided by the want of a general word to

denote the higher hostile demoniac power and by an incipient popular etymology[12] recognising a negative in the word and leading to the invention of *sura*, 'god' (first found in the Upaniṣads)[13].

B. Paṇis. — A group of demons of the upper air, primarily the enemies of Indra (6, 20^{4}. 39^{2}), secondarily also of his allies Soma, Agni, Bṛhaspati, and the Aṅgirases, are the Paṇis. In nearly all the passages in which these demons are named, their cows are either expressly mentioned (10, 108; 6, 39^{2}) or alluded to as the treasure or wealth of the Paṇis (2, 24^{6}; 9, 111^{2}). There is a similar reference when Agni is said to have opened the doors of the Paṇis (7, 9^{2}). In one passage the gods are described as having found in the cow the ghee hidden by the Paṇis (4, 58^{4}). The Paṇis are comparatively powerful, for they are said to be surpassed in might by Indra (7, 56^{10}) and not to have attained to the greatness of Mitra-Varuṇa (1, 151^{9}).

The name occurs in the RV. about sixteen times in the plural, but is also found four times in the singular as representative of the group. Thus Indra or Agni-Soma are described as having robbed the cows from Paṇi (10, 67^{6}; 1, 93^{4}), or Soma is invoked to strike down the voracious Paṇi who is a wolf (6, 51^{14}).

The word *paṇi* occurs with considerably greater frequency, and here oftener as a singular than a plural, in the sense of 'niggard', especially with regard to sacrificial gifts. From this signification it developed the mythological meaning of demons similar to those who primarily withhold the treasures of heaven[14].

C. The word *dāsa* or its equivalent *dasyu*, is also used to designate atmospheric demons. Its history is the converse of that of Vṛtra (§ 68). Primarily signifying the dark aborigines of India contrasted with their fair Aryan conquerors, it frequently rises to mythological rank in the RV. as the line between what is historical and mythical is not clearly drawn. This is especially the case with individual Dāsas, some of whose names even (e. g. Suṣṇa) lend themselves to a mythological interpretation, though others seem to be those of non-Aryan men (e. g. Ilībiśa)[15].

Thus both the singular (2, 12^{10}, &c.) and (mostly of *dasyu*) the plural (1, 101^{5}) are frequently used to designate foes vanquished by Indra, sometimes beside the name of Vṛtra (6, 23^{2}, &c.). Hence Indra is sometimes called *dasyuhan*, 'Dasyu-slayer' (1, 100^{12}, &c.) and the combat is several times referred to as *dasyuhatya* (1, $51^{5.6}$, &c.). In favour of individual protégés Indra 'sent to sleep' (i. e. slew) 30000 Dāsas (4, 30^{21}), bound a thousand Dasyus (2, 13^{9}), or won cowstalls from the Dasyus for Dadhyañc (and) Mātariśvan (10, 48^{2}). When Indra's aid is invoked against both Ārya and Dāsa foes (10, 38^{3}, &c.) or when he is spoken of as discriminating between Āryas and Dasyus or Dāsas (1, 51^{8}; 10, 86^{19}), terrestrial foes are undoubtedly meant. This is probably also the case when Indra fights against the Dasyus in favour of the Āryas (6, 18^{3}. 25^{2}). Owing to the Dāsas being so frequently taken captive by the conquering Aryans, the word *dāsa* comes to be used two or three times in the RV. (7, 86^{7}; Vāl. 8^{3}) in the sense of 'servant', 'slave', its ordinary meaning in post-Vedic Sanskrit[16]. On the other hand, the Dasyus who endeavouring to scale heaven are cast down by Indra (8, 14^{14} cp. 2, 12^{12}), the Dasyu whom he burnt down from heaven (1, 33^{7}), whom he vanquished from birth (1, 51^{6}; 8, 66^{1-3}), or against whom he aids the gods (10, 54^{1}), must be demons. This is also the case, when Indra attacks the Dasyu, scattering the mist and darkness (10, 73^{5}), or wins the sun and the waters after slaying the Dasyus (1, 100^{18}), and when the gods and the Dasyus are contrasted as foes (3, 29^{9}). A demon must be meant

by the Dāsa who is the husband of the waters (1, 32^{11}; 5, 30^{5}; 8, 85^{18}), which by his victory Indra makes the wives of a noble husband (10, 43^{8}). The seven forts of the Dāsas, which, like those of Vṛtra (1, 174^{2}), are called autumnal (6, 20^{10} cp. 7, 103^{9}), are doubtless atmospheric.

As the words *dāsa* and *dasyu* primarily mean 'malignant foe' and then 'demon'[17], it seems convenient to render them by 'fiend'. They are frequently added as a generic term to the names of individual fiends combated by Indra, being most commonly thus applied to Namuci (5, 30^{7-9}, &c.), Śambara (4, 30^{14}, &c.), Suṣṇa (7, 19^{2}, &c.), sometimes to Pipru (8, 32^{2}; 10, 138^{3}), Cumuri and Dhuni (2, 15^{9}; 7, 19^{4}), Varcin (4, 30^{15}; 6, 47^{21}), Navavāstva (10, $49^{6.7}$), once to Tvāṣṭra (2, 11^{19}) and to the dragon Ahi (2, 11^{2}).

[1] MACDONELL, JRAS. 27, 168—77. — [2] HRL. 187. — [3] OST. 4, 52. 58—62; 5, 15. 18. 22. 230. — [4] Cp. BDA. 109. — [5] Otherwise BDA. 106. — [6] Op. cit. 120 ff. — [7] BRV. 3, 81 cp. GVS. 1, 142. — [8] BRV. 3, 80. — [9] AV. passim; cp. ORV. 164, note 2. — [10] ORV. 162—5; cp. DARMESTETER, Ormazd et Ahriman 269 f. The Indo-Iranian meaning was according to BDA. 86 'Herr' (lord). — [11] OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 39, 70, note 2. — [12] On the etymology cp. v. BRADKE, ZDMG. 40, 347—9. — [13] Cp. PW. s. v. *sura*. — [14] Cp ORV. 145; otherwise HVM. 1, 83 ff. — [15] Cp. WACKERNAGEL, Altindische Grammatik 1, XXII. — [16] Cp. 'Slave', originally = 'captive Slav'. — [17] Cp. AIL. 109—13.

§ 68. A. Vṛtra[1]. — Of the individual atmospheric demons by far the most important and the most frequently mentioned is Vṛtra, who is the chief adversary of Indra and for whose slaughter that deity is said to have been born or grown (8, 78^{5}; 10, 55). Hence the most distinctive epithet of Indra is *vṛtrahan*, 'Vṛtra-slayer'. This compound is analyzed in two passages of the RV.: 'May the Vṛtra-slayer slay Vṛtra' (8, 78^{3}) and 'Vṛtra-slayer, slay the Vṛtras' (8, 17^{9}). Indra's conflict with Vṛtra is also frequently referred to with *vṛtrahatya*, 'slaughter of Vṛtra' and sometimes with *vṛtratūrya*, 'conquest of Vṛtra'.

It has already been shown that Vṛtra is conceived as having the form of a serpent (§ 64). Hence he is without feet or hands (1, 32^{7}; 3, 30^{8})[2]. His head, which Indra pierces, is mentioned several times (1, 52^{10}; 8, 6^{6}. 65^{2}), as well as his jaws, into which Indra strikes his bolt (1, 52^{6}). His hissing or snorting is sometimes referred to (8, 85^{7}; 5, 29^{4} cp. 1, 52^{10}. 61^{10}; 6, 17^{10}). He has thunder at his disposal (1, 80^{12}), as well as lightning, mist, and hail (1, 32^{13}).

Vṛtra's mother is called Dānu and is compared with a cow (1, 32^{9}). This name seems to be identical with the word *dānu*, which is several times used as a neuter meaning 'stream' and once as a feminine to designate the waters of heaven[3]. The same term is applied as a masculine, apparently in the sense of a metronymic, to Vṛtra or the dragon (2, 12^{11}; 4, 30^{7}), as well as to the demon Aurṇavābha (2, 11^{18}), and to seven demons slain by Indra (10, 120^{6}). The regular metronymic Dānava is used five times to designate a demon combated by Indra and doubtless identical with Vṛtra. Indra cast down the wiles of the wily Dānava (2, 11^{10}), he struck down the snorting Dānava (5, 29^{4}), to release the waters (5, 32^{1}).

Vṛtra has a hidden (*niṇya*) abode, whence the waters, when released by Indra, escape overflowing the demon (1, 32^{10}). Vṛtra lies on the waters (1, 121^{11}; 2, 11^{19}) or enveloped by waters at the bottom (*budhna*) of the *rajas* or aerial space (1, 52^{6}). He is also described as lying on a summit (*sānu*), when Indra made the waters to flow (1, 80^{5}), or as having been cast down by Indra from lofty heights (8, 3^{19}). Vṛtra has fortresses, which Indra shatters when he slays him (10, 89^{7}) and which are ninety-nine in number (7, 19^{5}; 8, 82^{2}).

There can be no doubt that the word *vṛ-tra* is derived from the root *vṛ*, 'to cover or encompass'[4]. Poets several times speak of Vṛtra as having encompassed the waters, *apo varivāṃsam* (2, 14[2], &c.) or *vṛtvī* (1, 52[6]), or as being an encompasser of rivers, *nadī-vṛt* (1, 52[2]; 8, 12[26] cp. 6, 30[4]; 7, 21[3]). These are clearly allusions to the etymology of the name. There is also evidently a play on the derivation when it is said that Indra 'encompassed the encompasser', *vṛtram avṛṇot* (3, 43[3]), or that in slaying Vṛtra he uncovered (*apa vṛ*) the prison of the waters (1, 32[11]. 51[4]). A similar notion is implied in a passage in which the (cloud) mountain (*parvata*) is described as being within the belly of Vṛtra and Indra strikes the streams, placed in a covering (*vavri*), down declivities (cp. 1, 57[6]). Vṛtra is also said to be an encloser (*paridhi*) of the streams (3, 33[6]).

It has been shown above that Indra's epithet *vṛtrahan* was understood by the Vedic poets to mean not only 'slayer of Vṛtra' but also as 'slayer of Vṛtras'. This plural, which is of frequent occurrence in the RV. and is always neuter, sometimes appears in passages mentioning the names of various individual fiends (7, 19[4]; 10, 49[6]). The result of Indra's conflict with the Vṛtras is the release of the waters (7, 34[3]) or of the rivers (8, 85[18]) which are 'encompassed', *vṛtān* (4, 42[7]). It is the Vṛtras which, as well as the fiends, he is to smite as soon as born (6, 29[6]) and to destroy which he has been produced by the gods (3, 49[1]). With the bones of Dadhyañc he slew 99 Vṛtras (1, 84[13]) just as he shatters the ninety-nine forts of Vṛtra (7, 19[5]).

The term Vṛtras, which is regularly employed with the verb *han*, 'to slay', also refers to terrestrial foes, as when Āryas and Dāsas are distinguished as two kinds of Vṛtras (6, 22[10]. 33[3]). There are, moreover, many passages in which it is quite as applicable to human enemies as to celestial demons. Then, however, it does not mean simply 'enemy', which is *amitra* (= *inimicus*) or *śatru* (cp. 6, 73[2]), but is employed with a side-glance at the demon Vṛtra, much as the English word 'fiend' in its present use, when applied to men, is suggestive of 'devil'. This relation of meaning is the converse of that in *dāsa* or *dasyu*, which first meant 'foe' and then 'fiend'. The use of *vṛtra* in the plural, as it is then always neuter, can hardly be derived from a generalization of the proper name Vṛtra, but must be based on an earlier meaning such as 'obstruction', then 'obstructor'. In the Avesta *verethra* means 'victory', which is, however, a secondary development of 'obstruction'.

In the Brāhmaṇas Vṛtra is interpreted as the moon, which is swallowed by Indra identified with the sun, at new moon[5].

B. Vala[6]. This word occurs about twenty-four times in the RV. and is regularly connected with the release of the cows by Indra or his allies, especially the Aṅgirases (§ 54). Vala is a guardian of cows, whom Indra rent when he robbed Paṇi of his cows (10, 67[6] cp. 6, 39[2]). He laments for his cows when taken by Bṛhaspati (10, 68[10] cp. 67[6]). He has castles which were forced open by Indra (6, 18[15]), fences which were pierced by Indra (1, 52[5]), and an unbroken summit which was broken by Indra (6, 39[2]). The TS. (2, 1, 5[1]) speaks of Indra having opened the hole (*bila*) of Vala and cast out the best beast in it, a thousand others following. There are, however, several passages in which the word is still unpersonified. The primary meaning in these cases seems to have been 'covering' or 'cave' (from the root *vṛ*, to cover). Thus the word is twice (1, 62[4]; 4, 50[5]) used in apposition with *phaliga*, the receptacle of the (atmospheric) waters (8, 32[25]) and appears in the Naighaṇṭuka (1, 10) as a synonym of *megha*, 'cloud'. Indra is said to have driven out the cows and opened (*apa var*) the *vala* (2, 14[3]) or to have opened (*apāvar*) the aperture (cp. 1, 32[11]) of the *vala* containing

cows (1, 11[5]). The PB. (19, 7) speaks of the cave (*vala*) of the Asuras being closed with a stone. In several passages the word may have either the primary or the personified sense (1, 52[5]; 2, 12[3]; 3, 34[10]). It has probably the latter in Indra's epithet *valaṃruja*, 'breaker of Vala', which occurs immediately after *vṛtrakhāda*, 'destroyer of Vṛtra' (3, 45[2] cp. 2, 12[3]). The transition to the personified meaning appears in a passage (3, 30[10]) in which Vala is spoken of as the stable (*vraja*) of the cow and as having opened (*vi āra*) for fear before Indra strikes. That the personification is not fully developed, is indicated by the action of Indra and others, when they attack Vala, being generally expressed by *bhid*, 'to pierce', sometimes by *dṛ*, 'to cleave', or *ruj*, 'to break', but not (as in the case of Vṛtra) by *han*, 'to slay'. The connexion of the verb *bhid* with the name of Vala is preserved in *valabhid*, which is a frequent epithet of Indra in post-Vedic literature. Here Vala is regarded as the brother of Vṛtra, and the two are associated in Indra's compound epithet *vala-vṛtra-han*, 'Slayer of Vala and Vṛtra'.

C. Other demon foes of Indra. Arbuda is mentioned seven times (twice oxytone, five times proparoxytone) in the RV., always as an adversary of Indra. He is a wily beast, whose cows Indra drove out (8, 3[19]). Indra cast him down (2, 11[20]. 14[4] cp. 8, 32[3]), trod him down with his foot (1, 51[6]), pierced him with ice (8, 32[2]) or struck off his head (10, 67[12]). He is mentioned two or three times with Vṛtra (or Ahi) and appears to be cognate in nature to him[7].

Viśvarūpa[8], the son of Tvaṣṭṛ, is a three-headed demon slain by both Trita and Indra, who seize his cows (10, 8[8. 9]). He is mentioned simply by his patronymic Tvāṣṭra in two or three other passages, in which he is described as rich in horses and cattle (10, 76[3]) and is said to have been delivered over by Indra to Trita (2, 11[19]; cp. pp. 61. 67). In the TS. (2, 5, 1[1]) Viśvarūpa, though related to the Asuras, is spoken of as Purohita of the gods[9]. In the Mahābhārata (5, 22 f.) the three-heated son of Tvaṣṭṛ and Vṛtra are identical.

Svarbhānu[10] is a demoniac (*āsura*) being mentioned four times in one hymn of the RV. (5, 40). He is described as eclipsing the sun with darkness. Indra fought against his wiles and Atri put the eye of the sun (back) in heaven. This demon is also mentioned several times in the Brāhmaṇas. In post-Vedic mythology his place is taken by Rāhu. The name appears to mean 'withholding the light of the sun'.

Uraṇa, a demon slain by Indra and described as having ninety-nine arms, is mentioned only once (2, 14[4]).

[1] BREAL, Hercule 87—99; BRV. 2, 196—208; ORV. 135—6; ZDMG. 50, 665 f. — [2] Cp. Agni in 4, 1[11] cp. 2, 2[3]. — [3] BRV. 2, 220; cp. OLDENBERG, SBE. 46, 123; according to PW. and GW. the words are distinct. — [4] Cp. PERRY, JAOS. 11, 135; Vṛtra = 'Restrainer' HRI. 94. — [5] HRI. 197. — [6] PW.; GW. s. v. *vala*; BRV. 2, 319—21. — [7] Cp. GW. — [8] Cp. HVM. 1, 519. 531—2. — [9] Cp. OST. 5, 230—2. — [10] IS. 3, 164 f.; LRV. 5, 508; BRV. 2, 468; OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 42, 213; HVM. 1, 464. 507, n. 1; LANMAN, FaR. 187—90.

§ 69. Individual Dāsas. — A. Śuṣṇa[1]. This fiend, who is mentioned about forty times in the RV., is the chief enemy of Kutsa, for or with whom Indra vanquishes him (4, 16[12]; 5, 29[9], &c.). He is horned (1, 33[12]). He has eggs (8, 40[10. 11]), i. e. a brood (cp. 10, 22[11]), from which it may be inferred that he is a serpent. He is described as hissing (*śvasana*: 1, 54[5])[2]. He is six times spoken of as *aśuṣa*, a term which is otherwise only once applied to Agni and perhaps means 'devouring'[3]. He has strong forts (1, 51[11]) or a fort (4, 30[13]), which is moving (8, 1[28]). Indra releases the waters in shattering Śuṣṇa's forts (1, 51[11]), obtains the receptacle of waters (*krivi*) in smiting

Śuṣṇa (Vāl. 3[8]), or wins heavenly (*svarvatīḥ*) waters when he destroys the brood of Śuṣṇa (8, 40[10]). The name of Śuṣṇa is four times accompanied by the epithet *kuyava*, 'causing bad corn or harvest'. In the two passages in which this word is used independently as the name of a demon (1, 103[8]. 104[3]), it may refer to Śuṣṇa. The result of the conflict between Indra and Śuṣṇa is not always the release of the waters, but is also the finding of the cows (8, 85[17]), or the winning of the sun (cp. § 58). Śuṣṇa in his conflict with Indra moves in darkness, is a 'son of mist', *miho napāt*, and a Dānava (5, 32[4]). In the Kāṭhaka (IS. 3, 466) Śuṣṇa is called a Dānava who is in possession of the *amṛta*.

The above evidence seems to point to Śuṣṇa having been a demon of drought from the beginning rather than a reminiscence of some historical human foe. This view is supported by the etymological meaning which must be either 'hisser' (from the root *śvas*, *śuṣ*) or 'scorcher' (from *śuṣ*, 'to dry').

B. Śambara. The name of this fiend occurs about twenty times in the RV. He is mentioned along with others, chiefly Śuṣṇa, Pipru (1, 101[2]. 103[8]; 2, 19[6]; 6, 18[8]), and Varcin. Indra was re-inforced by the Maruts in the fight against the dragon and Śambara (3, 47[4]). Indra shook the summit of heaven when he cut down Śambara (1,54[4]). He found Śambara dwelling in the mountains (2, 12[11]) and struck him down from the mountain (1, 130[7]; 6, 26[5]). He struck down from the great mountain the Dāsa Śambara, the son of Kulitara (4, 30[14]). He struck down from the height Śambara, who thought himself a little god (7, 18[20]). Śambara is often said to have forts, ninety (1, 130[7]), generally ninety-nine (2, 19[6], &c.), or a hundred (2, 14[6], &c.). The word *śambara* once occurs in the neuter plural, meaning 'the forts of Śambara'[4]. These Bṛhaspati is said to have cleft and then to have entered the mountain rich in treasure (2, 24[2]). Indra vanquishes Śambara in the interest of Atithigva (1, 51[6]), but generally of Divodāsa (2, 19[6], &c.), and sometimes of both (1, 130[7]; 4, 26[3]). The two names are usually thought[5] to refer to the same person, but this is doubted by BERGAIGNE[6].

C. Pipru. This fiend, mentioned eleven times in the RV., is the enemy of Indra's protégé (Vāl. 1[10]) Ṛjiśvan, who offers Soma to Indra and is aided by him in the conflict (5, 29[11]; 10, 99[11]). Indra with Ṛjiśvan (1, 101[1. 2]; 10, 138[3]) or for him (4, 16[13]; 6, 20[7]) conquered Pipru. The fiend, who has the wiles of Ahi, possesses forts which are shattered by Indra (1, 51[5]; 6, 20[7]). When Indra slew the Dāsa Pipru as well as some other rarely mentioned beings, he shed the waters (8, 32[2]). When the sun unyoked his chariot in the midst of the sky, the Aryan found a match for the Dāsa: Indra acting with Rijiśvan, shattered the strong forts of the wily Asura Pipru (10, 138[3]). He delivered the wild beast (*mṛgaya*) Pipru to Ṛjiśvan, overthrew 50 000 blacks, and rent the forts (4, 16[13]). With Ṛjiśvan he drove out those who have a black brood[7] (1, 101[1]). Since Pipru is called an Asura as well as a Dāsa, it is doubtful whether he represents a human foe with a historical foundation, as some scholars think[8]. The name has the appearance of a Sanskrit word as a reduplicated derivative of the root *par* or *pṛ* (like *si-ṣṇ-u* from √*san*)[9], possibly meaning 'resister', 'antagonist'.

D. Namuci[10] is mentioned nine times in the RV. besides several times in the VS., TB., and ŚB. He once receives the epithet *āsura*, 'demoniac', in the RV. (10, 131[4]; ŚB. 12, 7, 1[10]) and is called an Asura in later Vedic texts. He is also spoken of as a Dāsa in three or four passages of the RV. (5, 30[7. 8], &c.) and once as 'wily' (1, 53[7]). In vanquishing Namuci Indra is twice associated with Namī Sāpya as his protégé (1, 53[7]; 6, 20[6]). Namuci is slain like several other demons (2, 14[5]; 7, 19[5]) or struck down (1, 53[7]) by

Indra. Indra destroyed a hundred castles, slaying Vṛtra and Namuci (7, 19^{5}). The characteristic feature about the conflict is that Indra twirls (√*math*) off the head of Namuci (5, 30^{8}; 6, 20^{6}), while he is said to pierce √*bhid*) that of Vṛtra. Otherwise Indra is described as having twisted (*vartaya*) the head of Namuci (5, 30^{7}) or to have twisted it off with the foam ofwater (8, 14^{13}). The Brāhmaṇas also refer to Indra's cutting off Namuci's head with the foam of the waters[11]. In one passage of the RV. (10. 131$^{4.5}$) Indra is described as having drunk wine beside the demoniac Namuci, when the Aśvins aided and Sarasvatī cured him (cp. p. 87).

The etymology of the name is according to Pāṇini (6, 3, 75) *na-muci*, 'not letting go'. In that case it would mean 'the demon withholding the waters'[12].

E. Dhuni and Cumuri[13]. The Dāsa Cumuri is mentioned six times, with one exception always along with Dhuni. The closeness of the association of these two is shown by their names once appearing as a dual compound (6, 20^{13}). Indra sent them to sleep (2, 15^{9}; 6, 20^{13}; 7, 19^{4}), the same being said of Cumuri alone (6, 26^{6}). Along with Śambara, Pipru, Śuṣṇa, they were crushed by Indra, so that their castles were destroyed (6, 18^{8}). They were sent to sleep or overcome by Indra (10, 113^{9}) in favour of Dabhīti, who pressed Soma for him (6, 20^{13}) and who was rewarded by the god for his faith (6, 26^{6}). Without any mention of the two fiends, Indra is also said to have sent to sleep for Dabhīti 30000 Dāsas (4, 30^{21}) and to have bound the Dasyus for him without cords (2, 13^{9}).

Dhuni means 'Roarer' (√*dhvan*), the word being frequently also used in the RV. as an adjective in the sense of 'roaring, raging'. Cumuri on the other hand looks like a borrowed aboriginal name[14].

F. Varcin and others. Varcin is mentioned four times, always with Śambara. He is called an Asura (7, 99^{5}), but he and Śambara together are termed Dāsas (6, 47^{21}). Indra is said to have shattered the hundred forts of Śambara and to have dispersed or slain the 100000 warriors of the Dāsa Varcin (2, 14^{6}; 4, 30^{15}). The name appears to mean 'shining', from *varcas*, 'brilliance'.

Several others, whose names occur only once, are mentioned, along with Vala, Śuṣṇa, Namuci and other fiends, as vanquished by Indra. Such are Dṛbhīka, Rudhikrā (2, 14$^{3.5}$), Anarśani[15], Sṛbinda (8, 32^{2}), and Ilībiśa (1, 33^{12}). They probably preserve a historical reminiscence of prominent terrestrial foes. For the last two of these names have an un-Aryan appearance; nor does it seem likely that original individual demons should have received names which do not designate a demoniac attribute like the appellations Vṛtra, Vala, and Śuṣṇa.

[1] KHF. 52 ff.; BRV. 2, 333—8; GVS. 2, 163 ff.; HVM. 1, 516; ORV. 155. 158—61. — [2] Cp. √*śvas* and *śvasatha* applied to Vṛtra. — [3] Cp. ORV. 159. — [4] Perhaps through the influence of the neut. pl. *vṛtrāṇi*. — [5] PW., GW., OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 42, 210. — [6] BRV. 2, 342—3. — [7] Acc. pl. fem.: = waters, GW. s. v. *kṛṣṇagarbha*. — [8] LRV. 3, 149; BDA. 95; ORV. 155. — [9] BRV. 2, 349, but with the sense of 'filler' or 'rescuer'. — [10] LRV. 5, 145; BRV. 2, 345—7; LANMAN, JAS. Bengal 58, 28—30; Sanskrit Reader 375b; BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. 15, 143—63; OLDENBERG, Göttinger Nachrichten 1893, 342—9; ORV. 161. — [11] BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. 15, 155—6. — [12] Cp. KUHN, KZ. 8, 80. — [13] BRV. 2, 350; ORV. 157. — [14] WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. 1, XXII. — [15] Cp. JOHANSSON, IF. 2, 45; PERRY, who treats of all the demons combated by Indra, JAOS. 11, 199—205.

§ 70. A. Rakṣases. — By far the most frequent generic name in the RV. for terrestrial demons or goblins[1], enemies of mankind, is *rakṣas*. It is mentioned (upwards of fifty times) both in the singular and plural, nearly always in connexion with a god, who is invoked to destroy or praised for

having destroyed these demons. In two hymns of the RV. (7, 104; 10, 87) which deal with the Rakṣases, the much less common terms *yātu* or *yātudhāna* (strictly speaking 'sorcerer')[2] alternate with, and in some verses appear to be used in the same sense as, *rakṣas*. As the latter word designates evil spirits in general (especially in the YV.), *rakṣas* here perhaps expresses the genus and *yātu* the species[3].

These demons have the form of dogs, vultures, owls, and other birds (7, 104.[20—22]). Becoming birds they fly about at night (ib.[18]). Assuming the form of a brother, husband, or lover, they approach women and desire to destroy their offspring (10, 162[5]). They also lie in wait for women in the shape of a dog or an ape (AV. 4, 37[11]). Thus they are dangerous during pregnancy and childbirth (AV. 8, 6). They prowl around the bride at weddings, and little staves are therefore shot into the air to pierce the eye of the Rakṣases (MGS. 1, 10). The AV. gives the most detailed account of the appearance of the Rakṣases. They have mostly human form, their head, eyes, heart, and other parts being mentioned; but they have frequently some kind of monstrous deformity, being three-headed, two-mouthed, bear-necked, four-eyed, five-footed, fingerless, with feet turned backwards, or with horns on their hands (AV. 8, 6; HGS. 2, 3[7]). Blue and yellow or green demons are also spoken of (AV. 19, 22[4. 5])[4]. They are further described as male and female, having families and even kings (AV. 5, 22[12]; HGS. 2, 3[7]); and they are mortal (AV. 6, 32[2] &.).

The Yātudhānas eat the flesh of men and horses, and drink up the milk of cows (10, 87[16. 17]). In order to satisfy their greed for flesh and blood the Rakṣases attack men, usually by entering them. Agni is besought not to let the Rakṣas enter (*ā viś*) into his worshippers (8, 49[20]), and the AV. describes a demon of disease, which flies about, as entering into a man (AV. 7, 76[4]). These evil spirits seem chiefly to have been regarded as entering by the mouth, especially in the process of eating and drinking (AV. 5, 29[6—8]), but also by other entrances (AV. 8, 6[3]). When once within they eat and lacerate a man's flesh and cause disease (AV. 5, 29[5. 10]). The Rakṣases are also said to produce madness and take away the power of eloquence (AV. 6, 111[3]; HGS. 1, 15[5]). Human dwellings are invaded by them (KS. 135[9]). Some of these spirits are described as dancing round houses in the evening, braying like donkeys, making a noise in the forest, laughing aloud, or drinking out of skulls (AV. 8, 6[10. 11. 14]; HGS. 2, 3[7]).

The time of the Rakṣases is the evening or night (7, 104[18]).[5] In the east they have no power, because they are dispersed by the rising sun (TS. 2, 6, 6[3]). A falling meteor is regarded as an embodiment of a Rakṣas (KS. 126[9]). It is especially the dark time of new moon that belongs to evil spirits, as to the souls of the dead (AV. 1, 16[1]; 4, 36[3]).

The sacrifice is peculiarly exposed to their attacks. Thus the RV. speaks of Rakṣases that have produced taints in the divine sacrifice and of Yātus that throw the offering into confusion (7, 104[18. 21]). They are haters of prayer (10, 182[3]). Agni is besought to burn them in order to protect the sacrifice from curse (1, 76[3]). The AV. contains a spell meant to nullify the sacrifice of an enemy through the wiles of Yātudhānas and of the Rakṣas (AV. 7, 70[2]). These evil spirits also obtrude themselves at the sacrifice to the dead in the form of the souls of ancestors (AV. 18, 2[28] cp. VS. 2, 29)[6]. In post-Vedic literature this notion of the Rakṣases (there often also called *rākṣasa*) disturbing the sacrifice is still familiar.

Agni, being the dispeller of darkness as well as the officiator at the sacrifice, is naturally the god who is oftenest opposed to them and who is

frequently invoked to burn, ward off or destroy them (10, 87[3-6], &c.)[7]. In this capacity he (as well as some other deities) receives the epithet of *rakṣohan*, 'Rakṣas-slayer'.

These evil spirits injure not only spontaneously but also at the instigation of men. Thus the RV. speaks of the 'yoker of Rakṣases', *rakṣoyuj* (6, 62[9]), and refers to the Rakṣas and the Yātu of sorcerers (7, 104[23]; 8, 60[20]). One suffering from hostile sorcery drives away the Rakṣases by sacrificing to Agni Yaviṣṭha (TS. 2, 2, 3[2]), and in a hymn of the AV. (2, 24) demons are called upon to devour him who sent them.

As a designation of demons *rakṣas* is both masculine as an oxytone and neuter as paroxytone (in the latter case meaning also 'injury'). It may be derived from the root *rakṣ* to injure[8], which occurs in only one verbal form in the AV. (cp. also *ṛkṣa*, 'injurious'). It is, however, possibly connected with the ordinary root *rakṣ* to protect[9]. In this case it must have meant 'that which is to be warded off'. BERGAIGNE, however, thinks it may originally have signified (avaricious) 'guardian' of celestial treasure.

B. Piśācas. A third and important class of goblins are the Piśācas. The name occurs only once in the RV. as a singular in the form of *piśāci* (1, 133[5]). Indra is here invoked to crush the yellow-peaked (*piśaṅgabhṛṣṭim*) watery (*ambhṛṇam*) Piśāci and to strike down every Rakṣas. In the TS. (2, 4, 1[1]) the three hostile groups of Asuras, Rakṣases, and Piśācas are opposed to the three classes of gods, men, and Pitṛs. The Piśācas would therefore seem to have been specially connected with the dead. They are frequently spoken of as *kravyād*, eaters of raw flesh or corpses (AV. 5, 29[9] &c.), a term which may be regarded as a synonym of Piśāca[10]. Agni is besought to restore to the sick man the flesh which the Piśācas have eaten away (AV. 5, 29[5]). They were thus apparently a kind of ghoul. Piśācas are also spoken of as shining in water (AV. 4, 20[9]. 37[10])[11], or infesting human dwellings and villages (AV. 4, 36[8]).

A lesser group of demons, mentioned about a dozen times in the RV. and frequently in later Vedic texts, are the Arātis[12], a personification of illiberality (*a-rāti*) and, owing to the gender of the word, always feminine. A group of 'injurious' demons, the Druhs, both male and female, is referred to about twelve times in the RV. They are Indo-Iranian, their name occurring in the Avesta as *druj* (§ 5, p. 8).

Goblins of various kinds are usually conceived as forming an indefinite crowd, but are sometimes thought of as pairs. The latter constitute a class named Kimīdin, already mentioned in the RV. (7, 104[23]; 10, 87[24])[13].

The nature of the spirits which surround the everyday life of man consists in injury, and that of their various species in a particular kind of injury usually indicated by their names. They are as a whole unconnected with phenomena or forces of nature, seeming partly at least to be derived from the spirits of dead enemies[14]. Less personal than the demons mentioned above and probably due to a more advanced order of thought, are the hostile powers which are conceived as a kind of impalpable substance of disease, childlessness, guilt, and so forth, which flying about in the air produce infection, and to deflect which to enemies is one of the chief tasks of sorcery[15].

Some of these terrestrial spirits are, however, not injurious, but are regarded as helping at the harvest or weaving long life for the bride, while others, with Arbudi at their head, assist in battle by striking terror into the foe (AV. 3,24. 25[1]; 14, 1[45]; 11, 9[12]).

[1] BRV. 2, 216—19; ORV. 262—73. — [2] *Yātu* in the Avesta = 'sorcery' and 'sorcerer': SP.AP. 218—22. — [3] Cp. ORV. 263, note 1. — [4] HOPKINS, AJP. 1883,

p. 178. — 5 ORV. 269. — 6 Cp. CALAND, Altindischer Ahnencult, Leiden 1893, p. 3. 4. — 7 Cp. HILLEBRANDT, ZDMG. 33, 248—51. — 8 PW., GW. — 9 Cp. BRV. 2, 218; WHITNEY, Sanskrit Roots, s. v. *rakṣ* — 10 ORV. 264 note. — 11 Cp. ROTH, FaB. 97—8. — 12 Cp. HILLEBRANDT, l. c. — 13 WEBER, IS. 13, 183 ff. — 14 ORV. 60—2; cp. ROTH, FaB. 98. — 15 Cp. RV. 10, 103[12]; KS. 14, 22; IS. 17, 269.

VII. ESCHATOLOGY.

§ 71. Disposal of the Dead. — In the Vedic hymns there is little reference to death. When the seers mention it, they generally express a desire that it should overtake their enemies, while for themselves they wish long life on earth. It is chiefly at funerals that the future life engages their thoughts. Burial and cremation were concurrent. One hymn of the RV. (10, 16) describes a funeral by burning, and part of another (10, 18[10—13])[1], one by burial. The 'house of clay' is also once spoken of (7, 89[1]). Fathers burnt with fire and those not burnt with fire (i. e. buried) are referred to (10, 15[14]; AV. 18, 2[34]). But cremation was the usual way for the dead to reach the next world. The later ritual (cp. AGS. 4, 1) practically knew only this method; for besides the bones and ashes of adults, only young children and ascetics were buried[2].

With the rite of cremation therefore the mythology of the future life was specially connected. Agni takes the corpse to the other world, the fathers, and the gods (10, 16[1—4]. 17[3]). He places the mortal in the highest immortality (1, 31[7]). Through Agni, the divine bird, men go to the highest place of the sun, to the highest heaven, to the world of the righteous, whither the ancient, earliest-born seers have gone (VS. 18, 51—2). Agni Gārhapatya conducts the dead man to the world of righteousness (AV. 6, 120[1]). Agni burns his body and then places him in the world of the righteous (AV. 18, 3[71]). The Agni that devours the body (*kravyād*) is distinguished from the Agni that takes the offering to the gods (10, 16[9]). Agni is besought to preserve the corpse intact and to burn the goat (*aja*)[3] which is his portion (10, 16[4]). A goat is also immolated with the sacrificial horse to go before, as the first portion for Pūṣan, and announce the offering to the gods ere it reaches the highest abode (1, 162[2. 4]. 163[12. 13]). In the ritual (AGS. 4. 2; KSS. 25, 7[19]) the corpse is laid on the skin of a black goat, and when an animal is sacrificed, it is a cow or a goat[5]. During the cremation Agni and Soma are also prayed to heal any injury that bird, beast, ant, or serpent may have inflicted on it (10, 16[6]).

The dead man was supposed to go with the smoke to the heavenly world (AGS. 4, 4[7])[6]. The way thither is a distant path on which Pūṣan protects and Savitṛ conducts the dead (10, 17[4]). The sacrificial goat which precedes and announces the deceased to the fathers, passes through a gulf of thick darkness before reaching the third vault of heaven (AV. 9, 5[1. 3]; cp. 8, 1[8]).

The dead man was provided with ornaments and clothing for use in the next life, the object of the custom being still understood in the Veda (AV. 18, 4[31]). Traces even survive (RV. 10, 18[8. 9]) which indicate that his widow and his weapons were once burnt with the body of the husband[7]. A bundle of faggots (*kūḍī*) was attached to the corpse of the departed to wipe out his track and thus to hinder death from finding its way back to the world of the living (AV. 5, 19[12] cp. RV. 10, 18[2]. 97[16])[8].

1 ROTH, ZDMG. 8, 467—75; cp. BRI. 23—4; v. SCHROEDER, WZKM. 9, 112—3; HOPKINS, PAOS. 1894, p. CLIII; CALAND, Die altindischen Todten- und Bestattungs-

gebräuche, Amsterdam 1896, § 49—50. — [2] Roth, ZDMG. 9, 471; Max Müller, ibid. I—LXXXII; HRI. 271—3. — [3] *Aja* is by some taken to mean the 'unborn' (*a-ja*) part. — [4] Hillebrandt, ZDMG. 37, 521. — [5] MM., ZDMG. 9, IV. V. XXX. XXXII. — [6] Cp. Chānd. Up. 5, 10 3; Bṛhadār. Up. 6, 1 19. — [7] Weber, IStr. 1, 66; Hillebrandt, ZDMG. 40, 711; ORV. 586—7. — [8] Roth, FaB. 98—9; Bloomfield, AJP. 11, 355; 12, 416.

§ 72. The Soul. — Fire or the grave are believed to destroy the body only. But the real personality of the deceased is regarded as imperishable. This Vedic conception is based on the primitive belief that the soul was capable of separation from the body, even during unconsciousness, and of continued existence after death. Thus in a whole hymn (10, 58), the soul (*manas*) of one who is lying apparently dead is besought to return from the distance where it is wandering. There is no indication in the Vedas of the later doctrine of transmigration; but in a Brāhmaṇa the statement occurs that those who do not perform rites with correct knowledge, are born again after their decease and repeatedly become the food of death (ŚB. 10, 4, 3^{10}). Besides *prāṇa*, 'respiration', and *ātman*, 'breath' (several times the express parallel of *vāta*, 'wind'), the usual terms denoting the animating principle are *asu*, 'spirit', expressing physical vitality (1, 113^{16}. 140^{8}), even of animals (AB. 2, 6), and *manas*, 'soul', as the seat of thought and emotion, which already in the RV. (8, 89^{5}) seems to be regarded as dwelling in the heart (*hṛd*)[1]. Many passages, especially in the AV., show that life and death depend on the continuance or departure of *asu* or *manas*; and the terms *asunīti*, *asunīta*, 'spirit-leading' refer to the conduct by Agni of the souls of the dead on the path between this and the other world (10, 15^{4}. 16^{2})[2]. Funeral ritual texts never invoke the *asu* or *manas* of the deceased, but only the individual himself as 'father', 'grandfather', and so forth. Hence the soul is not a mere shadow, but is regarded as retaining its personal identity. Though men obtain immortality only after parting from the body (ŚB. 10, 4, 3^{9}), the corpse plays an important part in the myth of the future state, which is corporeal. For the body shares in the existence of the other world (10, 16^{5}; AV. 18, 2^{26}). A body, however, from which all imperfections are absent (AV. 6, 120^{3}), can hardly have been regarded as a gross material body, but rather as one refined by the power of Agni (cp. 10, 16^{6}), something like the 'subtile' body of later Indian speculation. An indication of the importance of the corpse in connexion with the future life, is the fact that the loss of a dead man's bones, which according to the Sūtras were collected after cremation, was a severe punishment (ŚB. 11, 6, 3^{11}; 14, 6, 9^{28}). In one passage of the RV. (10, 16^{3}) the eye of the dead man is called upon to go to the sun and his breath (*ātmā*) to the wind. But this notion, occurring in the midst of verses which refer to Agni as conducting the deceased to the other world, can only be an incidental fancy, suggested perhaps by the speculations about Puruṣa (10, 90^{13}), where the eye of the latter becomes the sun and his breath the wind. In the same passage (also in 10, 58^{7}) the soul is spoken of as going to the waters or the plants, a conception which perhaps contains the germ of the theory of metempsychosis[3].

Proceeding by the path which the fathers trod (10, 14^{7}), the spirit of the deceased goes to the realm of eternal light (9, 113^{7}), being invested with lustre like that of the gods (AV. 11, 1^{37}), in a car or on wings (AV. 4, 34^{4}), on the wings with which Agni slays the Rakṣases (VS. 18, 52). Wafted upward by the Maruts, fanned by soft breezes, cooled by showers, he recovers his ancient body in a complete form (AV. 18, 2^{21-6}), and glorified meets with the fathers who revel with Yama in the highest heaven (10, $14^{8.10}$. $154^{4.5}$). This is spoken of as a return home (*astam*: 10, 14^{8}). From Yama he

obtains a resting place (10, 14⁹), when recognized by Yama as his own (AV. 18, 2³⁷).

According to the Ś́B., the ordinary belief is that the dead leaving this world pass between two fires, which burn the wicked but let the good go by[4]. The latter proceed either by the path leading to the Fathers or by that leading to the sun (ŚB. 1, 9, 3², &c.)[5]. In the Upaniṣads there are two paths for those who know the Absolute, the one (as a consequence of complete knowledge) leading to Brahma, the other to the world of heaven, whence after the fruit of good works has been exhausted, the spirit returns to earth for rebirth. Those ignorant of the 'Self', on the other hand, go to the dark world of evil spirits or are reborn on earth like the wicked[6].

[1] ORV. 525. — [2] The AV. is already acquainted with the breaths or vital airs familiar to post-Vedic literature: HRI. 153. — [3] BRI. 23. — [4] Cp. KUHN, KZ. 2, 318. — [5] WEBER, ZDMG. 9, 237; IStr. 1, 20—1; OST. 5, 314—5; SVL. 121; HRI. 206. — [6] HRI. 227.

§ 73. Heaven. — The abode where the Fathers and Yama dwell, is situated in the midst of the sky (10, 15¹⁴), in the highest heaven (10, 14⁸), in the third heaven, the inmost recess of the sky, where is eternal light (9, 113⁷⁻⁹). The AV. also speaks of it as the highest (11, 4¹¹), luminous world (4, 34²), the ridge of the firmament (18, 2⁴⁷), the third firmament (9, 5¹·⁸; 18, 4³), and the third heaven (18, 2⁴⁸). In the MS. (1, 10¹⁸; 2, 3⁹) the abode of the Fathers is said to be the third world[1]. The abode of the Fathers is in the RV. also spoken of as the highest point of the sun (9, 113⁹). The Fathers are united with or guard the sun (10, 107². 154⁵), or are connected with the rays of the sun (1, 109⁷; cp. ŚB. 1, 9, 3¹⁰)[2], and suns shine for them in heaven (1, 125⁶). They are connected with the step of Viṣṇu (10, 15³), and pious men are said to rejoice in the dear abode, the highest step of Viṣṇu (1, 154⁵). As Viṣṇu took his three steps to where the gods are exhilerated[3], so the sun follows the Dawn to where pious men offer sacrifice[4].

Stars are also said to be the lights of virtuous men who go to the heavenly world (TS. 5, 4, 1³; ŚB. 6, 5, 4⁸), and ancient men, especially the seven Ṛṣis, besides Atri and Agastya, are said to have been raised to the stars (TA. 1, 11, 1²)[5].

The RV. mentions a tree beside which Yama drinks with the gods (10, 135¹). This according to the AV. (5, 4³) is a fig-tree where the gods abide in the third heaven (no mention being made of Yama).

[1] PVS. 1, 211. — [2] JAOS. 16, 27. — [3] Cp. MACDONELL, JRAS. 27, 172. — [4] WINDISCH, FaB. 118. — [5] WEBER, Nakṣatra 2, 269; KRV. note 286.

§ 74. The most distinct and prominent references to the future life are in the ninth and tenth books of the RV., but it is also sometimes referred to in the first. Heaven is regarded as the reward of those who practise rigorous penance (*tapas*), of heroes who risk their lives in battle (10, 154²⁻⁵), but above all of those who bestow liberal sacrificial gifts (ib.³; 1, 125⁵; 10, 107²). The AV. is full of references to the blessings accruing to the latter.

In heaven the deceased enter upon a delectable life (10, 14⁸. 15¹⁴. 16²·⁵), in which all desires are fulfilled (9, 113⁹·¹¹), and which is passed among the gods (10, 14¹⁴), particularly in the presence of the two kings Yama and Varuṇa (10, 14⁷). There they unswervingly overcome old age (10, 27²¹). Uniting with a glorious body they are dear and welcome to the gods (10, 14⁸. 16⁵. 56¹). There they see father, mother, and sons (AV. 6, 120³), and unite with wives and children (AV. 12, 3¹⁷). The life is free from imperfections and bodily frailties (10, 14⁸; AV. 6, 120³). Sickness is left behind

and limbs are not lame or crooked (AV. 3, 28[5]). It is often said in the AV. and ŚB. that the deceased are in that world complete in body and limbs[1].

The dead are in the RV. often spoken of in general terms (*madanti, mādayante*) as enjoying bliss (10, 14[10]. 15[14], &c.). The most detailed account of the joys of the life in heaven is given in RV. 9, 113[7–11]. There are eternal light and swift waters; there movement is unrestrained (cp. TB. 3, 12, 2[9]); there is spirit food and satiety; there joy, glee, gladness, and the fulfilment of all desires. The joys here indefinitely referred to, are later explained to be those of love (TB. 2, 4, 6[6] cp. ŚB. 10, 4, 4[4]); and the AV. (4, 34[2]) states that in the heavenly world there is abundance of sexual gratification. According to the ŚB. the joys of the Blest are a hundred times as great as the highest on earth (14, 7, 1[32–3]). In the heaven of the Blest, the RV. further says, the sound of the flute and of songs is heard (10, 135[7])[2]; Soma, ghee, and honey flow for them (10, 154[1]). There are ponds filled with ghee and streams flowing with milk, honey, and wine (AV. 4, 34[5.6]; ŚB. 11, 5, 6[4]). There are at hand bright, many-coloured cows yielding all desires (*kāmadughāḥ*: AV. 4, 34[8]). There are neither rich nor poor, neither powerful nor oppressed (AV. 3, 29[3]). To the celestial life of the Blest in the Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas corresponds in the Upaniṣads the lower and transient bliss of the heaven of the gods which is followed by rebirth, only those who know the truth attaining to immortality and the changeless joy of unending peace by absorption into the world-soul[3]. Thus the life of the righteous dead in heaven was clearly regarded as one of indolent, material bliss, in which freed from all frailties they were united with the gods, and which was devoted to music, drinking, and sensual joys (such as the gods themselves are occasionally alluded to as indulging in: cp. 3, 53[6]).

Heaven is a glorified world of material joys as pictured by the imagination not of warriors but of priests[4]. It is the world of the righteous (10, 16[4]), where righteous and godly men, familiar with rites (*ṛta*) dwell in bliss[5]. There they are united with what they have sacrificed and given (*iṣṭāpūrta*)[6], especially reaping the reward of their pious gifts to priests (10, 154[3] &c.)[7]. In the Brāhmaṇas it is said that those who sacrifice properly above all attain union and identity of abode with the sun (*āditya*) and with Agni, but also with Vāyu, Indra, Varuṇa, Bṛhaspati, Prajāpati and Brahmā (ŚB. 2, 6, 4[8]; 11, 4, 4[21]. 6, 2[2.3]; TB. 3, 10, 11[6]). A certain sage is described as having through his knowledge become a golden swan, gone to heaven, and obtained union with the sun TB. (3, 10, 9[11]). In the TS. (6, 6, 9[2]) the notion occurs that a man by the performance of certain rites can reach heaven without dying (*jīvan*)[8].

One who reads the Veda in a particular way is said to be freed from dying again and to attain identity of nature (*sātmatā*) with Brahmā (ŚB. 10, 5, 6[9]). As a reward for knowing a certain mystery a man is born again, in this world (ŚB. 1, 5, 3[14]). Thus we have in the ŚB. the beginnings of the doctrine of retribution and transmigration. That doctrine (as well as the doctrine of hell) is not only to be found in the earliest Sūtras[9], but appears fully developed in the later Brāhmaṇa period, that is to say, in the oldest Upaniṣads, the Chāndogya, the Bṛhadāraṇyaka, and especially the Kaṭha Upaniṣad[10]. In the latter Upaniṣad the story is related of Naciketas, who pays a visit to the realm of Death and is told by the latter, that those who have not sufficient merit for heaven and immortality, fall again and again into the power of death and enter upon the cycle of existence (*saṃsāra*), being born again and again with a body or as a stationary object. He who

controls himself reaches Viṣṇu's highest place. On the other hand, there is no hell for those not found worthy[11].

[1] References in OST. 5, 315; cp. AIL. 411; HRI. 205. — [2] At the sacrifice to the Manes music was performed, lutes (*vīṇā*) being played (KS. 84, 8). — [3] HRI. 239. — [4] ORV. 532. — [5] 1, 115[2]. 154[5]; 10, 15[1]. 17[4]. 154[2–5]; AV. 6, 95[1]. 120[3]; VS. 15, 50. — [6] WINDISCH, FaB. 115—8. — [7] For references to the same idea in the AV. see OST. 5, 293, note 433; cp. IStr. 1, 20 ff. — [8] WEBER, ZDMG. 9, 237 ff.; OST. 5, 317; HRI. 204. — [9] HRI. 175. — [10] HRI. 145, note 4; cp. v. SCHROEDER, Indiens Litt. u. Kultur 245; GARBE in this encyclopedia 3, 4, p. 15. — [11] Origin of the myth, TB. 3, 11[8]; cp. SVL. 10, n. 1; BRI. 78.

§ 75. Hell. — If in the opinion of the composers of the RV. the virtuous received their reward in the future life, it is natural that they should have believed at least in some kind of abode, if not in future punishment,[1] for the wicked, as is the case in the Avesta[2]. As far as the AV. and the Kaṭha Upaniṣad are concerned, the belief in hell is beyond doubt. The AV. (2, 14[3]; 5, 19[3]) speaks of the house below, the abode of female goblins and sorceresses, called *nāraka loka*[3], in contrast with *svarga loka*, the heavenly world, the realm of Yama (12, 4[36]). To this hell the murderer is consigned (VS. 30, 5). It is in the AV. several times described as 'lowest darkness' (8, 2[24] &c.), as well as 'black darkness' (5, 30[11]) and 'blind darkness' (18, 3[3]). The torments of hell are also once described in the AV. (5, 19) and with greater detail in the ŚB. (11, 6, 1)[4]; for it is not till the period of the Brāhmaṇas that the notion of future punishment appears plainly developed[5]. The same Brāhmaṇa further states that every one is born again after death and is weighed in a balance[6], receiving reward or punishment according as his works are good or bad (ŚB 11, 2, 7[33]; cp. 12, 9, 1[1]). This idea is also Iranian.[7] ROTH[8] favours the view that the religion of the RV. knows nothing of hell, the wicked being supposed to be annihilated by death. Evidence of the belief in some kind of hell is, however, not altogether wanting in the RV. Thus, 'this deep place' is said to have been produced for those who are evil, false, and untrue (4, 5[5]). Indra-Soma are besought to 'dash the evil-doers into the abyss (*vavre*), into bottomless darkness, so that not even one of them may get out' (7, 104[3]); and the poet prays that 'she (the demoness) who malignantly wanders about like an owl concealing herself, may fall into the endless abysses' (ib. [17]), and that the enemy and robber may lie below all the three earths (ib. [11]). But such references are few and the evidence cannot be said to go beyond showing belief in a hell as an underground darkness. The thoughts of the poets of the RV., intent on the happiness of this earth, appear to have rarely dwelt on the joys of the next life, still less on its possible punishments[9]. The doctrine of the Brāhmaṇas is that after death, all, both good and bad, are born again in the next world and are recompensed according to their deeds (ŚB. 6, 2, 2[27]; 10, 6, 3[1]), but nothing is said as to the eternity of reward or punishment[10]. The notion also occurs there that those who do not rightly understand and practise the rites of sacrifice, depart to the next world before the natural term of their terrestrial life (ŚB. 11, 2, 7[33]).

The idea of a formal judgment to which all the dead must submit, seems hardly traceable to the Vedic period. One or two passages of the RV. in which reference to it has been found[11], are too indefinite to justify such an interpretation. In the TA. (6, 5[13]) it is said that the truthful and untruthful are separated before Yama, but that he acts in the capacity of a judge, is not implied[12].

That the belief in a hell goes back even to the Indo-European period, has been argued by WEBER[13] on the strength of the equation Bhṛgu = φλεγύαι[14]

and the fact that the former is described in the ŚB. as sent by his father Varuṇa for pride to see the tortures of hell, and the latter are condemned for pride to undergo severe tortures in hell. But the similarity of the two legends is probably only a coincidence, as belief in the torments of hell seems to be a later development in India[15].

[1] ZIMMER and SCHERMAN, but HOPKINS considers this conclusion pedantic. — [2] ROTH, JAOS. 3, 345; GELDNER, FaW. 22, thinks that hell is directly referred to in RV. 10, 10^{6} by the word *vīci*. — [3] *Naraka* in AV. and Brāhmaṇas: WHITNEY, JAOS. 13, CIV. — [4] WEBER, ZDMG. 9, 240 ff. — [5] HRI. 175. — [6] WEBER, ZDMG. 9, 238; OST. 5, 314—5. — [7] JACKSON, Trans. of the 10th Or. Congress 2, 67—73. — [8] ROTH, JAOS. 3, 329—47; cp. also WEBER, ZDMG. 9, 238 f. — [9] Cp. AIL. 418 ff.; SCHERMAN, Romanische Forschungen 5, 569 ff.; SVL. 122 ff.; KRV. n. 287 a; ORV. 538 ff.; HRI. 147. — [10] WEBER, ZDMG. 9, 237—43. — [11] SVL. 152—3. — [12] ORV. 541—2. — [13] ZDMG. 9, 242. — [14] KHF. 23; WVB. 1894, p. 3. — [15] Cp. Jaiminīya Br. ed. BURNELL 1, 42—4; OERTEL, JAOS. 15, 234—8; SVL. 5—8; SPIEGEL, Eranische Altertumskunde 1, 458; HRI. 206.

§ 76. **The Pitṛs.** — The blessed dead who dwell in the third heaven are called Pitṛs or Fathers. By this term are generally meant the early or first ancestors (10, $15^{8.10}$), who followed the ancient paths, seers who made the paths by which the recent dead go to join them (10, $14^{2.7.15}$). They are connected with the (third) step of Viṣṇu (10, 15^{3} cp. 1, 154^{5}). Two hymns of the RV. are devoted to their praise (10, 15. 54).

Their different races are mentioned by name as Navagvas, Vairūpas, Aṅgirases, Atharvans, Bhṛgus, Vasiṣṭhas (10, 14^{4-6}. 15^{8}), the last four being identical with the names of priestly families, to whom tradition attributed the composition of the AV.[1] and of books II and VII of the RV. Among these the Aṅgirases are particularly associated with Yama (10, $14^{3.5}$). The Pitṛs are spoken of as lower, higher, and middle, as earlier and later, and though not all known to their descendants, they are known to Agni (10, $15^{1.2.13}$). The AV. speaks of the Pitṛs as inhabiting air, earth, and heaven (AV. 18, 2^{49} cp. RV. 10, 15^{2}).

The ancient fathers themselves once offered the Soma libation (10, 15^{8}). They revel with Yama (10, 14^{10} cp. 135^{1}; AV. 18, 4^{10}), and feast with the gods (7, 76^{4}). Leading the same life as the gods, they receive almost divine honours. They come on the same car as Indra and the gods (10, 15^{10}). They are fond of Soma (*somya*: 10, $15^{1.5}$ &c.) and sitting on the sacrificial grass to the south, they drink the pressed draught (ib.$^{5.6}$). They thirst for the libations prepared for them on earth, and are invited to come with Yama, his father Vivasvat, and Agni, and to eat the offerings along with Yama (ib. $^{8-11}$. $14^{4.5}$). Arriving in thousands they range themselves in order on the sacrificial ground (10, $15^{10.11}$). When the Pitṛs come to the sacrifice, evil spirits sometimes intrude into their society in the guise of friends according to the AV. (18, 2^{28}).

The Fathers receive oblations as their food, which in one passage (10, 14^{3}) is referred to with the term *svadhā* as contrasted with *svāhā*, the call to the gods[2]; so too in the later ritual the portion of the gods at the daily pressings was strictly distinguished from that of the Pitṛs (ŚB. 4, 4, 22). They receive worship, are entreated to hear, intercede for and protect their votaries, and invoked not to injure their descendants for any sin humanly committed against them (10, $15^{2.5.6}$ cp. 3, 55^{2}). Their favour is implored along with that of the dawns, streams, mountains, heaven and earth, Pūṣan and the Ṛbhus (6, 52^{4}. 75^{10}; 7, 35^{12}; 1, 106^{3}). They are besought to give riches, offspring, and long life to their sons (10, $15^{7.11}$; AV. 18, 3^{14}. 4^{62}), who desire to be in their good graces (10, 14^{6}). The Vasiṣṭhas collec-

tively are called upon to help their descendants (7, 33[1] cp. 10, 15[8]); and individual ancestors, as Turvaśa, Yadu, and Ugrādeva, are invoked (1, 36[18]).

The Fathers are immortal (AV. 6, 41[3]) and are even spoken of as gods (10, 56[4])[3]. In the Aṅgirases and similar groups the divine character is combined with that of ancient priests. Cosmical actions like those of the gods are sometimes attributed to the Fathers. Thus they are said to have adorned the sky with stars and placed darkness in the night and light in the day (10, 68[11]), to have found the hidden light and generated the dawn (7, 76[4] cp. 10, 107[1]), and in concert with Soma to have extended heaven and earth (8, 48[13]).

Just as the corpse-devouring Agni is distinguished from the Agni who wafts the sacrifice to the gods (10, 16[9]), so the path of the Fathers is distinguished from that of the gods (10, 2[7]. 18[1] cp. 88[15])[4]. Similarly in the ŚB. the heavenly world (*svarga loka*) is contrasted with that of the fathers (*pitṛloka*), the door of the former being said to be in the north-east (ŚB. 6, 6, 2[4]), and that of the latter in the south-east (13, 8, 1[5])[5]. The fathers are also spoken of as a class distinct from men, having been created separately (TB. 2, 3, 8[2]).

[1] The attribution of the AV. to fire-priests, the Atharvans and Aṅgirases, is historically justified, as the cult of fire is still associated with the AV. in the epic: cp. WEBER, History of Ind. Lit. 148; HRI. 159. — [2] HAUG, GGA. 1875, 94; SBE. 42, 660; OLDENBERG, SBE. 46, 162. — [3] Otherwise HRI. 145, n. 1. — [4] Cp. Hiraṇyakeśi Pitṛmadhhsūtra, ed. CALAND, Leipzig 1896, p. 55; HRI. 145, n. 4. — [5] The South is in general the quarter of the Manes (SB. 1, 2, 5[17]): this is Indo-Iranian, cp. KERN, Buddhismus 1, 359; CALAND, Altindischer Ahnencult, Leiden 1893, p. 178. 180; ORV. 342, n. 2; ZDMG. 49, 471, n. 1; HRI. 190.

§ 77. Yama. — The chief of the blessed dead is Yama. Reflexion on the future life being remote from the thoughts of the poets of the RV., only three hymns (10, 14. 135. 154) are addressed to Yama. There is besides one other (10, 10) consisting of a dialogue between Yama and his sister Yamī. Yama's name occurs about 50 times in the RV. but almost exclusively in the first and (far oftener) in the tenth book.

He revels with the gods (7, 76[4]; 10, 135[1]). Individual gods with whom he is referred to, are Varuṇa (10, 14[7]), Bṛhaspati (10, 13[4]. 14[3]), and especially Agni, who as conductor of the dead would naturally be in close relations with him. Agni is the friend (*kāmya*) of Yama (10, 21[5]) and his priest (10, 52[3]). A god (10, 51[1]) and Yama (who by implication are identical) found the hiding Agni (ib.[3]). Agni, Yama, Mātariśvan are mentioned together as the names of the one being (1, 164[46]). Yama is also mentioned in enumerations of gods including Agni (10, 64[3]. 92[11]).

Thus it is implied that Yama is a god. He is, however, not expressly called a god, but only a king (9, 113[8]; 10, 14 passim), who rules the dead (*yamárājñaḥ*: 10, 16[9]). Yama and god Varuṇa are the two kings whom the dead man sees on reaching heaven (10, 14[7]). Throughout one of the hymns devoted to his praise (10, 14) he is associated with the departed fathers, particularly with the Aṅgirases (vv.[3. 5]). With them he comes to the sacrifice and is exhilerated (vv. [3. 4]. 15[8]). Later texts (TA. 6, 5[2]; Āp. ŚS. 16, 6) make mention of the steeds of Yama, which are described as golden-eyed and iron-hoofed. He is a gatherer of the people (10, 14[1]), gives the dead man a resting place (10, 14[9]; AV. 18, 2[37]) and prepares an abode for him (10, 18[13]).

Yama's dwelling is in the remote recess of the sky (9, 113[8]). Of the three heavens two belong to Savitṛ and one to Yama[1] (1, 35[6] cp. 10, 123[6]), this being the third and highest (cp. § 73). The VS. (12, 63) speaks of

him along with Yamī as being in the highest heaven. In his abode (*sādana*[2]) which is the home of the gods (*devamāna*) Yama is surrounded by songs and the sound of the flute (10, 135^{7}).

Soma is pressed for Yama, ghee is offered to him (10, $14^{13.14}$), and he is besought to come to the sacrifice and place himself on the seat (10, 14^{4}). He is invoked to lead his worshippers to the gods and to prolong life (10, 14^{14}).

His father is Vivasvat (10, 14^{5}) with whom Saraṇyū is mentioned as his mother (10, 17^{1}). He is also several times called by the patronymic Vaivasvata (10, 14^{1}, &c.). This trait is Indo-Iranian, for in the Avesta Vīvaṅhvant, as the first man who pressed Soma, is said to have received Yima as a son[3] in reward. In the AV. (18, 2^{32} cp. 3^{61-2}) Yama is described as superior to Vivasvat, being himself surpassed by none.

In their dialogue in the RV. (10, 10^{4}) Yama and Yamī call themselves children of Gandharva and the water nymph (*apyā yoṣā*)[4]. Yamī further speaks of Yama (v. 3) as the 'only mortal'. In another hymn Yama is said to have chosen death and abandoned his body (10, 13^{4})[5]. He passed[6] to the other world, finding out the path for many, to where the ancient fathers passed away (10, $14^{1.2}$). He was the first of mortals that died (AV. 18, 3^{13}). Here 'mortals' can only mean 'men', though later even gods are spoken of as mortal[7]. As first and oldest of the dead he would easily be regarded as the chief of the dead that followed him[8]. He is called 'lord of settlers' (*viśpati*)[9], 'our father' (10, 135^{1}). Through Yama men come in later texts to be described as descendants of Vivasvān ādityaḥ[10] (TS. 6, 5, 6^{2} cp. ŚB. 3, 1, 3^{4}; RV. 1, 105^{9}). Even in the RV. Yama seems to be connected with the sun; for the heavenly courser (the sun) 'given by Yama' probably means the solar abode granted by Yama to those who become immortal (1, 163^{2} cp. 83^{5}).

Death is the path of Yama (1, 38^{5}) and once (1, 165^{4}; cp. MS. 2, 5^{6}; AV. 6, 28^{31}. 93^{1}) he appears to be identified with death (*mṛtyu*)[11]. Yama's foot-fetter (*paḍbīśa*) is spoken of as parallel to the bond of Varuṇa[12] (10, 97^{16}). Owing to such traits and also to his messengers, Yama must to a certain extent have been an object of fear in the RV. But in the AV. and the later mythology Yama, being more closely associated with the terrors of death, came to be the god of death (though even in the Epic his sphere is by no means limited to hell)[13]. In the later Saṃhitās Yama is mentioned beside Antaka, the Ender, Mṛtyu, Death (VS. 39, 13), and Nirṛti, Decease (AV. 6, 29^{3}; MS. 2, 5^{6}), and Mṛtyu is his messenger (AV. 5, 30^{12}; 18, 2^{27}, &c.). In the AV. Death is said to be the lord of men, Yama of the Manes (AV. 5, 24^{13-4}), and Sleep comes from Yama's realm (19, 56^{1} &c.).

The word *yamá* has also the appellative meaning of 'twin'[14], in which sense it occurs several times in the RV. (generally in the dual masculine or feminine), while *yáma*, which is found a few times in the RV., means 'rein' or guide'. Yamá actually is a twin with Yamī in the RV. (10, 10)[15]. The sense of 'twin' also seems to belong to Yima in the Avesta (Yasna 30, 3). A sister of Yima is mentioned, not in the Avesta, but in the later literature[16] only, as Yimeh, who with her brother produces the first human couple. At a later period of Indian literature, when Yama had become the god of death who punishes the wicked, the name was understood to be derived from *yam*, 'to restrain'[17], but this derivation is not in keeping with the ideas of the Vedic age.

A bird, either the owl (*ulūka*) or the pigeon (*kapota*), is said to be the messenger (10, 165^{4} cp. 123^{6})[18] of Yama apparently identified with death. The messenger of Yama and of death would therefore appear to be the

same (AV. 8, 8^{11}). Yama's regular messengers, however, of whom a fuller account is given (10, 14^{10-12}), are two dogs. They are four-eyed, broad-nosed, brindled (*śabala*), brown (*udumbala*), sons of Saramā (*sārameya*). They are guardians that guard the path (10, 14^{11}) or sit on the path (AV. 18, 2^{12}). The dead man is exhorted to hasten straight past these two dogs and to join the fathers who rejoice with Yama (10, 14^{10}); and Yama is besought to deliver him to them and to grant him welfare and freedom from disease. Delighting in lives (*asutṛp*) they watch men and wander about among the peoples as Yama's messengers. They are entreated to grant continued enjoyment of the light of the sun. Their functions therefore seem to consist in tracking out among men those who are to die, and in keeping guard on the path over those who enter the realm of Yama. In the Avesta a four-eyed yellow-eared dog keeps watch at the head of the Cinvaṭ bridge[19], which leads from this world to the next, and with his barking scares away the fiend from the souls of the holy ones, lest he should drag them to hell[20]. There does not seem to be sufficient evidence for supposing that the two dogs of Yama were regarded as keeping out the souls of the wicked, though it is quite possible that they were so regarded[21]. If, however. RV. 7, 55^{2-5} is rightly interpreted by AUFRECHT[22], the object of the dogs was to exclude the wicked. In the AV. the messengers of Yama, sent by him among men, are spoken of both in the plural (AV. 8, 2^{11}. 8^{11}) and the dual (AV. 5, 30^{6}). Of the two dogs one is described as *śabala*, 'brindled' and the other as *śyāma*, 'dark' (AV. 8, 1^{9}). The word *śabala* has been identified with Κέρβερος[23], but this equation has been called in question[24]. BERGAIGNE (1, 93) thinks the two dogs are simply another form of Yama (as fire) and Yamī; and the trait of the later mythology, which represents Yama as coming to fetch the dead himself, is regarded by him as primary (1, 92). BLOOMFIELD[25] identifies Yama's two dogs with sun and moon[26].

The most probable conclusion to be drawn from all the available evidence seems to be, that Yama represents a mythological type found among the most diverse peoples, that of the chief of the souls of the departed. This would naturally follow from his being the mythical first father of mankind and the first of those that died. The myth of the primeval twins that produced the human race, Yama and Yamī = Yima and Yimeh[27], seems to be Indo-Iranian. The attempt to clear Yama of the guilt of incest in RV. 10, 10, shows that the belief in that incest already existed[28]. Yama himself may have been regarded in the Indo-Iranian period as a king of a golden age, since in the Avesta he is the ruler of an earthly[29], and in RV. that of a heavenly paradise. That Yama was originally conceived as a man, is the view of ROTH and other scholars[30]. E. H. MEYER, thinking Yamī to be a later creation like Indrāṇī and others, believes that Yama, the twin, originally represented the soul as the *alter ego*[31]. A number of other scholars believe that Yama originally represented a phenomenon of nature. Some think he was a form of Agni[32], the sun[33], the parting day[34], or the setting sun and thus god of the dead[35]. HILLEBRANDT[36] thinks Yama is the moon, in which dying is typical, and thus the mortal child of the sun and closely connected with the Manes. He considers him, however, to have been a moon-god in the Indo-Iranian period only, but no longer so in either the Avesta or the Veda, where he is merely king of a terrestrial paradise or of the realm of the Blest.

[1] By LRV. 4, 134 regarded as a hell. — [2] This abode (also AV. 2, 12^{7}; 18 2^{56}. 3^{70}), which seems always to mean the world of Yama or the place of burial TA. 6, 7, 2^{6} cp. RV. 10, 18^{13}) is understood by PVS. 1, 242 to refer to a 'chapel of Yama'. A *harmya* of Yama, spoken of in AV. 18, 4^{55}, is understood by EHNI

to mean 'tomb' (cp, SVL. 138). — 3 Cp. ROTH, ZDMG. 2, 218. — 4 MM., with Sāyaṇa, regards these two as identical with Vivasvat and Saraṇyū. — 5 The interpretation is doubtful, cp. SVL. 146. — 6 Cp. ROTH, Nir. Erl. 138; SVL. 113. — 7 HRI. 128. — 8 KHF. 21; SVL. 137. — 9 *Viśpati* is often said of Agni, once or twice of Indra and Varuṇa. — 10 Cp. ROTH, IS. 14, 393. — 11 But the passage may mean 'Yama (and) Death'. — 12 Cp. BLOOMFIELD, AJP. 11, 354—5. — 13 SVL. 155. — 14 Op. cit. 142, note 1. — 15 Yama and Yamī mentioned together as in heaven: TS. 4, 2, 5 3; VS. 12, 63; ŚB. 7, 2, 1[10]; TA. 6, 4[2]. — 16 SPIEGEL, Eranische Altertumskunde 1, 527. — 17 This is also the explanation of GRASSMANN, KZ. 11, 13; LEUMANN, KZ. 32, 301. — 18 SVL. 130, note 3. — 19 There is no reason to assume such a bridge in RV. 9, 41[2] (cp. SVL. 110) nor a river (WEBER, Indische Skizzen 10) in RV. 10, 63[10] (cp. SVL. 111). — 20 SBE. 4[2], LXXIV. — 21 AIL. 419; SVL. 127. 152; ORV. 538. — 22 IS. 4, 341 ff.; cp. AIL. 421; KRV. note 274. — 23 BENFEY, Vedica und Verwandtes 149—64; KUHN, KZ. 2, 314; WEBER, IS. 2, 298; MM., Chips 4[2], 250; LSL. (1891), 2, 595; Selected Essays (1881), 1, 494; KRV. note 274a; VAN DEN GHEYN, Cerbère, Brussels 1883. — 24 Cp. ROHDE, Psyche 1, 280, note 1. — 25 JAOS. 1893, p. 163—72. — 26 Kaṭh. 37, 14 (MS. p. 101, note 2), Kauṣīt. Br. 11, 9 (= day and night); ŚB. 11, 1, 5[1] (moon a heavenly dog); on the dogs of Yama cp. also RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA, PRASB. May 1881, pp. 94. 96; Indo-Aryans, Calcutta 1881, 2, 156—65; SP.AP. 239—40; HVM. 1, 225. 510—1; CASARTELLI, Dog of Death, BOR. 4, 269 f. — 27 SP.AP. 246. — 28 ROTH, JAOS. 3, 335; DARMESTETER, Ormazd et Ahriman 106. — 29 ROTH, ZDMG. 4, 420; on traces of Yima having been the first man in the Avesta, cp. SVL. 148 n. 1. — 30 ROTH, ZDMG. 4, 425 ff.; IS. 14, 392; SCHERMAN, Festschrift für K. HOFMAN, Erlangen 1890, p. 573 ff.; HOPKINS, PAOS. May 1881. — 31 Indogermanische Mythen 1, 229. 232. — 32 KHF. 208; BRV. 1, 89; cp. WEBER, Rājasūya 15, n. 1; YN. 12, 10 (Yama = lightning Agni, Yamī = voice of thunder); SVL. 132, n. 2. — 33 BRI. 22—3; EHNI, Die urspr. Gotth. d. ved. Yama, p. 26 &c. — 34 WVB. 1894, p. 1 (Yamī = night). — 35 MM., LSL. 2, 634—7; India 224; AR. 297—8; BERGAIGNE, Manuel Védique 283 (sun that has set). — 36 HVM. 1, 394 ff.; IF. 1, 7; also HVBP. 43.

On this chapter cp. also ROTH, ZDMG. 4, 417—33; JAOS. 342—5; WHITNEY, JAOS. 3, 327—8; 13, CIII—VIII; OLS. 1, 46—63; WESTERGAARD, IS. 3, 402—40; OST. 5, 284—335; DONNER, Piṇḍapitṛyajña, 10—14. 28; AIL. 408—22; BRV. 1, 85—94; 2, 96; KRV. 69—71; SP. AP. 243—56; LANMAN, Sanskrit Reader 377—85; SVL. 122—61; HVM. 1, 489—513; ZDMG. 48, 421; EHNI, Der vedische Mythus des Yama, Strassburg 1890; Die ursprüngliche Gottheit des vedischen Yama, Leipzig 1896; HOPKINS, PAOS. 1891, XCIV—V; HRI. 128—50. 204—7; MM., PsR. 177—207; ORV. 524—43; SBE. 46, 29; JACKSON, JAOS. 17, 185.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

AB. = Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.
AF. = Arische Forschungen.
AGS. = Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra.
AIL. = ZIMMER's Altindisches Leben.
AJP. = American Journal of Philology.
Āp. = Āpastamba.
AR. = MAX MÜLLER's Anthropological Religion.
ASL. = MAX MÜLLER's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature.
AŚS. = Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
AV. = Atharvaveda.
BB. = BEZZENBERGER's Beiträge.
BDA. = BRADKE, Dyaus Asura.
BOR. = Babylonian and Oriental Record.
Br. = Brāhmaṇa.
BRV. = BERGAIGNE, La Religion Védique.
Dh. S. = Dharma Sūtra.
DPV. = DEUSSEN, Philosophie des Veda.
FaB. = Festgruss an BÖHTLINGK.
FaR. = Festgruss an ROTH.
FaW. = Festschrift an WEBER (Gurupūjākaumudī).
GGA. = Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen.
GGH. = SCHROEDER's Griechische Götter und Heroen.
GKR. = GELDNER, KAEGI, ROTH, Siebenzig Lieder des Rigveda.
GRV. = GRASSMANN's Translation of the Rigveda.
GS. = Gṛhya Sūtra.
GVS. = GELDNER, Vedische Studien.
GW. = GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch (Rigveda Lexicon).
HGS. = Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛhya Sūtra.
HRI. = HOPKINS, Religions of India.
HVBP. = HARDY, Vedisch-brahmanische Periode.
HVM. = HILLEBRANDT, Vedische Mythologie.
IF. = Indogermanische Forschungen.
IS. = Indische Studien.
IStr. = Indische Streifen.
JA. = Journal Asiatique.
JAOS. = Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JRAS. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Kauś. S. = Kauśika Sūtra.
KHF. = KUHN, Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks.
KRV. = KAEGI, Der Rigveda (quoted from ARROWSMITH's translation).
KS. = Kauśika Sūtra.
KŚS. = Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
KZ. = KUHN's Zeitschrift.
LRF. = LUDWIG, Ueber die neuesten arbeiten auf dem gebiete der Ṛgveda-forschung (1893).
LRV. = LUDWIG, Rigveda Translation.
LSL. = MAX MÜLLER's Lectures on the Science of Language (ed. 1891).
MGS. = Mānava Gṛhya Sūtra.
MM. = MAX MÜLLER.
MS. = Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā.
NR. = MAX MÜLLER's Natural Religion.
Nir. = Nirukta.
OGR. = MAX MÜLLER's Origin and Growth of Religion.
OLS. = WHITNEY's Oriental and Linguistic Studies.
OO. = BENFEY's Orient und Occident.
ORV. = OLDENBERG, Die Religion des Veda.
OST. = MUIR's Original Sanskrit Texts.
PAOS. = Proceedings of the American Oriental Society.
PB. = Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa (= TMB.)
PGS. = Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra.
PhR. = MAX MÜLLER's Physical Religion.
Ps.R. = MAX MÜLLER's Psychological Religion.
PRASB. = Proceedings of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
PVS. = PISCHEL, Vedische Studien.
PW. = Petersburger Wörterbuch (BÖHTLINGK and ROTH's larger Sanskrit Dictionary).
RV. = Rigveda.
ŚB. = Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.
SBE. = Sacred Books of the East.
SP.AP. = SPIEGEL, Die Arische Periode.
SPH. = SCHERMAN, Philosophische Hymnen.
SV. = Sāmaveda.
SVL. = SCHERMAN, Visionslitteratur.
ŚŚS. = Śaṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
TA. = Taittirīya Āraṇyaka.
TB. = Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa.
TMB. = Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa (= PB).
TS. = Taittirīya Saṃhitā.
Up. = Upaniṣad.
Vāl. = Vālakhilya.
VS. = Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā.
WC. = WALLIS, Cosmology of the Rigveda.
WVB. = WEBER, Vedische Beiträge (Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie).
WZKM. = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (Vienna Oriental Journal).
YN. = YĀSKA's Nirukta.
YV. = Yajurveda.
ZDA. = Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum.
ZDMG. = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
ZVP. = Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie.

N.B. The figures in parentheses without an added abbreviation refer to the Rigveda.

CONTENTS.

NB. The Manuscript was sent in on September 23, 1896.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

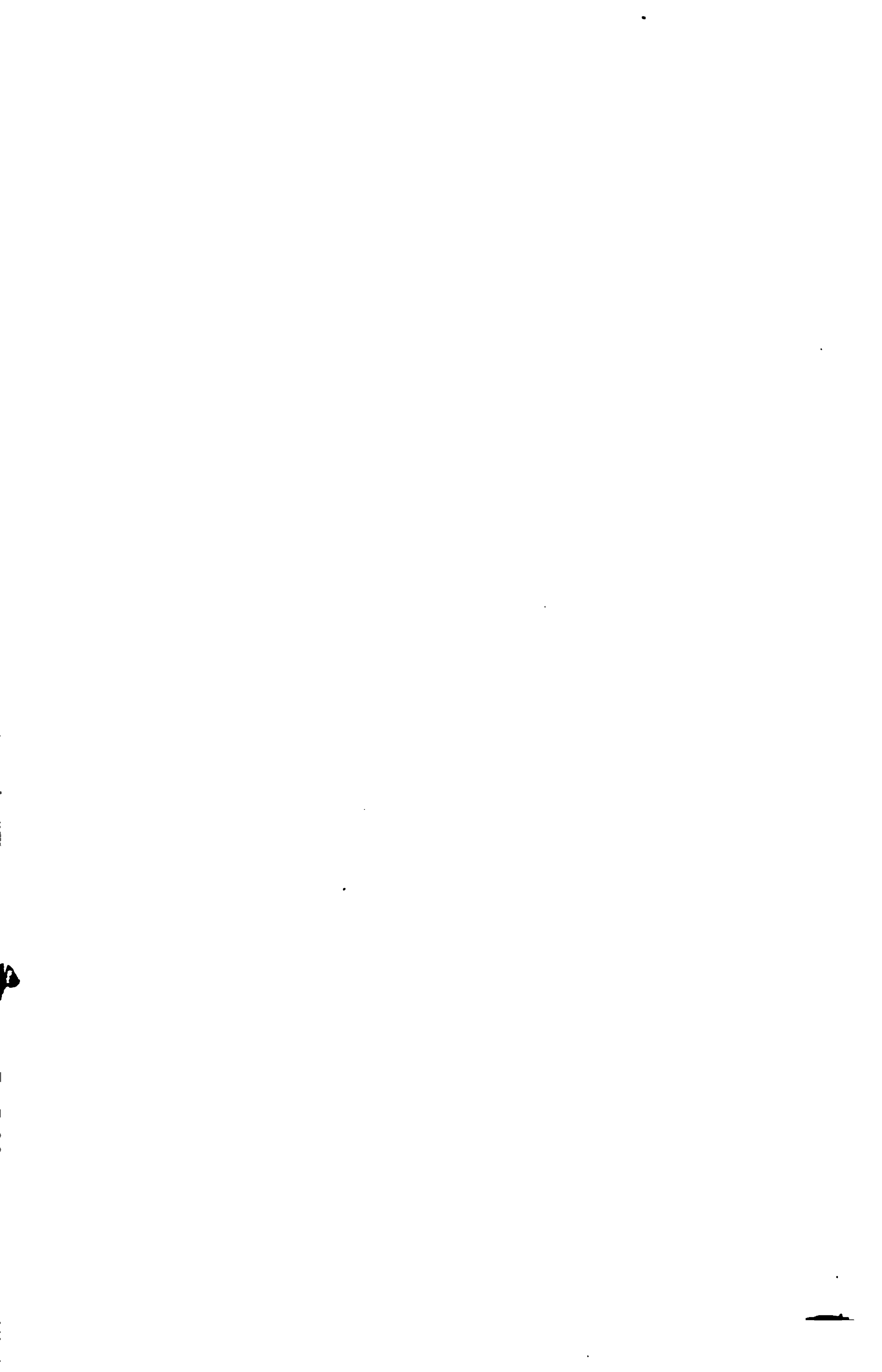
P. 1, ast line, *for* Oxford Essays II *read* Oxford Essays, 1856 (= Chips 4[2], 1—154). — P. 2, l. 1 *add* Contributions to the Science of Mythology, 2 vols. London, 1897. — P. 5, l. 5 from below *for* pove *read* prove. — P. 8, l. 4 *for* Verethragna *read* Verethraghna. — P. 12, l. 7 from below, for *viśvarupa* read *viśvarūpa*; l. 23: on this paradox cp. WC. 41. — P. 15, l. 10 from below *for* Prajanya *read* Parjanya. — P. 17, l. 14 from below *add*: The notion of an infinite number of cosmic ages is already to be found in the AV. (10, 8 39. 40), cp. JACOBI, GGA. 1895, p. 210; GARBE in this Encyclopedia 3, 4 p. 16. — P. 21, note [22] *for* fournished *read* furnished. — P. 22, l. 14 *aśanimat*: cp. PAOS. 1895, p. 138. — P. 28, note [2] *add* but cp. RV. 10, 127[1] and BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. 15, 170; SBE. 42, 391. — P. 29, note [21] *add* JOH. SCHMIDT writes to the effect that till the relation of the Aeolic ὄρανος and ὤρανος to οὐρανός has been determined, it is impossible to say whether Varuṇa is connected with οὐρανός or not. — P. 29, § 13, l. 4 for *bruvānaḥ* read *bruvāṇaḥ*. — P. 33, l. 25 *for* stimultae *read* stimulate. — P. 35, l. 4 *add* BLOOMFIELD, AJP. 14, 493. — P. 37, § 16, last line of notes, *after* PERRY *add* JAOS. 11, 190—1. — P. 39, l. 19 *for* mythology *read* mythology[11]. — P. 41, l. 28 *for* IS. XI *read* IS. XII. — P. 42, l. 5, note [4] *add* cp. MACDONELL, GGA. 1897, p. 47—8. — P. 42, l. 17 *add* On Viṣṇu's obscure epithet *sipiviṣṭa* cp. OST. 4, 87 f.; LRV. 1, 162; 4, 153; KRV. note 214. — P. 44, l. 6: On Sūrya and Savitṛ as an Āditya cp. JAOS. 18, 28. — P. 44, l. 21 *for* Adityas *read* Ādityas. — P. 46, note 9 *add* Cp. WURM, Gesch. d. ind. Rel. p. 29. — P. 46, l. 5 *for* feast' *read* feast. — P. 50, *delete* note 9. — P. 54, note [22] *add* cp. JAOS. 16, 21—2; l. 33 *add* HOPKINS, PAOS. 1894, CXLIX—CL. — P. 55, l. 15: On Indra's weapons cp. PERRY, JAOS. 11, 138. 198. — P. 55, l. 21: on *āyasa* cp. OLDENBERG, SBE. 46, 278. — P. 66, note [11] *add* cp. LRF. 142—3; note 33 *add* cp. WINTERNITZ, Hochzeitsrituell 43. 46; OERTEL, JAOS. 18, 26—31; note 3 *add* BRV. 3, 200—7; note [42] *add* cp. ZDMG. 9, 687. — P. 69, note [10] *add* cp. HILLEBRANDT, Vedainterpretation 13. 19; and two lines below before LRV. 3, 355—7 *add* WESTERGAARD, IS. 3, 414—24. — P. 80, l. 9 *for* Marudvṛddhā *read* Marudvṛdhā (also p. 88, note 4). — P. 84, l 8 from below: On points of resemblance between Indra and Parjanya cp. HOPKINS, PAOS. 1894 (Dec.), 36—9. — P. 85, note 4 *add* JOH. SCHMIDT writes that he regards the equation Parjanya = Perkúnas as quite wrong, since Lith. *ū* can only correspond to Sansk. *ū*. LESKIEN also considers this equation untenable (communication through BÖHTLINGK). It is, however, accepted by WACKERNAGEL, Altindische Grammatik §§ 52. 100 b. — P. 88, note [11] *add* cp. BOLLENSEN, ZDMG. 41, 499. — P. 114 *delete* note 4[1]. — P. 169, note [6] *add* HAUG, GGA. 1875, p. 96.



I. SANSKRIT INDEX.

The references in both Indexes, unless accompanied by §, are to pages.

II. GENERAL INDEX.




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1872

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BEGRÜNDET VON G. BÜHLER, FORTGESETZT VON F. KIELHORN,
HERAUSGEGEBEN VON H. LÜDERS UND J. WACKERNAGEL.

III. BAND, 6. HEFT.

VAIṢṆAVISM, ŚAIVISM

AND MINOR RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS

BY

SIR R. G. BHANDARKAR

STRASSBURG
VERLAG VON KARL J. TRÜBNER
1913

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Part. I.
VAIṢṆAVISM.
I. Introductory.

§ 1. The old Vedic gods became indissolubly involved in the elaborate and mechanical system of worship that had grown up. Speculations as regards the appropriateness of the rules and modes of worship and their efficacy as regards man's good in this world and the next became prevalent. But all this did not satisfy the religious spirit of the people. Religious speculation of a more natural order came to be established about the close of the Hymn-period and was continued into that of the Upaniṣads. The various problems about God, man and the world engaged the attention of many thinkers and a variety of solutions was arrived at. It is generally believed that the Upaniṣads teach a system of Pantheism; but a close examination will show that they teach not one, but various systems of doctrines as regards the nature of God, man and the world and the relations between them. The religio-philosophic systems of modern times, which are mutually inconsistent, quote texts from the Upaniṣads as an authority for their special doctrines. These references to the old books are correct in the most prominent cases, but when the advocates of the systems force into other texts of an opposite nature a meaning consistent with their own special doctrines, they are manifestly wrong. That the Upaniṣads teach not one but various systems must follow from the fact that they are compilations just as the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā is. The speculations of the old seers were clothed by them in words, and these were handed down orally and came to form a large floating mass. When the idea of collecting these speculations arose, they were incorporated into books for the use of individual Vedic schools. Hence it is that we find certain verses, passages and whole sections occurring in one Upaniṣad reproduced in another [1]).

No doubt, the idea of the immanence of God in the world is very

[1]) See the passage about the superiority of Prāṇa and other bodily elements which occurs in ChU. (V, 1, 1) and in BU. (VI, 1, 1); that about the Pañcāgnividyā occurring in the former (V, 4,1) and the latter (VI, 2, 9); and that about proud Bālāki and Ajātaśatru which occurs in the KBU. (IV) and in BU. (II, 1), and others (TU. II, 8 and BU. IV, 3, 33). As to the recurrence of verses see MU., ŚU. and KU.

prominent in the Upaniṣads. But if that is what constitutes Pantheism, the liberal religious thought of the present day in Europe also must be regarded as Pantheistic. With the immanence of God is associated his transcendence also, as stated in the Vedānta-Sūtra II, 1, 27[1]). In addition to these two doctrines the Upaniṣads teach that God is the protector of all beings, is the lord of all and dwells in the heart of man, that seeing him as he is and everywhere is eternal bliss, that this is to be attained by contemplation and the purification of the soul, and that in the blissful condition the individual soul attains to a perfect similarity with the supreme soul[2]). They also teach the absorption of the individual soul into the supreme as of a river into the ocean and the unconsciousness of the soul when everything but himself fades away from his knowledge. In this respect the doctrine may be regarded as Pantheistic or as setting forth the illusory character of all phenomena. Speculation in the Upaniṣad times was very free and it veered round even to the denial of the soul as a substance [3]).

In the subsequent development of religious thought and worship these Upaniṣad doctrines played an active part. The Henotheism, so fully explained by Max Müller, and its ultimate result, the identification of the various gods, also influenced later thinkers. The conception that the supreme spirit manifests himself in various forms which we find expressed in the Upaniṣads is a development, in the opposite direction, of the idea that one God, for instance Agni, is the same as Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra and Aryaman[4]). If these several gods are one, one god may become several. This led to the conception of Incarnations or Avatāras, which plays such a prominent part in the later religious systems.

But for ordinary people an adorable object with a more distinct personality than that which the theistic portions of the Upaniṣads attributed to God was necessary and the philosophic speculations did not answer practical needs. Thus some of the old Vedic gods and others, which were new, became the objects of worship.

II. The Rise of a New Theistic System.

§ 2. The tide of free speculations culminated in the east into such systems as those of Buddhism and Jainism and, though they denied the existence of God as a creator or did not use the idea for the promotion of righteousness, and the former practically denied the existence of the human soul as a substance, still these systems had the

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1) See the passage quoted by Śaṃkarācārya in his commentary on the Sūtra.

2) Paramaṃ sāmyam upaiti. See MU. III, 1, 3. The opinion expressed by some eminent scholars that the burden of the Upaniṣad teaching is the illusive character of the world and the reality of one soul only, is manifestly wrong, and I may even say, is indicative of an uncritical judgment. As stated in the text, the Upaniṣads from the very nature of the compilations cannot but be expected to teach not one, but many systems of doctrine.

3) See the passage from BU. III, 2, 13, quoted in my paper "A Peep into the Early History of India", Journ. Bombay Br. Roy. As. Soc. Vol. XX, p. 361.

4) RV. V, 3, 1—2.

needful personal element in the shape of their founders. In the west, however, a theistic system with a god who had come to dwell among men arose. The various religious systems and superstitions that prevailed in the fourth century B. C. are given in the following passage, occurring in the Niddesa, which though of the nature of a commentary is regarded as one of the books of the Pāli Buddhistic Canon[1]: "The deity of the lay followers of the Ājīvakas is the Ājīvakas, of those of the Nighaṇṭhas is the Nighaṇṭhas, of those of the Jaṭilas (ascetics wearing long matted hair) is the Jaṭilas, of those of the Paribbājakas is the Paribbājakas, of those of the Avaruddhakas is the Avaruddhakas, and the deity of those who are devoted to an elephant, a horse, a cow, a dog, a crow, Vāsudeva, Baladeva, Puṇṇabhadda, Maṇibhadda, Aggi, Nāgas, Supaṇṇas, Yakkhas, Asuras, Gandhabbas, Mahārājas, Canda, Suriya, Inda, Brahmā, Deva, Disā is the elephant, the horse, the cow, the dog, the crow, Vāsudeva, Baladeva, Puṇṇabhadda, Maṇibhadda, etc., respectively." Here a Buddhist who cannot but be expected to show scant courtesy to religious systems other than his own, places the worshippers of Vāsudeva and Baladeva on the same level with those of fire, moon, sun and Brahmā, and even elephants, crows, dogs, etc. But the worship of Vāsudeva was destined to become the predominant religion of a large part of India even to the supersession of that of fire, sun, moon and Brahmā and, of course, of the superstitious adoration of the lower animals. And it will be now our duty to trace its rise and progress.

§ 3. In his comment on Pāṇini IV, 3, 98, Patañjali distinctly states that the Vāsudeva contained in the Sūtra is the name of the "worshipful", i. e. of one who is pre-eminently worshipful, i. e. God[2]). The worship of Vāsudeva must be regarded to be as old as Pāṇini.

In an inscription found at Ghosuṇḍi in Rājputāna[3]) which unfortunately is in a mutilated condition, the construction of a wall round the hall of worship of Saṃkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva is mentioned. From the form of the characters in the inscription it appears to have been engraved at least two hundred years B. C.

In another inscription recently discovered at Besnagar[4]), Heliodora represents himself to have erected a Garuḍadhvaja or a column with the image of Garuḍa at the top in honour of Vāsudeva, the god of gods. Heliodora calls himself a Bhāgavata, was the son of Diya, was a native of Takṣaśilā and is spoken of as an ambassador of the Yavana and as such came on a political mission from Aṃtalikita to Bhāgabhadra who must have ruled over Eastern Mālwa. In this inscription occurs the name Aṃtalikita which in all likelihood is the same as Antialkidas of the Bactro-Greek coins. This name as well as the form of the characters show that it belongs to the earlier part of the second century before the Christian era. At that time Vāsudeva was worshipped as the god of gods and his worshippers

[1]) This passage has been furnished to me by Mr. Dharmanand Kosambi.
[2]) See JRAS. 1910, p. 168.
[3]) Lüders, List of Brāhmī Inscriptions, No. 6.
[4]) Ibid. No. 669.

were called Bhāgavatas. The Bhāgavata religion prevailed in the northwestern part of India and was adopted even by the Greeks.

In the inscription No. I in the large cave at Nānāghāṭ[1]), the names of Saṃkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva, in a Dvandva compound, occur along with those of other deities in the opening invocation. This inscription appears from the form of the characters to belong to the first century before the Christian era.

In the passage in the Mahābhāṣya in which Patañjali, to account for the appearance of the name Vāsudeva in P. IV, 3, 98, says that this is not the name of a Kṣatriya, but that of the Worshipful One, the question to be considered is whether Patañjali means this Vāsudeva to be quite unconnected with the Vāsudeva of the Vṛṣṇi race. From the occurrence of the names Vāsudeva and Baladeva close to each other in the passage from the Niddesa referred to above, and that of Saṃkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva as worshipful or divine persons in a Dvandva compound in two of the three above inscriptions, it appears that the Vāsudeva referred to by Patañjali as the Worshipful One must be the Vāsudeva of the Vṛṣṇi race. But to account for the appearance of the name in the Sūtra, though the required form can be made up in accordance with the next Sūtra (P. IV, 3, 99), Patañjali says that Pāṇini looks at Vāsudeva in his capacity as a divine person and not as a Kṣatriya. One must take it in this sense, since the Ghosuṇḍi inscription noticed above, in which Saṃkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva are associated as worshipful persons, must be older than Patañjali himself. Besides, Patañjali begins the discussion of the Sūtra by first taking Vāsudeva as the name of a Kṣatriya and raising an objection against it. This objection is answered in one way, Vāsudeva being still regarded as a Kṣatriya, and it is only optionally that he gives another explanation, that that name is not the name of a Kṣatriya, but of a divine person. This optional explanation given in the last resort must, therefore, be understood in the sense given above. And from all the accounts of the Bhāgavata school contained in the whole literature it is clear that the worshipful Vāsudeva belonged to the Vṛṣṇi race.

III. Analysis of the Nārāyaṇīya Section of the Mahābhārata.

§ 4. Having thus established on irrefragable evidence the existence during the three or four centuries before Christ of a religion with Vāsudeva as its central figure and of a school of his followers known by the name of Bhāgavata, I will now proceed to examine the detailed accounts contained in the literature and especially in the Mahābhārata. This was not done before, because the date of the Mahābhārata or any portion of it cannot be ascertained with any approach to certainty. The Nārāyaṇīya section of the Śāntiparvan, to which we shall devote a detailed consideration, is, however, older than Śaṃkarācārya who quotes from it.

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[1]) Ibid. No. 1112.

Nārada is represented to have gone to the Badarikāśrama to see Nara and Nārāyaṇa. The latter was engaged in the performance of religious rites. Nārada asked Nārāyaṇa whom he worshipped, while he himself was the Supreme Lord. Nārāyaṇa told him that he worshipped his original Prakṛti (form), the source of all that is and that is to be. Nara and Nārāyaṇa as well as Kṛṣṇa and Hari, sons of Dharma, are represented as the four forms of the Supreme.

Nārada flies into the sky to see that original Prakṛti and alights on a peak of Meru. There he saw white men without senses, not eating anything, sinless, with heads like umbrellas, making a sound like that of thundering clouds and devoted to Bhagavat. Then Yudhiṣṭhira asks Bhīṣma who those people were, and how they came to be what they were. Bhīṣma tells the story of the king Vasu Uparicara, who worshipped God according to the Sātvata Vidhi (form of ritual). He was a glorious king honoured by Indra, devoted to truth and holy. The best of the learned in the Pāñcarātra system were honoured with the first seat at dinner by him. The narrator then proceeds to mention the Citraśikhaṇḍins, who appear to be the original promulgators of this religion. The mountain Meru was the place where they revealed it. They were seven, consisting of Marīci, Atri, Aṅgiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, and Vasiṣṭha. The eighth was Svāyaṃbhuva. From these eight emanated this excellent Śāstra. This they promulgated in the presence of the great Bhagavat, who said to the Ṛṣis: "You have composed a hundred thousand excellent Ślokas (stanzas), which contain rules for all the affairs of men and are in harmony with Yajus, Sāman, Ṛc, and Atharvāṅgiras, and lay down precepts about the religion of action as well as that of contemplation or repose. I created Brahman from my peaceful and Rudra from my wrathful nature. This Śāstra will be handed down from person to person until it reaches Bṛhaspati. From Bṛhaspati the king Vasu will obtain it. The king will follow this Śāstra and will become my devotee. After his death this Śāstra will be lost." Telling all this the great god disappeared. Then the Citraśikhaṇḍins spread the religion until it reached Bṛhaspati. Then the old Kalpa having ended and the son of Aṅgiras, the priest of the gods, being born, the gods were happy. The king Vasu Uparicara was his first pupil. He learned this Śāstra from Bṛhaspati. At one time he brought forward an extensive horse-sacrifice, but no animal was killed on the occasion. The oblations were devised in accordance with the words of the Āraṇyakas. The god of gods showed himself to Vasu and accepted his oblation, but was unseen by anybody else. Since the oblation was taken away by Hari without showing himself to Bṛhaspati, the latter got angry and dashed upwards the sacrificial ladle. At that sacrifice, Ekata, Dvita, and Trita, sons of Prajāpati, and sixteen Ṛṣis, many of whom are now known as the authors of literary works, such as Medhātithi, Tittiri, and Tāṇḍya, are represented to have been present. When Bṛhaspati was angry, they all said that the great Hari was not to be seen by any man at random, but by one who was favoured by his grace. Ekata, Dvita and Trita said: "On one occasion we went to the north for the attainment of eternal bliss near the milky ocean and practised austerities for four thousand years and

at the end a voice in the air declared: 'Well, how can you see that great Lord? In the milky ocean there is a white island where there are men possessing the lustre of the moon, who are the devotees of the god, possess no senses, do not eat anything and being devoted solely to the god (Ekāntin or monotheistic) are absorbed in him, who is bright like the Sun. Go to that island; there shines my soul'. Accordingly we went to the white island, and, dazzled by the light of that being, were not able to see him. Then the truth flashed upon us that the god cannot be seen by us unless we have gone through austerities. After further austerities for a hundred years we saw the men of the lustre of the moon with their minds fully absorbed in the contemplation of God. The refulgence of each man was like that of the sun on the last day. Then we heard a sound: 'Jitaṃ te Puṇḍarīkākṣa' etc. (Triumphant art thou, Lotus-eyed one). A short time after a voice in the air declared: 'Go you away as you came. That great being is not to be seen by one who is not devoted to him'. Then we returned without being able to see him. How then will you be able to see him?" Having heard this from Ekata, Dvita and Trita, Bṛhaspati finished the sacrifice.

Vasu Uparicara had to live in a hole in the earth on account of the curse of the Ṛṣis, who in a controversy with the gods maintained that no animal should be sacrificed, but only vegetable grain, while the gods contended that a goat should be sacrificed. The question was referred to Vasu who declared in favour of the gods. Vasu was raised from the hole by Nārāyaṇa, whom he had devotedly worshipped, by sending his Garuḍa to lift him up. He was thence taken to the Brahma world.

The story of Nārada's visit to Śvetadvīpa is then continued. He praises the great being by uttering names expressive of his purity and grandeur, and the great being then manifested himself to him, saying that he was not to be seen by one who was not solely devoted to him (Ekāntin) and that, as Nārada was such a one, he showed himself to him. He then proceeds to explain to him the religion of Vāsudeva. Vāsudeva is the supreme soul, the internal soul of all souls. He is the supreme creator. All living beings are represented by Saṃkarṣaṇa, who is a form of Vāsudeva. From Saṃkarṣaṇa sprang Pradyumna, the mind, and from Pradyumna Aniruddha, self-consciousness. "Those who are devoted to me enter into me and are released." The great being calls the four mentioned above his forms (Mūrtis). The production of one form from another is also mentioned; all these forms are, however, styled his forms (Mūrtis). He then proceeds to mention the creation of gods and all other things by himself and their final dissolution into himself. Then are mentioned his incarnations (Avatāras), viz. Varāha, Narasiṃha, the oppressor of Bali, Rāma of the Bhṛgu race and destroyer of the Kṣatriyas, Rāma Dāśarathi, and "he, who will come into existence for the destruction of Kaṃsa at Mathurā and after having killed many demons will finally settle at Dvārakā". In this manner having done all things by his four Mūrtis, he destroyed Dvārakā with the Sātvatas and went to Brahmaloka. After Nārada had heard this from the supreme Nārāyaṇa, he returned to Badarikāśrama.

What follows at the end of chapter 339 and in the next four chapters has little bearing on our subject, except that in one of them the etymological sense of Vāsudeva is given as one who covers the whole world and is the resting-place (adhivāsa) of all beings.

In chapter 344 the path of those who are free from sin is given thus: — The sun is the gate, and after entrance all their material impurities being burnt, they remain as atoms in him; then released from him, they enter into the Aniruddha form and, becoming mind, enter into the Pradyumna form. Leaving that form, they enter into that of Saṃkarṣaṇa, i. e. the form of the individual soul (Jīva). Afterwards being free from the three Guṇas, they enter into the Supreme Soul, who exists everywhere and who is Vāsudeva. In chapter 346 Vaiśampāyana relates to Janamejaya that the Dharma which Nārada got from 'the Lord of the world' Nārāyaṇa himself in all its details and peculiarities, was explained briefly to him (Janamejaya) in the Harigītā. In chapter 348 this Ekāntika Dharma is represented to be the same as that which was communicated to Arjuna at the beginning of the war. At the creation of each Brahmā this Dharma was revealed by Nārāyaṇa, and then at the end of the Brahmā it was lost. In the account of the fourth Brahmā the Dharma revealed is twice called Sātvata. In this manner it goes on up to the present or the seventh Brahmā, in which that Dharma was first communicated to Pitāmaha, and from him it passed in succession to Dakṣa, his grandson, the eldest Āditya, Vivasvat, Manu and Ikṣvāku. Later on it is stated that this original great eternal Dharma, difficult to be known and to be followed, is professed by the Sātvatas.

This Dharma is associated with the non-slaughter of animals (Ahiṃsā), and when properly exercised, the lord Hari is pleased with it. Sometimes one Vyūha or form of the Lord is taught and sometimes two, three or four. Vaiśampāyana winds up by saying that he has thus explained the Ekāntadharma.

§ 5. Here we have two accounts, the second of which is interwoven with the first. The former, however, appears to relate to a more ancient condition of things. The points to be noticed are these: 1. At the sacrifice instituted by Vasu Uparicara no animals were killed. 2. The oblations were devised in accordance with the teachings of the Āraṇyakas which include the Upaniṣads. 3. The chief deity was the God of gods, who is also called Hari. 4. This Hari or God of gods is not to be seen by one who follows the sacrificial mode of worship, such as Bṛhaspati did, nor by persons who practise austerities for thousands of years, as Ekata, Dvita and Trita did, but by one who worships Him with devotion, as Vasu Uparicara did. Here then is an attempt to introduce a religious reform on more conservative principles than Buddhism and Jainism did. The repudiation of the slaughter of animals and the inefficacy of sacrificial worship and austerities are common to this religious reform with Buddhism. But that the supreme lord Hari is to be worshipped with devotion and the words of the Āraṇyakas are not to be rejected, are doctrines which are peculiar to it. Vasu Uparicara's story goes so far only.

In the main account, according to which Nārada visited the white

island, we have a reassertion of the doctrine that the Supreme Soul can be seen by one who worships him with devotion. The great Nārāyaṇa manifests himself to him and explains the religion of Vāsudeva and his three other forms (Vyūhas). He also mentions the future incarnations of Vāsudeva, and one of these is that assumed at Mathurā for the destruction of Kaṃsa. The Supreme Nārāyaṇa identifies himself with Vāsudeva in his four forms (Vyūhas). At the end it is stated that the religion is followed by the Sātvatas.

These two accounts seem to represent two stages in the progress of reform. In the earlier one the worship of Vāsudeva and his three other forms is not known. The Supreme God is named Hari, and his worship has not thoroughly emancipated itself from the religion of sacrifices. The reform had no reference to specific historical personages and was promulgated by certain sages who are called Citraśikhaṇḍins and whose names had been handed down by tradition. The later account connects the reform with Vāsudeva and his brother, son and grandson, and the new religion is represented to have been identical with that taught in the Bhagavadgītā. This reformed system is said to have been promulgated by Nārāyaṇa himself. It thus appears that the idea of a religion of devotion arose in earlier times, but it received a definite shape when Vāsudeva revealed the Gītā to Arjuna, and led to the formation of an independent sect when his brother, son and grandson were associated with him as his forms presiding over certain psychological categories or as persons created by him for the purpose. That sect became conterminous with the race of the Sātvatas. We have now to consider who these Sātvatas were.

IV. The Sātvatas and their Religion.

§ 6. In the Ādiparvan Vāsudeva addressing the Vṛṣṇis says that Pārtha does not think them who are Sātvatas to be covetous. Vāsudeva is called Sātvata in Ādip. 218, 12; Kṛtavarman in Ādip. 221, 31; Sātyaki in Droṇap. 97, 36; and Janārdana in Udyogap. 70, 7. At the end of chap. 66 of the Bhīṣmaparvan Bhīṣma says: "This eternal god, mysterious, beneficent and loving should be known as Vāsudeva, and Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras worship him by their devoted actions. At the end of the Dvāpara and the beginning of the Kali age, he was sung or expounded by Saṃkarṣaṇa according to the Sātvata rites (Vidhi). At the end of chap. 12 of the third book of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa it is stated in the account of the genealogy of the Yādavas and the Vṛṣṇis that Satvata was the son of Aṃśa, and all his descendants were after him called Sātvatas. The Bhāgavata represents the Sātvatas as calling the highest Brahman Bhagavat and Vāsudeva (IX, 9, 49) and having a peculiar mode of worshipping him. It mentions the Sātvatas along with the Andhakas and Vṛṣṇis, which were Yādava tribes (I, 14, 25; III, 1, 29), and calls Vāsudeva Sātvatarṣabha (X, 58, 42; XI, 27, 5). In Patañjali under P. IV, 1, 114 Vāsudeva and Bāladeva are given as derivatives from Vṛṣṇi names

in the sense of sons of Vāsudeva and Baladeva. Instances given by the Kāśikā of the same are Vāsudeva and Āniruddha. Here Āniruddha means the son of Aniruddha, and therefore Vāsudeva must mean the son of Vāsudeva and not of Vasudeva, as will appear from what follows. In the latter work under P. VI, 2, 34 Sini-Vāsudevāḥ is given as a Dvandva of royal Vṛṣṇi names, each of them being in the plural, and Saṃkarṣaṇa-Vāsudevau as a Dvandva of royal Vṛṣṇi names, each being in the singular, so that Vāsudeva means both the individual of that name and his sons.

From all this and such other passages from Patañjali it will appear that Sātvata was another name of the Vṛṣṇi race of which Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, and Aniruddha were members, and that the Sātvatas had a religion of their own according to which Vāsudeva was worshipped as the Supreme Being, and thus the account given above from the Nārāyaṇīya is amply confirmed.

§ 7. It therefore appears that this religion of devotion to Vāsudeva ascends as high into antiquity as Pāṇini himself. As I have mentioned elsewhere, the Kṣatriyas engaged themselves in active speculations on religious matters about the time of the Upaniṣads[1]) and are mentioned even as the original possessors of the new kowledge. Siddhārtha and Mahāvīra founded in this period of intellectual fermentation new systems of religion in the east or the Magadha country which discarded or passed over in silence the doctrine of the existence even of God and laid down self-abnegation and a course of strict moral conduct as the way to salvation. They belonged to the Śākya and Jñātṛka races of Kṣatriyas, and Buddhism and Jainism might be considered to be the religions of those tribes. The west, however, was not so radical in its speculations, and the race of Sātvatas developed a system of religion which took up the ideas of a Supreme God and devotion to him as the mode of salvation. These Sātvatas and the worship of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa seem clearly to be alluded to by Megasthenes, who was the Macedonian ambassador at the court of Candragupta, the Maurya. Candragupta reigned in the last quarter of the fourth century B. C. The statement of Megasthenes is that Herakles was specially worshipped by the Sourasenoi, an Indian nation, in whose land are two great cities, Methora and Kleisobora, and through it flows the navigable river Jobares. The Sourasenoi were the Śūrasenas, a tribe of Kṣatriyas, who lived in the region in which was situated Mathurā, corresponding to Methora in the above passage, and in which flowed the river Jobares, which has been identified with the Jumna or Yamunā. If the Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa worship prevailed in the time of the first Maurya, it must have originated long before the establishment of the Maurya dynasty, and my assertion that it owes its origin to the stream of thought which began with the Upaniṣads and culminated in the east in Buddhism and Jainism, and arose about the time of the latter, is confirmed.

The name expressive of the Supreme Spirit was, however, in the

[1]) Verhandlungen des VII. Internat. Orientalisten-Congresses zu Wien. Ar. Sect., pp. 108-9.

early period Vāsudeva alone. In the passage from the Niddesa and the three inscriptions Vāsudeva is the name that occurs.

In the Bhagavadgītā (VII, 19) it is stated that "He who possesses knowledge gives himself up to me, believing Vāsudeva to be all." Even in the Bhāgavata Mantra of twelve syllables which is usually repeated at the present day and which is mentioned by Hemādri, it is to Vāsudeva that obeisance is made [1]). In Bhīṣmap. chap. 65 Brahmadeva, addressing the Supreme Spirit (Puruṣa Parameśvara), entreats him to become the increaser of the Yadu race and then, referring apparently to a foregone age, he says: "O Vāsudeva, this great secret I have communicated to thee through thy favour as it really is. Having created thyself as the God Saṃkarṣaṇa, thou didst procreate thy son Pradyumna. He created Aniruddha who is Viṣṇu himself, and he created me (Brahmadeva) who am made up of Vāsudeva and created by thee. Dividing thyself in this way, be born as a human being again." In the beginning of chapter 66 of the same Parvan Prajāpati speaks of himself as having asked the supreme lord of all to dwell in the world of men as Vāsudeva (to become incarnate). This Supreme Spirit should, it is said, be known as Vāsudeva, and throughout the chapter that name alone is used in speaking of the eternal God. The substance of these two chapters seems to be that in a former age the Supreme Spirit Vāsudeva created Saṃkarṣaṇa and the rest up to the Brahmā himself, and on the present occasion the latter asked him again to be born in the Yadu race as Vāsudeva, dividing himself into four parts as on the previous occasion. Thus Vāsudeva was the name of the teacher of the religion of devotion, and there appears to be an implication here that he existed with the other three in a previous age. Even as a member of the Vṛṣṇi race the name Vāsudeva occurs in the examples quoted above from the Mahābhāṣya and Kāśikā and no other. In the passages quoted by me in my article on "Allusions to Kṛṣṇa etc." (Ind. Ant. Vol. III, pp. 14 ff.) the name Kṛṣṇa occurs three times, Vāsudeva in three passages and Janārdana in one. But in Kielhorn's edition of the Mahābhāṣya, which is more accurate than the Benares edition which I then used, the reading Kṛṣṇa in two of the three places is supported by one manuscript only and Vāsudeva occurs instead of Kṛṣṇa in one of the two places and the other is entirely omitted, so that Vāsudeva is used four times and Kṛṣṇa only once. In the Bhagavadgītā (X, 37) the Bhagavat says that of the Vṛṣṇis he is Vāsudeva. In the Buddhist Ghatajātaka the two eldest sons of Upasāgara and Devagabbhā are named Vāsudeva and Baladeva. In the prose narrative no other name is given, but the names Kaṇha and Kesava occur in the verses that are interwoven with the prose. The commentator remarks on the first verse that he is there addressed by his Gotra name Kaṇha, for he belonged to the Kaṇhāyana Gotra, thus showing his belief that Vāsudeva was the true proper name of the person. This belief he expresses again in his commentary on a verse occurring in the Mahāummaggajātaka, in which Jambāvatī is mentioned as the beloved queen of Vāsudeva Kaṇha. Here also Vāsudeva is mentioned as

[1]) Vratakhaṇḍa (Bibl. Ind.) p. 225. The Mantra is *Om namo Bhagavate Vāsudevāya.*

belonging to the Kaṇhāyana Gotra, and from the verse itself, in which Vāsudevassa Kaṇhassa occurs, it would appear that Kaṇha was the family name, the sense being Vāsudeva, the Kaṇha, so that the author of the verse itself would seem to regard Vāsudeva as the proper name of the individual, and thus he and the prose narrative agree.

§ 8. Thus then Vāsudeva appears to be a proper name and not a patronymic, and when the Vāsudeva religion or the Bhāgavata school took its rise, that was the name by which the Supreme Deity was known. The conception of Vasudeva as his father must have arisen afterwards, as appears to me from the example Vāsudevaḥ given in the Mahābhāṣya in the sense of "son or descendant of Vāsudeva", and not "of Vasudeva", as must be inferred from the analogous instance of Bāladeva from Baladeva. Baladeva was associated with Vāsudeva and not with Vasudeva. Kṛṣṇa, Janārdana, and Keśava do not appear to be Vṛṣṇi names and were given to Vāsudeva in subsequent times when his worship had widely spread. All these three occur in Patañjali also, but the two latter only once so far as I know. But of these the name Kṛṣṇa is more important than the other two and many others that are used. It appears to be as much a proper name as Vāsudeva, though the latter has a religious signification specially attached to it. How then did this name Kṛṣṇa come to be used? It was the name of one of the Vedic Ṛṣis, the composer of hymn 74 of the eighth Maṇḍala. He speaks of himself as Kṛṣṇa in verses 3 and 4 of the hymn. The author of the Anukramaṇī calls him an Āṅgirasa or descendant of Aṅgiras. In the KB. (XXX, 9) apparently the same Kṛṣṇa Āṅgirasa is alluded to and is represented to have 'seen' the evening libation in its connection with the Brāhmaṇācchaṃsin priest. Kṛṣṇa occurs in a Gaṇa attached to P. IV, 1, 96. In the Gaṇa connected with P. IV, 1, 99 Kṛṣṇa and Raṇa are represented to form the Gotra names Kārṣṇāyana and Rāṇāyana, these mere Brāhmaṇa Gotras falling under the group of Vāsiṣṭhas. The former is the Gotra alluded to by the commentator on the verses in the Jâtakas noticed above. But he apparently does not confine it to the Brāhmaṇa class. Then the name Kṛṣṇa as the son of Devakī occurs in the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad (III, 17). He was the pupil of Ghora, who was an Āṅgirasa. If Kṛṣṇa was also an Āṅgirasa, which is not improbable, it must be inferred that there was a tradition about Kṛṣṇa as a sage from the time of the Ṛgvedic hymns to the time of the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad, and about a Gotra of the name of Kārṣṇāyana, which literally means collection of Kṛṣṇas, of which the original Kṛṣṇa was the founder. This tradition gave rise to the identification of the sage Kṛṣṇa with Vāsudeva, when he was raised to the rank of the supreme deity. Just as the name Janamejaya, the son of Parikṣit, which occurs in the AB., was in subsequent times used as the name of the person to whom the Mahābhārata was narrated and a genealogy was given to him from Arjuna, the Pāṇḍava, so it is possible that Vāsudeva was identified with the sage Kṛṣṇa and a genealogy given to him in the Vṛṣṇi race through Śūra and Vasudeva. Perhaps the best explanation of the fact of Vāsudeva having been called Kṛṣṇa is that given by the

commentator of the Gāthās or verses of the Jātakas, supported, as it appears to me, by the author of the Gāthās himself, that Kṛṣṇa was a Gotra name. The Gotra Kārṣṇāyana which corresponds to Kaṇhāyana is not only mentioned as a Brāhmaṇa Gotra belonging to the Vāsiṣṭha group in the Gaṇa alluded to above, but is stated to have belonged to the Pārāśara subdivision of that group in the Matsyapurāṇa (ch. 200)[1]. Though this was a Brāhmaṇa and Pārāśara Gotra, it could be assumed for sacrificial purposes by a Kṣatriya, for according to Āśvalāyana (Śr. S. XII, 15) the Gotra and the ancestors invoked of the Kṣatriyas are those of their priests or chaplains, and the only Ṛṣi ancestors that all the Kṣatriyas have, are Mānava, Aila and Paurūravasa. The names of these do not distinguish one Kṣatriya family from another and, to answer the purposes of such a distinction, the Gotra and ancestors of the priest are assumed. Vāsudeva therefore belonged to the Kārṣṇāyana Gotra, though it was a Brāhmaṇa and Pārāśara Gotra, and as belonging to this Gotra he could be called Kṛṣṇa by name. Having come to be known by that name, all the traditions about the learning and spiritual insight of the old Kṛṣṇa and also of his being the son of Devakī were engrafted on him, and thus in the Sabhāparvan 38 Bhīṣma says that one of the two reasons for giving the highest honours to Kṛṣṇa was that he possessed the knowledge of the Vedas and dependent treatises (Vedāṅgas), and that he was also a sacrificial priest (Ṛtvij). The Hindu habit of thought of identifying one god with others by regarding the latter either as forms or incarnations of the former and thus evolving monotheism out of polytheism led to the identification of this Vāsudeva with other gods and with the boy Kṛṣṇa of Gokula. These we will notice later on.

§ 9. In the Nārāyaṇīya we have an explanation of the Bhāgavata or Pāñcarātra system. This system also we will notice in its ripened form later. In the meanwhile we will turn our attention to the statement that the Ekāntika-Dharma founded by Vāsudeva has been explained in the Harigītā and on the occasion when the armies of the Kurus and the Pāṇḍavas stood face to face and Arjuna lost heart. The allusion is of course to the Bhagavadgītā.

This passage is noticed in the Bhaktisūtra 83 and its commentary, in which it is stated that Ekāntabhāva (which is the subject of the Nārāyaṇīya), or devotion to one only, is Bhakti alone, since the former is recognised in that passage as identical with the main topic of the Bhagavadgītā. But the Bhagavadgītā contains no allusion to the Vyūhas or forms of the Supreme, Saṃkarṣaṇa and others, while the latter form a characteristic of the Bhāgavata school. The Gītā, however, mentions as the Prakṛtis of Vāsudeva the five elements, the mind, Buddhi or knowledge, and egoism as well as Jīva (VII, 4, 5). The last is identified with Saṃkarṣaṇa in the Bhāgavata system, egoism with Aniruddha, and mind, with which probably Buddhi is associated, with Pradyumna. What appears to be the fact is this: The Bhagavadgītā was composed before the doctrines of the Bhāga-

[1]) Quoted also in Puruṣottama's Pravaramañjarī, Mysore edition.

vata school were reduced to a system, and it was then that the three of the Prakṛtis of the Supreme were personified into Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, who were members of the family of Vāsudeva. In the prevalent worship, however, Saṃkarṣaṇa alone is found associated with Vāsudeva in early times, as is seen from the inscriptions and the passage from the Niddesa noticed in the beginning. Patañjali also notices, under P. II, 2, 34, a verse in which it is stated that certain musical instruments are sounded in a gathering in the temple of Dhanapati, Rāma and Keśava. Here Rāma and Keśava are Balarāma and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, and it is clear that there were festive gatherings at their temples in Patañjali's time. If the passage in Patañjali under P.VI, 3, 6 "Janārdana with himself as the fourth", i. e. with three companions, may be taken to allude to the three Vyūhas, then it must be understood that the four Vyūhas, Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, were known in Patañjali's time. Still it is doubtful, and it may be taken for granted that the two Vyūhas, Vāsudeva and Saṃkarṣaṇa, only were known up to the time of the latest inscription which is to be referred to about the beginning of the first century before the Christian era, so that the system of four Vyūhas was not fully developed up to that time. If this reasoning is correct, it will be seen that the date of the Bhagavadgītā which contains no mention of the Vyūhas, or personified forms, is much earlier than those of the inscriptions, the Niddesa and Patañjali, i. e. it was composed not later than the beginning of the fourth century before the Christian era. How much earlier it is difficult to say. At the time when the Gītā was conceived and composed, the identification of Vāsudeva with Nārāyaṇa had not taken place, nor had his being an incarnation of Viṣṇu come to be acknowledged, as appears from the work itself. When his Virāj or universe-form was shown to Arjuna, as represented in the eleventh chapter, he is twice addressed by the latter as Viṣṇu on account of his dazzling brilliance which rendered everything hot and filled the whole universe. Here Viṣṇu is alluded to as the chief of the Ādityas and not as the supreme being, and Vāsudeva was Viṣṇu in this sense, as mentioned in chapter 10, because the best thing of a group or class is represented to be his Vibhūti or special manifestation.

§ 10. A characteristic of a new system of religion that comes into vogue is that the followers are not satisfied with the idea that the person known as the founder originated the system. They push back the origin by many ages. Siddhārthaka was preceded by many Buddhas, and so was Mahāvīra by many Tīrthaṃkaras. So in the case of the Bhāgavata school we have seen that that system was taught by Nārāyaṇa at the beginning of each Brahman and in the existing Brahman it was first taught to Pitāmaha or Prajāpati and thence it passed to Dakṣa, Vivasvat, Manu and Ikṣvāku. This last order of its revelation is alluded to at the beginning of the fourth chapter of the Gītā which confirms the tradition noticed in the Nārāyaṇīya about the identity of the religion of the Gītā with the Ekāntika religion revealed by Nārāyaṇa. In this respect of pushing back the origin the Bhāgavata system resembles Buddhism and Jainism.

V. Substance of the Bhagavadgītā.

§ 11. We will now pass under review the main contents of the Bhagavadgītā, as from all appearances it is the earliest exposition of the Bhakti system or the Ekāntika Dharma.

Chapter II. Arjuna is reluctant to fight because it involves the destruction of his near and revered relatives and of other men. Bhagavat endeavours to remove the reluctance by speaking of the eternity and indestructibility of the human soul. Here are two stanzas which occur, with a variation in one of the lines, in the Kaṭha-Upaniṣad. Then to fight is spoken of as the duty of a Kṣatriya for whom there is no other good than a just fight. This mode of thinking is characterised as being Sāṃkhya, and the Yoga mode then follows. The condition of mind in the Yoga mode is a determined will. Those who according to the precepts of the Veda perform rites for the fulfilment of various desires can not have a determined steadfast will. For attaining such a will one should think only of the deed to be done and not of the fruits to be derived from it. With a concentrated mind and without any attachment to other objects one should devote oneself to the deed alone. By such devotion to acts with a determined will man finally attains inflexibility of will (becomes sthitaprajña), and all his desires being uprooted, he attains complete serenity of soul or the Brāhmī condition. When he is in this condition at the time of death, he obtains quiescence in Brahman. This comes to the same doctrine as that stated in the Kaṭha and Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣads, that when all desires in the heart are uprooted, the mortal becomes immortal and attains to Brahman [1]). The discipline, however, prescribed for the attainment of this end is not simply moral, but religious also, since it is stated that after having controlled the senses which render the mind restless, a man should devote himself to Bhagavat.

§ 12. Chapter III. There are two paths, that of devotion to knowledge for the Sāṃkhyas and that of devotion to Karman or action for the Yogins. Every one is born for a life of activity, but the deeds done do not tie him down to the world, if he does them for worship (Yajña) and not for his private purposes. No Karman is necessary for one whose enjoyments consist in himself, who is satisfied with himself and contented in himself. But for other people action is necessary, and it must be done without any selfish desire. Janaka and others obtained perfection by devoting themselves to actions alone, i. e. by the pursuit of an active life. But the action should be dedicated to the Supreme, and one should not seek any fruit for himself. But such a frame of mind is not attainable by ordinary men, who are under the influence of their physical nature and sensual passions. Then a question is asked what it is that prompts man to sin. The reply is that it is desire and anger which are all-powerful and envelop a man's spiritual existence. Desire acts through the senses, but intelligence is

[1]) *Yadā sarve pramucyante kāmā yesya hṛdi śritāḥ*, KU. VI, 14 and also BU. IV, 4, 7.

superior to the senses, and superior to this latter is the will (Buddhi), and the soul is superior to Buddhi. Knowing oneself to be higher than Buddhi, one should curb oneself by efforts and kill desire which acts through the series, viz. senses, intellect, will. Here the superiority of one faculty over another is an idea borrowed from the Kaṭha-Upaniṣad. In connection with the teaching that action should be done disinterestedly, Bhagavat makes the closest possible approach to the Sāṃkhya doctrine that the soul being deluded by egoism (Ahaṃkāra) regards himself as the agent of the actions done by the qualities of nature (Prakṛti), and that, misled by the qualities of nature, he forms an attachment to qualities and actions.

§ 13. Chapter IV. The chapter begins with Bhagavat's mention of his communication of this system to Vivasvat in the first instance, as alluded to above. Incidentally the question of his existence at the time of Vivasvat comes up, and he then explains his being born again and again and assuming incarnations for the destruction of the wicked by means of his Prakṛti. They who know the incarnations and the celestial deeds of Bhagavat, are released from the body and are not born again. By means of knowledge men, being purified and their passions destroyed and being devoted to him and resorting to him and resting on him, attained to the condition of Bhagavat. Bhagavat resorts to men in the manner in which they resort to him; men everywhere follow his path.

The idea of action without attachment is further developed. Then metaphorical Yajñas are mentioned, such as the sacrifice of the senses into the fire of restraint, of the objects of the senses into the senses, of the operation of the senses and of the vital breaths into the fire of Yoga, which is the control of the self. All these Yajñas cannot be accomplished without acts. Of these the Yajña of knowledge is the best; for by its means one sees all things in one self and in God (Supreme Spirit). This highest knowledge brings about freedom from all sin, and destroys the polluting effect of action. The realisation of the Yoga sets aside the significance of the actions. This highest knowledge puts an end to all doubt and one becomes a spirit — a spirit totally free. When acts are done in this condition, they do not defile a person. Here the tendency to rationalise Yajñas or sacrifices, which set in in the Upaniṣad period, is seen in a developed form, since the restraint of the senses, the attainment of knowledge, and such other practices are characterised as Yajñas or sacrifices.

Another point that deserves notice is the statement that Bhagavat deals with men in the manner in which they deal with him, that is, the spirit with which God is approached by men is reciprocated by God. This is followed by the affirmation that men everywhere, whatever the differences of their views, follow the path of Bhagavat. Here lies in germ the principle that all religions have a basis of truth in them.

§ 14. Chapter V. Sāṃkhya and Yoga are brought into connection with Saṃnyāsa and Karmayoga. They are not independent of each other. Following either thoroughly, one obtains the fruit of both. The place which is obtained by Sāṃkhyas is obtained also by Yogas. For Jñānayajña or sacrifice of knowledge enabling a man to see all things

in himself and in God, and this knowledge bringing about freedom from sin, the same condition is attained to which an active life or pursuit of actions (Karmayoga) brings about, when the actions are done disinterestedly or without aiming at the fruit, with an eye directed towards Brahman only, the true essence of things. Though this is so, still Saṃnyāsa is difficult to be realised without Yoga. With Yoga one attains to it soon. A Yogin does not think that he does something when he sees, hears, eats, sleeps, etc. This is so when these acts are done without any attachment, the aim being the realisation of Brahman. The Yogins perform deeds by their body, mind, will, or simply by their senses, without any attachment for the sake of spiritual purification. By means of Yoga, Jñāna is obtained, and in this condition man looks at all things alike. When a man looks at all things with the same regard, what he aims at is the Brahman and in it he rests. This leads to the consideration of the final peace in Brahman and the method of attaining it. This peace in Brahman resembles the condition of an Arhat in Buddhism, but the Bhagavadgītā does not end there and adds that in this condition of deliverance a person comes to know the Supreme Soul as one to whom all kinds of worship and austere practices are directed as the lord of all worlds and the friend of all beings; and it is this knowledge that leads to peace.

§15. Chapter VI. He who does not attach himself to the result of his actions and does what he ought to do, is Saṃnyāsin as well as Yogin. Karman or action is necessary to become a sage (Muni). When he has attained the dignity of a sage, the essence of it is peace. Then follows a description of the state of a man who has attained Yoga. Practice of Yoga, or contemplation, is then described. When a man goes through the Yoga practices, he attains serenity in Bhagavat, i. e. becomes absorbed in him in peace. All the functions of the mind are suspended in the condition of Yoga. Seeing himself by himself he rests in himself. Then follows an explanation of the process of abstraction and concentration. A Yogin sees himself in all things and all things in himself, looks at all things in the same light. The Supreme Spirit is not lost to him who sees him everywhere and sees everything in him, the Supreme Spirit. He who looks upon the Bhagavat as one, though he exists in all things, exists in him, though he moves about everywhere. He who regards all as himself (and looks upon them in the same light) in matters of happiness and misery is the best Yogin. Then Arjuna remarks on the difficulty of this Yoga. "The mind", he says, "is restless". But Bhagavat replies that it can be controlled by practice as well as by reflection on the vanity of things (Vairāgya). At the end Bhagavat teaches that he is the greatest Yogin, who, having faith in him, adores him with his whole soul centred in him.

The Yoga described in this chapter is found in some of the Upaniṣads, especially in the Śvetāśvatara. The affirmation "sees himself in himself and everywhere else" occurs in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka (IV, 4, 23). The author winds up the chapter with a verse which is in every sense theistic, as he does the fifth chapter, in order, it would appear, that the description of the mental discipline contained in

the last chapter and of Yoga in this might not lead to non-theistic conclusions. Care is taken to bring the whole into connection with the Supreme Soul.

§ 16. Chapter VII. In the last six chapters has been explained the whole process of Karmayoga from beginning to act regardless of the fruit, to the attainment of the condition of Yogin, who acting solely with a view to the acquisition of the Brāhma condition, is free from passions, looks upon all things alike; and it is added at the end that he is the best of the Yogins, who adores Bhagavat with faith and with a devoted heart. This is added to show that the processes up to the attainment of the Yoga condition are difficult to be practised by men with such passions as we possess and the way to be free from them is to surrender oneself to God, and therefore in this chapter Bhagavat goes on to explain the nature of created beings and of his relation to them. He begins by saying that God's Prakṛti is eightfold: the five elements, mind, will (Buddhi), and egoism. Jīva is another Prakṛti, which supports the world. From these are produced all objects or beings. Bhagavat is the source and the last resting place of the world. There is nothing further than him. All these things are strung together in him as gems in a string. That which is the characteristic excellence of a thing is Bhagavat himself. All the three qualities and the conditions resulting from them proceed from him. Bhagavat is not in them and they are not in him. Bhagavat is beyond all these three conditions. The world, deluded by the conditions resulting from the three qualities, does not know Bhagavat, the Supreme Spirit, who is beyond them all. This Māyā of Bhagavat consisting of these qualities is very difficult to be got over, and this Māyā they get rid of, who take refuge in him. Wicked men do not resort to Bhagavat, their understanding being clouded by Māyā and resorting to Āsura or demoniacal condition. The devotees of Bhagavat are of four kinds. Of these the Jñānin, or the enlightened, is the best. The Jñānin sticks to Bhagavat as his best refuge. The enlightened man surrenders himself to him, regarding Vāsudeva as everything. Other people are attached to other deities and undertake different vows. Their faith in their deities is generated by Bhagavat and strengthened by him. They worship those deities with that faith and attain fruit. That fruit is yielded by Bhagavat himself. But it is perishable. Not knowing Bhagavat's true nature, which is unchangeable and excellent, ignorant people regard him as something indiscrete at first and afterwards made discrete. He is not intelligible to all beings, being enveloped in Yogamāyā (mystic power). He knows the past, the present and the future, and nobody knows him. By likes and dislikes all beings are deluded and those only, who are released from the infatuation of likes and dislikes, with their sins being destroyed by the practice of virtue, adore the Supreme. Those who know Bhagavat to be Adhiyajña (presiding over worship) and Adhibhūta (presiding over beings), come to know him when they depart this life.

For the idea of all existing things being strung together in the Supreme we may compare MU. II, 2, 5 and BU. III, 8, 3—4; 6—7. Ordinary people are represented as resorting to other deities, led by seve-

ral desires. The Bhagavat confirms their faith in their deities, and the fruits that they receive from those deities are also given by him. But the fruits that they get from them are perishable. Here appears the same idea as that noticed in chap. IV and to be noticed in chap. IX, viz. that the worshippers of other gods are really Bhagavat's worshippers, and that there is a principle of unity in all religions.

§ 17. Chapter VIII. Arjuna begins by putting questions about the three subjects mentioned in the last verse of the last chapter and about Brahman and Adhyātma. Bhagavat then explains these. About perceiving him at the time of death he says: "He who leaves his body while remembering me at the time of death, attains to the same condition as mine." Finally he states that he who departs this life while meditating on the all-knowing, eternal ruler, who is smaller than the smallest thing, who is the protector of all, whose form is unthinkable, whose brilliance is like that of the sun, and who is beyond all darkness, with devotion, his whole soul gathered between the brows with the powěr of concentration, reaches that Supreme Being, who is higher than the highest. He then mentions the attainment of the Unchangeable, with the mind concentrated, and the reaching of the final goal after leaving the body by means of a Yoga process and by the utterance of the syllable 'Om' and the remembrance of Bhagavat all the while. Bhagavat is easily attainable by one who meditates on him with a singleness of mind and is devoted to him. Every being is subject to transmigration, but is free from it when he reaches Bhagavat. During the night of Brahman all these things are resolved into the indiscrete (Avyakta), and, when the day dawns, they spring out again from it. There is another substance, different from that Avyakta and itself indiscrete (Avyakta), which is not destroyed when all others are destroyed. This substance which is indiscrete, is unchangeable and that is the highest resting place, which being attained to, there is no return. That is Bhagavat's highest abode. That supreme soul, in whom all these beings are and who has spread out all this, is to be attained by single-minded devotion. Then he proceeds to mention the two paths. Those who die while the sun is in his northern course (Uttarāyaṇa), go to Brahman, and those who die while he is in his southern course (Dakṣiṇāyana) go to the orb of the moon, from which the soul returns.

It is worthy of observation that after mentioning that the man who meditates on the Supreme at the time of death reaches him, he mentions the attainment of the Akṣara, which is the highest goal, by resorting to a Yoga process. This seems to be like looking back on the Yoga practices for the attainment of the Akṣara (Brahman) mentioned in the Upaniṣads such as the Muṇḍaka (II, 2, 3) and the Śvetāśvatara (I, 14). In the first passage, the syllable 'Om' is compared to a bow, the soul to the arrow, and Brahman to the target which is to be hit. In the second a person is instructed to use his own body as the nether wooden piece and the Praṇava as the upper one and, practising meditations, which is like rubbing of the wooden pieces against each other, to discover the God hidden like Agni in the pieces of wood. Here the Akṣara Brahman of the Muṇḍaka is transformed into Deva

(God) in the Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad, and the Bhagavadgītā also prescribes the meditating on Bhagavat while the syllable 'Om' is being uttered. Here, therefore, we see the effort to invest the unchangeable and indiscrete Brahman with a strong distinct personality. Later on in the chapter another Avyakta is mentioned, besides that into which all things are resolved at the dissolution of the universe. This Avyakta is eternal and indestructible and is called Akṣara and the highest goal. Here, however, this Akṣara is at once rendered theistic by being spoken of as the highest abode or condition of Bhagavat.

§ 18. Chapter IX. In this chapter Bhagavat proceeds to explain the direct and indirect knowledge which constitute the royal lore and the royal secret. It is to be directly perceived. It is holy and easy to be practised. The Bhagavat spread out all this universe. All things are in him and he is not in them, and still the objects are not in him. Wonderful is his lordly power. He is the sustainer of all beings and is not in them. His self brings all things into existence. As the air which exists in the sky is everywhere, so all beings are in him. At the dissolution of the world all beings are dissolved into his Prakṛti, and at the beginning of a new Kalpa they are discharged forth again. All these acts do not contaminate him, as he does them without any desire. With himself as the director, the Prakṛti brings forth the moveable and immoveable things. Foolish men disregard him who has assumed a human form, not knowing his true nature, viz. that he is the lord and the great ruler of all; but great souls, assuming a godly nature, knowing him to be the origin of all beings, adore him with single-mindedness. Some people worship him by Jñānayajña, i. e. a rationalised sacrifice, taking him as one or several or as having his face in all directions. He is a subsidiary as well as the main sacrifice. He is Svadhā, herbs, Mantra, ghee. He is Agni and he is also oblation. He is father, mother, nourisher and grandfather of the world. He is Ṛc, Sāman, etc. He is the way, sustainer, lord, witness, shelter and friend, etc. The knowers of the three Vedas, the drinkers of Soma, worshipping him by means of sacrifice, desire habitation in heaven, where they enjoy many pleasures. After their merit has been exhausted, they come back to the mortal world again. Those who thus follow the ritual of the three Vedas come and go. He looks after the welfare of those who think of him and meditate on him with single-mindedness and adore him. Those who worship other deities must be considered as worshipping him, but they do so not according to prescribed rules. He is the receiver and lord of all kinds of Yajñas or worship, but those people do not know him as he really is, and therefore they fail. Those who worship other deities attain to them, and his worshippers attain to him. All the oblations thrown into the fire, all that is eaten and given and the austerities practised should be dedicated to him. In this way these actions do not serve as a bondage, and one becomes a real Saṃnyāsin and goes to him. He who adores Bhagavat with single-mindedness becomes holy, even if he be wicked. He becomes immediately holy and obtains peace. Even women, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, when they resort to him, attain to the highest place. The seeker of the good should direct his mind towards him, should be his devotee,

should worship him, should bow to him, and acting in this way and being thus fully devoted to him, he will reach him.

Here the performance of sacrificial rites is, in the manner which has become usual, mentioned as efficacious for the acquisition of a place in heaven. From this place persons return when their merit is exhausted, but there is no return when a man devotes himself to Bhagavat with all his heart. God is further personalised and brought home to man by being declared as his father, mother, nourisher, grandfather, friend, refuge, etc. The attitude to other gods is of toleration. The worship offered to them is really offered to Bhagavat, but the worshippers do not know Bhagavat as he truly is and therefore go wrong.

§ 19. Chapter X. The gods and Ṛṣis do not know the origin of Bhagavat. He was before them all. He who knows Bhagavat to be the unborn and unbeginning lord of all worlds, is free from all sins. All the mental conditions, knowledge, absence of ignorance, forgiveness, truth, self-control, serenity, pain and pleasure, etc. are from him. The seven ancient Maharṣis and four Manus sprang from him whose descendants are all these men. Good men adore Bhagavat with pure faith, knowing him to be the origin of all and that everything is set in motion by him. They, with their minds directed towards him, with their souls centred in him, enlighten each other, speak about him, and thus they are satisfied and are happy. Out of sympathy for them he dispels the darkness of ignorance by the light of knowledge, being himself in his true condition.

When they adore him thus constantly full of love, he grants them that condition of mind by means of which they reach him. Then questioned by Arjuna as to the Vibhūtis or excellent forms of each species or group which pervade the world, Bhagavat proceeds to mention them. He is the soul that dwells in the heart of men and is the origin, the middle and the end of all beings. He is Viṣṇu of the Ādityas, the sun of all shining things, Kapila of the Siddhas, Prahlāda of all Daityas, Rāma of wielders of weapons, philosophy (Adhyātma) of all lores, Dvandva of compounds, Kīrti (fame) of all females, Vāsudeva of Vṛṣṇis, and Dhanaṃjaya of Pāṇḍavas. That object which has excellence and splendour should be known as arising from his lustre.

There is to be observed here one special characteristic of the Bhakti school, and that is that all the devotees meet together, enlighten each other as to the nature of God and contribute by discourses on him to each other's elevation and gratification. This is almost a characteristic mark of Bhaktas as distinguished from the Yogins, who have to go through their exercises singly and in solitude.

§ 20. Chapter XI. The Virāj form of God, i. e. all beings looked at simultaneously as constituting one whole, as also his destructive form, in which all enter into his mouth and are absorbed, is described in this chapter. Arjuna praises him that he does not see the end, the beginning, the middle of him, that he is the guardian of eternal righteousness and entreats him to give up this frightful form and assume the more usual and the more agreeable human form. In verse 30 Arjuna addresses him as Viṣṇu, saying that his dazzling brilliance makes everything hot and his lustre has filled the whole universe.

The idea of looking at the universe as a form of god is as old as the Puruṣasūkta (RV. X, 90). God's having eyes everywhere, face everywhere, arms everywhere and feet everywhere is expressed in RV. X, 81, 3. This verse is repeated in Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad III, 3.

§ 21. Chapter XII. This chapter starts with a question as to the difference between the contemplation on the original indiscrete cause which is unchangeable (Akṣara) and the worship of him (Vāsudeva), and the reply is, they are the best devotees, who, fixing their minds upon him, meditate on him with a concentrated attention and faith. Those who, with their senses restrained, meditate on the indiscrete, unchangeable, undefinable, as existing everywhere and unthinkable, also reach him, but the trouble to them is greater. Bhagavat delivers from the ocean of death those who, dedicating all their actions to him and meditating on him, worship him; and he teaches Arjuna to fix his mind on him and concentrate his will on him and, if he can not fix his mind firmly upon him, then to endeavour to obtain him by continual remembrance of him. If this last is not feasible, he should perform deeds for his sake, and doing this he would obtain success. If, however, he is not able to do this with his mind fixed on him, he should abandon desire for the fruit of all his actions. Then follows an enumeration of the virtues of those who are devotees of God and are specially dear to him, such as not hating any being, being the friend of all, being humble, being indifferent to praise or censure, etc.

In this chapter the meditation on the Akṣara or unchangeable indiscrete cause is again mentioned as opposed to the worship of Bhagavat as a personal God. In similar passages in the previous chapters the personalisation is effected at once by inserting a clause applicable only to a personal God. But here the meditation on Avyakta is spoken of as successful, but is condemned as being very difficult to be practised, and the theistic aim of the work is kept in view.

§ 22. Chapter XIII. This body is the Kṣetra, and he who knows this body as his own, is Kṣetrajña. The Bhagavat is also Kṣetrajña in all the Kṣetras. This subject about the Kṣetra and Kṣetrajña has been variously treated by the Ṛṣis in verses of various metres and determined by the words of the Brahmasūtra unfolding reasons. Kṣetra consists of the twenty-four elements mentioned in the Sāṃkhya system and desire, hatred, pleasure and pain, and body, life and courage, which are Ātmaguṇas according to the Vaiśeṣikas. Bhagavat then proceeds to enumerate the virtues, such as humility, sincerity, etc., which constitute, it is said, Jñāna or knowledge, but which are to be taken as means to knowledge. Then are alluded to knowledge, or true philosophy, and its reverse. He then mentions the Jñeya, or thing to be known, and it is Parabrahman, which has no beginning nor end, which is neither existent nor non-existent, and which has hands and feet everywhere and which has eyes, head and face everywhere, which has ears everywhere, and which pervades all. And thus the description of godhead proceeds in the words of the Upaniṣads. Prakṛti and Puruṣa are unbeginning. All changes and qualities are produced from Prakṛti. Prakṛti is the cause in bringing about effect, and Puruṣa is the cause

in the enjoyment and sufferance of happiness and misery. The Puruṣa, being connected with Prakṛti, enjoys or endures the properties or effects of the Prakṛti; and the cause is his being connected with the Guṇas or qualities. Besides all these various principles, there is in this body Puruṣa, the Supreme Soul, who is the witness of everything, who is the sustainer, enjoyer and the great lord. By meditation some see the self by self, others see it by Sāṃkhyayoga and Karmayoga. Any moving or unmoving thing that comes into existence is produced by the union of Kṣetra and Kṣetrajña. He, who sees the Supreme Lord equally in all things, who is not destroyed when other things are destroyed, sees truly. Seeing God equally in all things, a man does no injury to himself and attains to the highest goal. He truly sees, who sees all acts as done by Prakṛti and Puruṣa as not the actor. When he regards all separate beings as existing in one place and sees development proceeding thence, he becomes Brahman. The Supreme Spirit, though dwelling in the body, does not do anything and is not contaminated, because he is unbeginning and is devoid of qualities and unchangeable. The spirit is not contaminated, just as space or ether existing everywhere is not. Just as the sun illuminates the whole world, so does the Kṣetrajña illuminate the Kṣetra.

The Karmayoga leading up to the condition of a Yogin, who looks at all things with the same regard and makes no distinction between them and himself, has been described in the first six chapters. In the next six the Bhaktiyoga, or loving adoration of God, is the subject treated of; and the final effect of it is the formation of the fully righteous character which distinguishes a Bhakta who is dear to Bhagavat. With chapter XIII begins the consideration of subsidiary subjects. In this Bhagavat speaks of the Kṣetra and Kṣetrajña, or the soul and its dwelling place, and of another soul, that is, himself also dwelling in the Kṣetra. In connection with this subject he refers to the poetic works of the previous Ṛṣis and to the words of the Brahmasūtra. What these works are it is difficult to say; but what follows is, first, the mention of the twenty-four principles generally associated with the Sāṃkhya system, as well as seven others, all of which constitute the Kṣetra; secondly, the enumeration of the virtues that qualify one to the attainment of knowledge; thirdly, the statement about knowledge (Jñāna), or that which is true philosophy, and also Ajñāna, which is the reverse; and fourthly, the description of the Jñeya or the thing to be known, which is Parabrahman or the Supreme Soul. This last contains the attributes given in the Upaniṣads, and a verse and a half are verbally quoted from the ŚU. There are also other statements in the concluding verses which resemble KU. V, 11 and ŚU. V, 4. Then there is a statement about the nature of the Prakṛti and Puruṣa quite in keeping with the Sāṃkhya system; but the existence of the highest spirit in the body along with the animal soul is mentioned. Thus is the atheism of the Sāṃkhya system studiously avoided, whenever there is a reference to its doctrines. Then follow reflections on God and the seeing of the Supreme Soul everywhere. The works, therefore, upon which this chapter is based are some of the Upaniṣads and some treatises setting forth the

constitution of the world and the principles of morality. These treatises may have been the discourses first independent and afterwards included in the Śāntiparvan and other parts of the Mahābhārata, or they may have been others of which we have no trace; but there is no mention here of the Sāṃkhya system by name nor a special reference to it as elaborated in later times by Īśvarakṛṣṇa. The idea of the twenty-four principles is ancient and seems to have been appropriated afterwards by the founders of the philosophic systems, as it suited their purpose. But no chronological conclusions can be deduced from the mention of those twenty-four principles. The doctrine that all action proceeds from the Prakṛti and the soul is inactive and simply enjoys or suffers, which is a true Sāṃkhya doctrine, but is calculated to absolve a man from moral responsibility, is also mentioned; but it appears to come incidentally along with the twenty-four principles.

§ 23. Chapter XIV. The great Brahman is the womb (Yoni) for Bhagavat into which he throws seed. Of all the wombs that produce bodily forms, Brahman is the greatest. Bhagavat then proceeds to detail the nature of the three Guṇas, their products and their results in the future world. These Guṇas prove as bondage, and when they are got over, then the man is free from the bondage and becomes immortal. The distinguishing characteristic of one who is free from these three Guṇas is a quiet undisturbed serene mood, in which happiness and misery are alike, and gold, clod of earth and stone are alike, in which agreeable and disagreeable things are alike, and praise and censure are also alike, etc. He who invariably resorts to Bhagavat by Bhaktiyoga becomes free from these three Guṇas and attains to the condition of Brahman. Bhagavat is the support of the immortal and unchanging Brahman and of eternal righteousness (duty) and of unending happiness.

Here then is a distinct affirmation of the soul's attainment of freedom from passions by means of continuous devotion to Bhagavat or God. The word Brahmayoni occurs in MU. III, 1, 3 and is to be interpreted, in the light of the opening statement in the above, as one whose Yoni is Brahman.

§ 24. Chapter XV. Bhagavat proceeds to the comparison of Saṃsāra, or the whole extent of things, to the pippal-tree. This tree is to be cut by the weapon of indifference or non-attachment; and then should be sought that place from which there is no return. One should surrender himself to the original Puruṣa. Those reach that unchanging position or place, who are free from pride, ignorance, desires, and the pair of happiness and misery. That is the highest abode of Bhagavat, which is not illuminated by the sun, the moon or the fire. When a soul departs from a body, it takes away the Indriyas, of which Manas is the sixth, and brings them in when it assumes another body. The soul itself is a part of Bhagavat and is eternal. This soul, placing itself in these six Indriyas, resorts to all objects of sense. The brilliance existing in the sun, which illumines the whole world, and which exists in the moon as well as in fire, is to be known as that of Bhagavat. By becoming Soma Bhagavat raises all herbs. By becoming fire he

contributes to digestion. He dwells in the heart of all. From him proceeds consciousness of one's condition, knowledge, and the rejection of what is not true. Bhagavat alone is to be known by means of all the Vedas and as the author of Vedāntas and the knower of the Veda. There are two souls in the world, one that changes, and the other that is unchangeable. Besides these, there is another who is the highest and is called Paramātman, and who as the unchangeable lord supports all the three worlds after entering into them. Bhagavat is known to be that Highest Soul in the ordinary world and also in the Vedas.

There is one new point brought out in this chapter. And that is that the animal soul goes out of the body along with the six senses and enters new ones in that condition. The comparison of the composite universe to the pippal-tree occurs in KU. (VI, 1), MaiU. (VI, 4), and the non-illumination of the highest abode of Bhagavat is mentioned in a verse in KU. (V, 15), MU. (II, 2, 10) and ŚU. (VI, 14). The doctrine of the existence of the third highest Puruṣa should also be noted as a characteristic of this theistic work. The triad, Kṣara, Akṣara or Ātman (individual soul), and the ruling one God, is mentioned in ŚU. (I, 10), which work is a precursor of the Bhagavadgītā.

§ 25. Chapter XVI. Bhagavat now proceeds to enumerate the virtues which constitute the divine endowments (Daivī Sampad), and the vices that constitute demoniacal possessions. From divine endowments results final deliverance, and from the demoniacal possessions follows destruction. There are two classes of created beings: one is divine and the other demoniacal. In persons of the latter class there is no purity nor correct conduct nor truth. They regard the world as unreal, without substratum or support, without God, disconnected and, what more, springing from lust. Holding this view these wicked and dull persons with their ferocious deeds bring about the destruction of the world. Full of insatiable lust and possessed of vanity, pride, and arrogance, they act in an unholy manner, sticking to their own false conceits. They accumulate wealth by foul means for enjoyment, and boasting of their possessions, their power, their parentage, they treat others with contempt and eventually go to the infernal regions. If they worship at all, they simply utter the name and assume a false garb. They are full of egotism and hate Bhagavat, as abiding in their own bodies and those of others. These wicked men he consigns to the race of the demons. Desire, anger and covetousness are the three doors to hell. These three, therefore, should be abandoned. He who avoids these three doors, reaches the highest goal. He who abandons sacred precepts and acts according to his own will, does not obtain success, happiness or the highest goal. The sacred precepts must, therefore, be followed whenever a man has to do anything or avoid anything.

Here two classes of men, good and bad, are mentioned. Among the latter are included not only worldly men who do not care for God or morality, but the followers of philosophical or religious systems different from that of Bhagavat seem also to be included. They set aside the sacred Śāstra or precepts, denied God, as Buddhists and Jainas did, and regarded the world as unsubstantial or unreal, as the former did.

§ 26. Chapter XVII. Arjuna asks: "What is the frame of mind of those who set aside the sacred precepts and still worship with faith? Is it characterised by the quality of goodness, activity or ignorance?" Bhagavat answers: "Faith is of three kinds, characterised by goodness, activity, and darkness or ignorance. The faith of a man depends upon the quality of his heart. A man is what faith makes of him. As is his faith, so is the man". The good worship gods, the active, Yakṣas, and Rakṣases or evil spirits, and the ignorant, ghosts and spectres. Men of a demoniacal frame of mind perform terrible austerities full of ostentation and egotism, and cause attenuation of the elements composing the body and of the Bhagavat who dwells in it. He then mentions three kinds of food, modes of worship, austerities and gifts, in keeping with the three qualities. For instance, in the case of worship or sacrifice, that is in keeping with the quality of goodness, which is performed without any regard for the fruit and in accordance with the sacred ritual. That springs from the quality of activity, which is done for the attainment of fruit and out of ostentation; and that which is done without regard for the sacred precepts and without Dakṣiṇā or rewards to the priest and without any faith, proceeds from the quality of ignorance. As to charitable gifts, those spring from the quality of goodness, which are made because it is a duty to give to one from whom no return is expected; while that which is made with an interested motive and with a desire for return, springs from the quality of activity. And in this manner all the four subjects are treated. At the end the doing of good acts by the repetition of the syllables "Om, tat, sat" is mentioned. In this chapter the truth that man's religious faith and the character of the God that he worships, depend upon his own character, whether good or bad, is clearly recognised.

Not only the nature of the God worshipped, but also the diet, the mode of worship, charity or gifts, and the practice of austerity differ according as a man's nature is influenced by one or other of the three qualities, goodness, activity and ignorance.

§ 27. Chapter XVIII. This chapter begins with a question by Arjuna as to the principles of renunciation and abandonment. Bhagavat replies that renunciation is the giving up of works springing from desires, and abandonment is the abandonment of fruits of actions. Some say that all Karman should be abandoned; others say that worship, charity and austerity should not be given up. The decision is that these last should not be abandoned, as they bring about purity of the soul. The actions should be done without being attached to them or desiring for the fruits. That duty that must be done, should not be abandoned. Giving up that duty is an ignorant deed. When action is avoided because it is wearisome, its abandonment springs from the quality of passion. When the essential action is done because it should be done without any desire for fruit or attachment, that abandonment springs from goodness. It is not possible for a living being to abandon all actions. He who abandons only the fruit, is really one who has abandoned actions. According to the Sāṃkhya doctrine, there are five different causes: the resting place, agent, instrument, varied movements and fate. In this manner it goes on. Some

acts or states of mind are represented to vary according to the three qualities, such as knowledge, the deed done and the doer, Buddhi or will, firmness and happiness, and the duties of the different castes.

The man who worships him from whom all beings have sprung and who has spread out all this by doing the duties assigned to him, for which the three qualities have fitted him, attains final success. He then proceeds to mention all those virtues and other states of mind, such as self-control, freedom from passions, which conduce to the realisation of the Brahma-condition. When this condition is realised, a man is free from sorrow and desire and, being equally disposed towards all beings, he develops in himself the highest love for Bhagavat, and knowing Bhagavat fully and truly, enters into the Bhagavat. One should do all acts, intent only upon God, and then one obtains the eternal place by the favour of God. A man should fix his mind upon Bhagavat alone, dedicating all his actions to him, and then he gets over all evils by the grace of Bhagavat. Then Bhagavat winds up the whole by teaching Arjuna to surrender himself with all his heart to God (the Ruler), who abides in the hearts of all things and moves them, as if forming parts of a wheel; and then he says, by his favour Arjuna would obtain perfect peace and an eternal resting-place. He is further instructed to dedicate his whole mind to Bhagavat, to become his devotee, to worship him, to bow to him, and in this way he (Arjuna) would reach him. This is styled the deepest secret. Then Arjuna is told to set aside all other methods of salvation and surrender himself to Bhagavat alone, and Bhagavat would then free him from all his sins. And thus the chapter ends.

This is the Ekāntika Dharma or monotheistic religion which, as the Nārāyaṇīya tells us, was communicated to Arjuna. The method of salvation here revealed is to lead a life of action, but the fruit of the action one should not be intent on. The action should be done disinterestedly, that is, a man should be selfless in doing it. The action should be dedicated to Brahman, that is, it should be done because the universal order requires it to be done. This is tantamount to saying that one should do one's duty because it is a duty. When a more personal interpretation is given to it, the doctrine comes to this, that one should act with the sole object of carrying out God's will. The frame of mind that is generated by consistently acting in this manner, is freedom from passion, a sense of the omnipresence of God and an equal regard for all things. This leads to the realisation of the highest love of God and, knowing Bhagavat thoroughly, by this means a man is absorbed in him.

But to do one's duty consistently and selflessly is a matter difficult, since all beings are subject to the influence of the three qualities or, in our modern phraseology, of passions and appetencies. These can be got over by surrendering oneself to God.

VI. The Sources of the Religion of the Bhagavadgītā.

§ 28. This constant insistence on actions being done without any regard for the fruit, that is, disinterestedly or selflessly, forms a peculiarity of the Bhagavadgītā. But the idea is not new. In the Īśopaniṣad it is stated in the second verse that a man should desire to live a hundred years doing actions resolutely, and in that way and no other, will action not contaminate him. And the non-contamination as the result of an elevated state of mind is spoken of in ChU. IV, 14, 3; BU. IV, 4, 23; and MaiU. VI, 20.

The attributes of the Supreme Being the Gītā draws from the Upaniṣads, as has been already shown in the remarks on the different chapters. While the personality of God is fully acknowledged in certain parts of the Upaniṣads, mere Brahman, the personality of which is not so distinct, is also spoken of in some places. When the Bhagavadgītā takes in these passages, it takes care to distinctly personalise the Akṣara or Brahman, as we have shown. The source from which the Gītā derives its doctrines about the conquest of the self and the attainment of a condition of peace and serenity, is the general atmosphere of religious and moral sentiment that came to prevail from the beginning of the earliest Upaniṣad speculations to the formation of definite religious systems, orthodox and heterodox. Consequently, though the Gītā speaks of the Brahma-Nirvāṇa, it ought not to be supposed that it borrows this doctrine of final peace and serenity from Buddhism. The source resorted to by these systems was common to all.

Besides the Upaniṣads and the religious and moral atmosphere prevalent at that time, the Gītā avails itself of the philosophy that had come into existence in early times. This is the philosophy of the Sāṃkhya and the Yoga. Though the twenty-four principles of the former system, together with the Puruṣa or soul as the twenty-fifth, as known in later times, and the doctrine of the activity of the Prakṛti only and the non-activity of Puruṣa are alluded to in the Bhagavadgītā, still it adds another soul called the Uttama Puruṣa or the Supreme Soul, which is not found in the later Sāṃkhya, thus giving a theistic character to the philosophy. In their account of the creation the Purāṇas follow this philosophy, and the later Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva systems adopt it in a more or less qualified manner. But the word Sāṃkhya does not seem to be used in the Bhagavadgītā to indicate the later non-theistic system. In the second chapter and in the fifth, Sāṃkhya indicates a philosophy based upon knowledge, and Yoga, one based on action. Again the five causes that are alluded to in the last chapter as mentioned in the Sāṃkhya system do not appear to be known to the later Sāṃkhyas. The speculative philosophy, therefore, that existed about the time of the Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad and the Bhagavadgītā, was known by the name of Sāṃkhya, and out of it grew the non-theistic system of later times. The Yoga, the philosophy of action, too did prevail, but it culminated, as indicated before, into a concentration of mind, the ordinary operations being suspended, on the Brahman, Akṣara, or the Supreme Soul.

§ 29. Thus the Bhagavadgītā is the result of the development of the religious and philosophic speculation that prevailed before the rise of Buddhism. But the origin of the idea of Bhakti, or love of God, which is the characteristic of the work, has formed the subject of a great deal of speculation in modern times, and to this point we will now turn. In the Upaniṣads, Upāsanā, or fervent meditation of a number of things, such as Manas (mind), the sun, the Puruṣa in the sun or the moon, food, vital breath, etc., regarded as Brahman, i. e. thinking of them as Brahman, is prescribed. Such a fervent meditation cannot but magnify the thing and give it a glorious form, so as to excite admiration and even love. Again what is called the Internal Ātman (soul) is said in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka to be dearer than a son, wealth and everything else (I, 4, 8). Here the word Ātman may possibly be taken to mean one's own soul. In the same Upaniṣad there is another passage which runs thus: "This is that Great Unborn, who is of the form of thought among vital airs, who dwells in the cavity of the heart, who is controller of all, ruler of all, the lord of all. By doing good or evil deeds he does not become better or worse. He is the ruler of all beings, he is the causeway or dike that separates things from one another and prevents them being confused together (he is the preserver of order). The Brāhmaṇas desire to know him by the words of the Vedas, by worship, charity and austerity. Knowing him, one becomes a sage. The recluses, desiring him as the place to live in, renounce the world. On this account the wise men of old did not desire progeny, saying to themselves: 'What shall we do with progeny, when we have got this Being, this world to live in?'; and thus they gave up desire for sons, wealth and the world, and lived the life of mendicants" (IV, 4, 22). Now, if those wise men of old gave up all the pleasures of the world to contemplate and dwell with the Supreme Being, so eloquently described, must it not be considered that they were actuated by love for him, though the word Bhakti does not occur here? And at the bottom of all those rapturous sayings about the peace attained by seeing the Supreme Soul in the world and the heart of man, there must be a feeling akin to love. And during the period when the Ṛgveda poetry was composed, love for God or gods was often an abiding sentiment in the heart of the poet, as is evident from the words: "Dyaus is my father" (RV. I, 164, 33); "Aditi (the boundless) is father, mother, and son" (RV. I, 89, 10); and from such prayers as "O father Dyaus, avert all evils", "Be accessible to us and gracious as a father to the son", etc. Though the later sacrificial ritual destroyed the spirit of these verses and converted them into simple verbal formulae, still, the feeling that was in the heart at the time when they were composed, must have continued, though it found no expression for a time and exhibited itself again mixed with wonder and admiration in the times of the Upaniṣads. It certainly was not absent during this last period. The text about the two birds, the friends and companions of each other, by which are meant the Supreme and individual souls exists in the Ṛksaṃhitā (I, 164, 20) and is repeated in the Muṇḍaka-Upaniṣad (VII, 1, 1).

In the last (MU. III, 2, 3) and in the KU. (II, 23) there is a verse

to the effect that this Supreme Soul is not to be attained by lectures (from a teacher), nor by intelligence, nor by much learning; he is to be attained by him whom the Supreme Soul favours; to him he discloses his form. Again we have the doctrine that the supremely wise Being, the life of all, leads a man to do good deeds, whom he desires to elevate (KBU. III, 8); and another, that God dwelling in the heart of all beings controls them, which latter forms the subject of a celebrated passage in the BU. III, 7. From this it is clear that the doctrine that the individual soul is dependent on the Supreme and that the latter alone works out his salvation, was acknowledged in Upaniṣad times.

§ 30. In this manner all the points that constitute the Ekāntika religion of the Bhagavadgītā are to be found in the older religious literature. The word Bhakti, however, in the sense of love is not to be found except in a verse in ŚU. But that word is not always used in the sense of love even by Rāmānuja. In his system Bhakti means constant meditation and corresponds to the Upāsanā of the Upaniṣads. The word etymologically signifies resorting to and then loving the thing resorted to. It is used in this sense by Pāṇini in Sūtra IV, 3, 95; but the word, as explained by the commentators, has a passive sense and means a thing resorted to, liked or loved; and general and special terminations are prescribed, which, when affixed to a noun, indicate one by whom the thing expressed by the noun is liked or loved. In this sense the word Bhakti is used by Yāska also, when he speaks of certain things as Agnibhaktīni, Indrabhaktīni, i. e. things which resort to, or relate themselves to, Agni, etc. Thus the idea of love was associated with the word in early times, though it then signified l o v e d instead of l o v e. Properly speaking, by the rules of Pāṇini himself, it ought to signify the latter, as the suffix *ti* indicates Bhāva or condition. Howsoever the word may have come into use in later times, the thing expressed by it, viz. love for the Ātman or the Supreme Soul, was an idea implied and often expressed by the word *priya* or *preyas* in the Upaniṣad period.

§ 31. The state of things which must have led to the evolution of the religion of the Gītā seems to me to be this. About the time when the systems of religion we have been considering arose, there was a tendency amongst the people which often worked itself out, as is evident from the Pāli Birth-Stories, to give up worldly life and betake themselves to a residence in forests or mountains. Even Buddhism, Jainism and other like systems considered an ascetic life to be a sine qua non of religious elevation. There is reason to believe that Śramaṇas existed before the rise of Buddhism. The religious systems that had sprung up were mostly atheistic. The Indian mind had become prone to indulge in mere moral discourses and thoughts of moral exaltation, unassociated with a theistic faith, as appears clear from Buddhism and other systems and also from dry moral dissertations of which the Mahābhārata is full. Such a system as that of the Bhagavadgītā was, therefore, necessary to counteract these tendencies. Theistic ideas were so scattered in the Upaniṣads, that it was necessary for practical purposes to work them up into a system of redemption

capable of being grasped easily. These appear to be the conditions under which the Gītā came into existence. I am not inclined to dissolve Vāsudeva and Arjuna into solar myths; but Vāsudeva could not have been living when the Bhagavadgītā was composed as a discourse delivered by him, any more than Buddha was living when his discourses were reduced to the form of books. It is worthy of remark that both of them are called Bhagavats when speaking. Vāsudeva must already have been deified before the Bhagavadgītā was written.

As regards the attitude of the Bhagavat to the older belief, it is evident that it is conservative and he came to fulfil the law and not supersede it. It must already have been seen that he looks at the sacrificial religion from almost the same point of view as the Upaniṣads. The cherishing of desires which the sacrificial rites encouraged is considered harmful, and the fruit attained by means of them is perishable. It was because this Ekāntika religion was so conservative, that it gradually made its way into Hindu society in general, though it did not succeed in uprooting the religion of sacrifices. Still it always retained its character as a religion for women and for all castes, Śūdras included, and in its later development it was associated with such Vedic rites as then remained when it was professed by the Brāhmaṇas, but not so associated when its followers were of lower castes, among whom it continued to exercise great influence. The Bhagavat's attitude towards the worshippers of other gods has already been explained. It was strictly liberal. All worship, to whomsoever it was directed, reaches him ultimately, but the devotees of other gods do not know Bhagavat as he truly is and thus go wrong. This attitude must have had something to do with the influence of the Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa cult over the lower classes.

VII. Identification of Vāsudeva with Nārāyaṇa.

§ 32. The word Nārāyaṇa is similar to Nāḍāyana, which last is formed by P. IV, 1, 99 and means the Gotra Nāḍāyana. The termination is significative and means in this case the resting place or the place to which Nāḍa or a collection of Naḍas go. So Nārāyaṇa means the resting place or goal of Nāra or a collection of Naras [1]). In the Nārāyaṇīya (XII, 341) Keśava or Hari says to Arjuna that he is known as the resting place or goal of men (narāṇām). The word Nṛ or Nara is also used to denote gods as manly persons, especially in the Vedas, so that Nārāyaṇa may be construed as the resting place or goal of gods. There is a tradition which connects Nārāyaṇa with the primeval waters. Manu (1, 10) and also Hari in the above passage say that the waters were called Nārās because they were the sons of Nara and, since they were the first resting place of Brahmā in the first case and of Hari in the second, the two were called Nārāyaṇas. The Purāṇas, such as the Vāyu and the Viṣṇu, agree with Manu. Again there is a tradition that Brahmadeva sprang from the lotus in the

[1]) See Medhātithi's commentary on Manu 1,10.

navel of Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu (MBh. III, 12, 34 and XII, 349, 18). In the Vāyu-Purāṇa Nārāyaṇa is represented as prior to Avyakta or matter in an undeveloped form, and from Avyakta sprang the mundane egg, and from the latter arose Brahmadeva. All these traditions in various forms seem to go back to RV. X, 82, 5 and 6, which may be thus translated: "Prior to the sky, prior to this earth, prior to the living gods, what is that embryo which the waters held first and in which all the gods existed? The waters held that same embryo in which all the gods exist or find themselves; on the navel of the unborn stood something in which all beings stood". In this we have first the waters mentioned; on those waters stood the embryo, which corresponds to the Brahmā of the later tradition, who created everything; and the unborn corresponds to Nārāyaṇa from whose navel he sprang. In this embryo all the gods, it is said, found themselves. This corresponds to the Naras, men or gods, whose goal or resting place was Nārāyaṇa, so that this confirms the identity between Brahmā and Nārāyaṇa mentioned by Manu and some of the Purāṇas. Nārāyaṇa, therefore, who, by the other authorities cited above, is considered prior to Brahmadeva and to the Svayaṃbhū of Manu, is another person and has a cosmic character and is not a historical or mythological individual. This idea of Nārāyaṇa was developed in the period of the later Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas. In the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (XII, 3, 4) Puruṣa Nārāyaṇa is represented to have sent forth from the place of sacrifice Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas by means of the morning, midday and evening libations respectively, he alone remaining in the place. Prajāpati tells him to sacrifice again, and the substance of the whole is that Nārāyaṇa placed himself in all the worlds, in all the gods, in all the Vedas and in all the vital airs, and they were placed in him. This shadows forth the rising of Nārāyaṇa to the dignity of the Supreme Soul, who pervades all and in whom all things exist and who in the beginning sent forth all the gods, being himself their receptacle or resting place as indicated in RV. X, 82, 6. In another place (XIII, 6, 1) Puruṣa Nārāyaṇa is mentioned as having conceived the idea of a Pañcarātra Sattra (continued sacrifices for five days) as the means of obtaining superiority over all beings and becoming all beings. He performed the sacrifices and attained to that dignity. Here also Nārāyaṇa's becoming the Supreme Ruler and becoming all are spoken of. Nārāyaṇa is represented as the author of the Puruṣasūkta (RV. X, 90). This appears to be as much a fanciful representation, as that of Viśvakarman and others as authors of other hymns. As in these last cases, it has a connection with the deity to which the hymn refers, so that Nārāyaṇa is another name of the Puruṣa, and these two names are associated together, as we have seen, in the above citations from the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa. In the Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka (X, 11) Nārāyaṇa is described with all the attributes of the Supreme Soul, which are usually found mentioned in the Upaniṣads. In the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, he figures as the supreme god, especially in connection with the creation; mythologically he is represented as lying on the body of a huge serpent in the ocean of milk, the original conception of his connection with the primeval waters being still kept to.

Nārāyaṇa thus became an object of worship. In the Ghosuṇḍi inscription noticed before, there is what appears to be a dedication of an enclosure to Nārāyaṇa (Nārāyaṇa-Vāṭikā).

§ 33. The heaven of this Nārāyaṇa was the Śvetadvīpa or white island. In the Kathāsaritsāgara (54, 19; 21; 23) Naravāhanadatta is represented to have been carried to the white island by Devasiddhi and to Hari reposing on the body of the serpent Śeṣa and attended by Nārada and other devotees. In another place in the same work (115, 101—3) certain gods are spoken of as having gone to Śvetadvīpa and seen Hari in a house made of great gems lying on the serpent bed with Lakṣmī sitting at his feet. In the Harivaṃśa (14 384) it is stated that Yogins and Kāpilasāṃkhyas who desire Mokṣa or final deliverance, go to the white island or Śvetadvīpa, by reciting the prayer and praise composed by Balin. Evidently, therefore, Śvetadvīpa or white island is the heaven in which Nārāyaṇa, spoken of sometimes as Hari, dwells. It corresponds to the Vaikuṇṭha of Viṣṇu, the Kailāsa of Śiva, and the Goloka of Gopālakṛṣṇa; and to that heaven of Nārāyaṇa it was that Nārada went and saw him and learned from him the monotheistic religion of Vāsudeva. There is, therefore, no need to suppose that that white island was a Christian country peopled by white races.

§ 34. Nārāyaṇa, being thus evolved as the Supreme Being in the later Brāhmaṇic period, was, of course, prior to Vāsudeva, and in the epic times when the worship of the latter arose, Vāsudeva was identified with Nārāyaṇa. In the Vanaparvan (chaps. 188, 189) there is a description of the condition of things at the time of dissolution of the universe, in which it is stated that there was water everywhere and there was a boy lying on a couch on a branch of a Nyagrodha tree. He opened his mouth and took in Mārkaṇḍeya, who roamed in the inside and saw the whole universe and was struck with wonder. Then the boy vomited or threw him out, when he saw again the waters alone. Mārkaṇḍeya then asked the boy who he was; then he said: "Formerly I gave to waters the name of Nārāḥ, and those were my resting place (Ayana), and therefore I am Nārāyaṇa", and thus he goes on to describe his greatness. Finally Mārkaṇḍeya, who tells the whole story, says to Yudhiṣṭhira that Janārdana, his relative, is this same Nārāyaṇa. The burden of the whole of the Nārāyaṇīya section seems to be this identity between Nārāyaṇa and Vāsudeva. Besides this Nārāyaṇa, the creator of all, there was a tradition about another who was always associated with Nara. This companionship seems to be traceable to the Upaniṣad idea of two birds dwelling in a tree, friends and associates of each other. That one of those, who is called the lord and the onlooker, is in the present tradition Nārāyaṇa and the other, who is engaged in eating the fruit of the tree, Nara. The old idea was transferred to the new conception of Nārāyaṇa as the resting place or abode of all men. In the opening chapter of the Nārāyaṇīya it is stated that Nārāyaṇa, the eternal soul of the universe, with four forms became the son of Dharma. The four forms or four sons were Nara, Nārāyaṇa, Hari and Kṛṣṇa. The first two of these devoted themselves to the practice of austerities in the Badarikāśrama. The same story is given in the Vāmana-Purāṇa (chap. 6). These

four are represented as the sons of Dharma and had Ahiṃsā (non-killing) as their mother. This story seems to be significant. About the time when the new systems of religion arose, the ideas that were undergoing fermentation were Dharma or righteousness and Ahiṃsā or non-slaughter as against the old ceremonial of sacrificial rites and the killing of animals in accordance with it. These four names, therefore, were names connected with the introduction of a new system of religion, not heterodox, which concerned itself with righteousness and non-slaughter of animals. That is what appears to be meant by Dharma being called the father of these four and Ahiṃsā their mother. Nara and Nārāyaṇa are sometimes called Ṛṣis, and that is probably to be traced to the conception of Nārāyaṇa as the Ṛṣi or composer of the Puruṣasūkta. These gods must have been very famous at the time when the Mahābhārata was composed, since in the opening stanza of the different books obeisance is made to these two gods. In the Vanaparvan (12, 46; 47) Janārdana is represented to have said to Arjuna: "Oh invincible one, thou art Nara and I am Hari Nārāyaṇa and we, the sages Nara-Nārāyaṇa, have come to this world at the proper time; thou art not different from me, oh Pārtha, and I am not different from thee; it is not possible to know any difference between us." In chap. 30 (verse 1) of the same Parvan the god of gods (Śiva) says to Arjuna: "In a former birth (body) thou wast Nara and with Nārāyaṇa for thy companion performedst austerities for many thousands of years in Badarī". In the Udyogaparvan (49, 19) it is said: "The two heroes, Vāsudeva and Arjuna, who are great warriors, are the old gods Nara and Nārāyaṇa. This is the tradition." In this manner there are a good many examples of the identification of Arjuna and Vāsudeva with Nara and Nārāyaṇa. And thus the old tradition about the two Ṛṣis who were warriors at the same time was brought into connection with the two interlocutors of the Bhagavadgītā.

VIII. Identification of Vāsudeva with Viṣṇu.

§ 35. Viṣṇu is a Vedic deity. There are but few hymns addressed to him in RV.; but his personality is by no means unimportant. The long strides which he takes, and the three steps by which he measures the universe, are always described with an enthusiastic spirit. His first two steps can be discerned and approached by men, but the third no one can dare transgress, and it is beyond the flight of birds (RV. I. 155, 5). The wise see the highest place of Viṣṇu (paramam padam), as it were an eye fixed in the heaven (RV. I. 22, 20). In the highest place of Viṣṇu there is a well of honey, and there the gods rejoice (RV. I, 154, 5). Viṣṇu appears as the comrade and helper of Indra.

Viṣṇu, however, in spite of his comparatively subordinate position in RV. began to rise in importance in the time of the Brāhmaṇas, while during the epic and Purāṇic period he rose to the rank of the supreme spirit. The moment which seems to have been in operation during this process of elevation, was reverence for the third step or

the mysterious highest abode of Viṣṇu beyond the ken of all. In the Brāhmaṇic period we have the mention of Agni as the lowest of the gods and Viṣṇu as the highest (AB. 1, 1). Then we have a story in Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa and Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka of a sacrificial session held by the gods for the attainment of splendour, glory and food. They proposed to themselves that he amongst them, who by his deeds reached the end of the sacrifice before the others, should attain the highest place among them all. Viṣṇu reached the end before the others, and he thus became the highest of the gods; and therefore they say that Viṣṇu is the highest of the gods (ŚB. XIV, 1, 1). When this was written, Viṣṇu had already attained to the supreme dignity, and the story is invented to account for it. There is again in the same Brāhmaṇa (1, 2, 5) the story of Viṣṇu the dwarf. When the gods and Asuras were contending for a place for sacrifice, the latter agreed that they would allow as much land for the former as was equal to the size of the dwarf. Viṣṇu was then made to lie down, but gradually he grew so large as to encompass the whole earth, and so the gods got the whole earth. Here a miraculous power has been attributed to Viṣṇu, though he is not necessarily the Supreme Spirit. In the Maitri-Upaniṣad (VI, 13) food is called the form of Bhagavad-Viṣṇu, which sustains the universe. In the Kaṭha-Upaniṣad (III, 9) the progress of the human soul is compared to a journey, and the end of the path which he traverses is called the highest place of Viṣṇu (paramam padam). This is the final goal and the abode of eternal bliss, and the use of the word in this sense lends support to the view that the elevation of Viṣṇu to the dignity of the Supreme Being was due to the fact that the expression was capable of being used to denote this sense. Some time after, Viṣṇu became even a household god. In the ceremony of the seven steps contained in the marriage ritual the bridegroom has to say to the bride, when she puts forth a step: "May Viṣṇu lead you or be with you." This formula occurs in the Gṛhyasūtras of Āpastamba, Hiraṇyakeśin and Pāraskara, but not in that of Āśvalāyana. In epic times Viṣṇu grew to be in every respect the Supreme Spirit; and Vāsudeva is identified with Viṣṇu. In chapters 65 and 66 of the Bhīṣmaparvan noticed before, the Supreme Spirit is addressed as Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu and is identified with Vāsudeva.

In the Anugītā portion of the Āśvamedhikaparvan (chaps. 53—55) Kṛṣṇa, while returning to Dvārakā, meets on the way a sage of the name of Uttaṅka of the Bhṛgu race. The sage asks Kṛṣṇa whether he had established peace between the contending kinsmen, Pāṇḍus and Kurus, and established affectionate relations between them. Kṛṣṇa replies that the Kurus had been destroyed and the Pāṇḍus were in possession of the supreme sovereignty. The sage got angry and said that he would pronounce a curse against Kṛṣṇa, but if he explained to him the philosophy of the soul (Adhyātma), he would desist. Kṛṣṇa then does explain this philosophy at the request of Uttaṅka and shows him his universal form (Virāṭ svarūpam). The Svarūpa is the same as, or similar to, that shown to Arjuna according to the Bhagavadgītā, but it is here called the Vaiṣṇava form (rūpa), which name does not occur in the other passage. Thus then between the period of the Bhagavad-

gītā and that of the Anugītā the identity of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa with Viṣṇu had become an established fact. In the Śantiparvan (chap. 43) Yudhiṣṭhira addressing Kṛṣṇa sings a hymn of praise, in which Kṛṣṇa is identified with Viṣṇu. In the epic times, Viṣṇu is regarded as the Supreme Spirit, but the names of Nārāyaṇa and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa apparently occur more frequently or are more prominent.

§ 36. Still many parts of the Mahābhārata represent a condition of things in which the divinity of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa was not generally acknowledged. In the above passage from the Anugītā, the sage Uttaṅka is about to pronounce a curse on Kṛṣṇa, as if he was an ordinary individual, and desists only when his universal form is shown to him. Similarly in many passages noticed by Dr. Muir (O. S. T. IV, pp. 205ff.) Kṛṣṇa's divinity is denied; and Saṃjaya and Bhīṣma make strenuous efforts to establish it. What appears to be the fact is that the religion of Vāsudeva, in which divine honours were paid to him, was professed by the Sātvatas, as observed in several of the passages noticed above, and its gradual extension to other tribes and people of the country is shadowed forth in these portions of the great epic. In the Purāṇic times, however, the cult of Vāsudeva ceased to be militant, and three streams of religious thought, namely the one flowing from Viṣṇu, the Vedic god at its source, another from Nārāyaṇa, the cosmic and philosophic god, and the third from Vāsudeva, the historical god, mingled together decisively and thus formed the later Vaiṣṇavism. There is, however, a fourth stream, which in modern times in some of the systems of Vaiṣṇavism has acquired an almost exclusive predominance, and to this we shall now direct our attention.

IX. Identification of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa with the Cowherd God (Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa).

§ 37. There is no allusion to the cowherd Kṛṣṇa in the authorities we have hitherto quoted. The inscriptions, the work of Patañjali and even the Nārāyaṇīya itself indicate no knowledge of the existence of such a god. In the last the Avatāra of Vāsudeva is mentioned as having been assumed for the destruction of Kaṃsa, but of none of the demons whom the cowherd Kṛṣṇa killed in the cow-settlement (Gokula). The contrast between this and the statements in the Harivaṃśa (vv. 5876—5878), Vâyu-Purāṇa, chap. 98, vv. 100—102, and Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, II, 7, of Kṛṣṇa's Avatāra having been assumed for destroying all the demons that appeared in the cow-settlement as well as of Kaṃsa is significant. When these works were written, the legend about the cowherd Kṛṣṇa must have already become current and his identification with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa been effected. And the story of the Vṛṣṇi prince Vāsudeva having been brought up in a cow-settlement is incongruous with his later career as depicted in the Mahābhārata. Nor does any part of it require the presupposition of such a boyhood as has been ascribed to him.

In the Sabhāparvan (chap. 41), however, Śiśupāla in traducing Kṛṣṇa alludes to his valorous deeds, such as the killing of Pūtanā and

others, which were done in the cow-settlement, and speaks of Bhīṣma's having praised them. But the praise bestowed on Kṛṣṇa by Bhīṣma (chap. 38) does not contain a mention of these deeds. This passage therefore is interpolated [1]).

The name Govinda does occur in the Bhagavadgītā and other parts of Mahābhārata. It is an ancient name, beeing derived by a Vārttika on P. III, 1, 138. If this name was given to Kṛṣṇa, because of his having had to do with cows, while a boy in Gokula, and his previous history in the cow-settlement was known, when the genuine portions of the Mahābhārata were composed, we should have found an etymology of the name expressive of that connection. But, on the contrary, in the Ādiparvan it is stated that Govinda is so called, because in the form of a boar he found the earth (Go) in the waters, which he agitated (chap. 21, 12); and in the Śāntiparvan (chap. 342, 70) Vāsudeva says: "I am called Govinda by the gods, because formerly I found the earth which was lost and lodged in a den". The origin of the name may be traced to this legend, but more probably Govinda is a later form of Govid, which in the Ṛgveda is used as an epithet of Indra in the sense of 'the finder of the cows'. This epithet, as another, Keśiniṣūdana, which is also applicable to Indra, must have been transferred to Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, when he came to be looked upon as the chief god.

From all this it appears that the story of Kṛṣṇa's boyhood in the Gokula was unknown till about the beginning of the Christian Era. The Harivaṃśa, which is the chief authority for it, contains the word *dīnāra*, corresponding to the Latin word *denarius*, and consequently must have been written about the third century of the Christian era. Some time before that the stories of Kṛṣṇa's boyhood must have been current. The nature of the tribe of cowherds among whom Kṛṣṇa lived, is to be gathered from the words of the boy-god addressed to his foster-father Nanda, in order to dissuade him from celebrating a festival to Indra, and induce him to worship the mountain Govardhana instead. "We are cowherds", he says, "wandering in forests, main-

[1]) The Southern recension of the Mahābhārata contains many interpolations. In the Nārāyaṇīya chap. 338 of the Northern recension corresponds to chap. 344 of the Southern. We have six verses in the latter which are not contained in the former. They speak of animals made of flour being killed instead of real live animals. This is a later doctrine, which is strongly advocated by the Mādhva Vaiṣṇavas, but denied with as much pertinacity by Smārtas. In the present case in the Sabhāparvan, chap. 22, vv. 27—36 about Kṛṣṇa's doings in Gokula are in S. and not in N. Chap. 23 in S. about Kṛṣṇa's birth and removal to Gokula is not in N. Chap. 24, S. vv. 4—5 about Jarāsaṃdha's declining to fight with Kṛṣṇa, because he was a Gopa, are not found in chap. 23, N., which corresponds to that chapter. Chaps. 33 and 34 in S. are not in N. The first is about Sahadeva's expedition to the Pāṇḍya country and the second about Ghaṭotkaca's being sent to Laṅkā and Vibhīṣaṇa's paying tribute out of respect for Kṛṣṇa. At the end of chap. 39 in S., corresponding to chap. 36 in N., there is an interpolated passage, in which the worship done to Kṛṣṇa is derided as having been done to a Gopa or cowherd. This is not found in N. Chaps. 42—61 in S. are not found in N. They contain a mention of the Avatāras of Viṣṇu and his exploits in Gokula. Chap. 64 in S. corresponds to chap. 41 in N. Thus attempts have always been made to bring by means of interpolations the stories told in the Mahābhārata to the form which they subsequently assume. The passage dealt with in the text is a clear interpolation.

taining ourselves on cows, which are our wealth; cows are our deities, and mountains and forests" (H. 3808). The cowherds lived in a Ghoṣa or temporary encampment, which was capable of being easily removed from place to place, as when they left Vraja and encamped in Vṛndāvana (H. 3532). Ghoṣa is defined as Ābhīrapallī, which is generally understood as the enclosure of cowherds. But the original signification of the word Ābhīra is not a cowherd. It is the name of a race, whose original occupation was the tending of cows; and consequently the name became in later times equivalent to a 'cowherd'. For these reasons the cowherds among whom the boy-god Kṛṣṇa lived, belong to a nomadic tribe of the name of Ābhīras. These Ābhīras occupied the tract of country from Madhuvana near Mathurā to Anūpa and Ānarta, the regions about Dvārakā (H. 5161—5163). The Ābhīras are mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Mausalaparvan, chap. 7) as having attacked Arjuna, who was carrying the women of the Vṛṣṇis from Dvārakā to Kurukṣetra after the extinction of the male members of the Vṛṣṇi race. They are described as robbers and Mlecchas and lived near Pañcanada, which is probably Panjāb. The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa locates them near the Aparāntas (Konkan) and Saurāṣṭras, and Varāhamihira assigns them nearly the same position. Though they are mentioned as a southern people (Bṛ. S. 14, 12) and as living in the southwest (Bṛ. S. 14, 18), the Ābhīras must have migrated in large hordes into the country. They were at first mere nomads and afterwards settled in the country from about the eastern confines of the Panjāb to the vicinity of Mathurā and in the south up to Surāṣṭra or Kāṭhiāvāḍ, i. e., they must have occupied the whole of Rājputāna and a tract to the northeast of it. After they were settled, they took to various occupations, one of which was of course the old one, namely the tending of cows. The descendants of the old Ābhīras are called Āhirs at the present day, and we have now Āhirs following the occupation of carpenters, goldsmiths, cowherds and even priesthood. At one time they founded a kingdom in the northern part of the Marāṭha country, and an inscription of the ninth year of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena, the son of Ābhīra Śivadatta, is found at Nāsik [1]). From the form of the characters the inscription probably belongs to the end of the third century. The Purāṇas mention a dynasty of Ābhīras composed of ten princes [2]). Another inscription of an earlier date is found at Gundā [3]) in Kāṭhiāvāḍ, in which the charities of Rudrabhūti, a general, who is called an Ābhīra, are mentioned. The inscription belongs to the reign of a Kṣatrapa king of the name of Rudrasiṃha, who held power in Śaka 102 corresponding to 180 A. D. If then about the end of the second century and in the third the Ābhīras enjoyed high political position, they must have migrated into the country in the first century. They probably brought with them the worship of the boy-god and the story of his humble birth, his reputed father's knowledge that he was not his son, and the massacre of the innocents. The two last correspond to Nanda's knowing that he was

[1]) Lüders, List of Brāhmī Inscriptions, Nr. 1137.
[2]) See Vāyu-Purāṇa, vol II. chap. 37, page 453, Bibl. Ind.
[3]) Lüders, List of Brāhmī Inscriptions, Nr. 963.

not the father of Kṛṣṇa and Kaṃsa's killing all children. The stories of Kṛṣṇa's boyhood, such as that of killing Dhenuka, a demon in the form of a wild ass, were brought by Ābhīras [1]), and others were developed after they came to India. It is possible that they brought with them the name Christ also, and this name probably led to the identification of the boy-god with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. The Goanese and the Bengalis often pronounce the name Kṛṣṇa as Kuṣṭo or Kriṣṭo, and so the Christ of the Ābhīras was recognised as the Sanskrit Kṛṣṇa. The dalliance of Kṛṣṇa with cowherdesses, which introduced an element inconsistent with the advance of morality into the Vāsudeva religion, was also an after-growth, consequent upon the freer intercourse between the wandering Ābhīras and their more civilised Āryan neighbours. Morality cannot be expected to be high or strict among races in the condition of the Ābhīras at the time; and their gay neighbours took advantage of its looseness. Besides, the Ābhīra women must have been fair and handsome as those of the Āhir-Gavaliyas or cowherds of the present day are.

§ 38. The story in the Buddhistic Ghatajātaka represents Vāsudeva and his brothers to be the sons of Kaṃsa's sister Devagabbhā and Upasāgara. They were made over to a man of the name of Andhakaveṇhu and to his wife Nandagopā who was the attendant of Devagabbhā. In this version there is a reminiscence of Devakī in the name Devagabbhā; and Nanda and Yaśodā or Gopā of Gokula are compounded together to form the name of the maid-servant who brought up Devagabbhā's sons as her sons. And in Andhakaveṇhu the names of the two kindred Yādava tribes, Andhaka and Vṛṣṇi, are compounded together, and the compound becomes the name of the husband of the maid-servant. Now as Andhaka and Vṛṣṇi were according to the highest authorities two distinct names and were the names of the two tribes, this story contains a confused reminiscence of the true legend and was of a later growth. All the Jātakas were not written at one and the same time. While some belong to a pre-Christian period, others must be assigned to post-Christian times, and the Ghatajātaka appears to me to belong to the latter class. The compound Nandagopā, therefore, though it contains a clear reminiscene of the fosterparents of the boy-god Kṛṣṇa, cannot be considered to point to a pre-Christian period for the identification of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa with Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa.

X. The Pāñcarātra or Bhāgavata System.

§ 39. We have thus gone over the last element which goes to form the Vaiṣṇavism of later times. That element, however, does not form a prominent part, or forms no part at all, of the systems which are based upon the old Pāñcarātra doctrines. As we have seen, the Ekāntika Dharma or monotheistic religion was that which was promulgated by the Bhagavadgītā; but the Pāñcarātra system, consisting, as it did, of the worship of Vāsudeva and his several forms, shows no organic connection with that work, though Bhakti or devotion is common to

[1]) Journ. Roy. As. Soc. for 1907, p. 981.

both. That system must have developed in about the third century B. C., as we have already seen from the inscriptions and passages in books referred to before. Their being free from the Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa element is thus intelligible, and the later Vaiṣṇava systems, such as that of Rāmānuja and Madhva, which more or less recognise the old Bhāgavata doctrines or ideas, have entirely neglected that element. In other systems, however, it is recognised and in a general way in popular Vaiṣṇavism. The authorities on which the Bhāgavata system was based are the Pañcarātra-Saṃhitās; and Rāmānuja in his comments on the Brahmasūtras, II, 2, 39—42, quotes from some of these. The first quotation is from the Pauṣkara-Saṃhitā, which is intended to show that, when Brāhmaṇas worship the fourfold soul with the traditional names, it should be considered authoritative. The second is from the Sātvata-Saṃhitā, which is to the effect that this great Śāstra contains the secret of Brahman and imparts discrimination to Brāhmaṇas who worship the true Brahman bearing the name of Vāsudeva. There are two from the Parama-Saṃhitā. One of these gives the nature of Prakṛti, which is unsentient, of use to another than "itself", eternal, always changeable, composed of three qualities, and is the sphere within which the action of agents is done. The other represents somebody, probably Śāṇḍilya himself, as saying that he has studied all the Vedas with the dependent treatises and Vākovākya, but not having found the way to supreme bliss clearly stated in them. One of these Saṃhitās, bearing the name of Sātvata, has been printed and is available. It begins by saying that Nārada saw Paraśurāma on the Malaya Mountain and was told by him to visit the Ṛṣis, who were in search of the place of Hari, and to instruct them in the Sātvata method of worship (Kriyāmārga). Nārada does this and explains to them the secret traditional methods (Rahasyāmnāya). Nārāyaṇa is spoken of here as the supreme spirit. The secret methods were formerly explained by the bearer of the discus (Vāsudeva), when asked by Saṃkarṣaṇa. Saṃkarṣaṇa spoke to Viṣṇu at the beginning of the Tretā age, asking why his countenance had become red. The answer is: "Because the people will be afflicted with passion in this age". Being asked how they will be delivered from passion, Saṃkarṣaṇa is told that they will be delivered by adoring the eternal and highest Brahman in three ways. The Supreme Spirit, who has hands and feet and eyes everywhere and is endowed with six Guṇas or qualities, is Para or the Highest. It is one and the support of all. Besides this there is a triad, each member of which is distinguished from the others by a distinction in knowledge and other qualities. These three should be known as Vyūhas, or forms, who confer the desired fruit with ease. Balarāma then asks about the mode of service. Bhagavat then explains it as follows:— "When the pure Brahman, which is the aim and end of the creation, exists in the heart of qualified Brāhmaṇas, who worship Vāsudeva, the highest Śāstra, which is a great Upaniṣad of Brahman, springs forth from it for the redemption of the world and confers discrimination; it contains divine methods and has for its fruit final deliverance [1]). I will then

[1]) Two lines out of this are contained in the quotations from Rāmānuja given above.

explain that to you which is of various kinds. This Śāstra, along with Rahasya, is fruitful to those who have gone through Yoga with its eight parts and whose soul is devoted to mental sacrifice. The Yogins, who are Brāhmaṇas guided by the Vedas and who have given up the mixed worship, are competent for the worship of the single one, dwelling in the heart. The three orders, Kṣatriya and others, and those who are *prapanna* or have resorted to self-surrender are competent for the worship of the four Vyūhas accompanied by Mantras, and also unaccompanied by them, so far as regards the series of ceremonies concerning the four Vyūhas as well as the actions and the collection of Mantras concerning the Vibhavas [1]). All these persons should be free from attachment and absorbed in the performance of their duties and be devotees of the supreme lord by their deeds, words and mind. In this manner, the four (orders) become competent, when they are initiated (for service) with Mantras. Hear now the process concerning the single form". Then follows the statement of the mystic arrangement of letters and formulae and the meditations. This work throughout contains the mystic modes of worship by means of Mantras variously arranged. The allusion at the end of chap. 66 of the Bhīṣmaparvan to Saṃkarṣaṇa's having sung or expounded Vāsudeva according to the Sātvata rites (Vidhi) refers in all probability to such rites as are detailed in this Sātvata-Saṃhitā.

Śaṃkarācārya, in his notice of the Bhāgavata school under Br. S. II, 2, 42, gives five methods of worshipping the supreme lord, Bhagavat Vāsudeva, in his fourfold form, which, along with the explanations given by the commentators, are as follows: — (1) Abhigamana or going to the temple of the deity with the speech, the body and the mind centred on him; (2) Upādāna or collecting the materials of worship; (3) Ijyā or worship; (4) Svādhyāya or the muttering of the usual Mantra; (5) Yoga or meditation. By worshipping him in these ways for a hundred years, all sin is destroyed and the devotee reaches Bhagavat.

§ 40. The book called Nāradapañcarātra, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, contains the Saṃhitā called Jñānāmṛtasāra. The glories of the boy Kṛṣṇa are sung in this work. Nārada desiring to know Kṛṣṇa's greatness and the methods of his worship is recommended to go to Śaṃkara, or Śiva, and seek instruction from him. Nārada repairs to Kailāsa and enters the palace of Śaṃkara, which has seven gates. At these gates there are pictures and sculptures relating to the scenes of Kṛṣṇa's childhood and his various deeds in the cow-settlement, such as Vṛndāvana, Yamunā, Kṛṣṇa's sitting on the Kadamba tree with the garments of the cowherdesses and their return from bath in the Yamunā river in a naked condition, the destruction of the serpent Kāliya, the holding up of the Govardhana mountain on the palm of his hand, the journey to Mathurā and the lamentations of the Gopīs and his foster parents, etc. Sculptures representing some of these events were discovered on a pillar excavated at Mandor near Jodhpur about two years ago [2]). The age of the pillar has been

[1]) Vibhavas are the incarnations of the Supreme Spirit.

[2]) Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report 1905—1906, p. 135ff.

considered not earlier than the fourth century A. D. The idea of imagining such sculptures on the gates of Śiva's palace could have occurred to a writer only when the practice of adorning gates and pillars with such sculptures had become general. The Jñanāmṛtasāra, therefore, could not have been earlier than the fourth century and appears to me to be considerably later, as will be presently shown. Goloka or the world of cows is the heaven in which Kṛṣṇa dwells and which is reached by those who adore him, and several Mantras are given in this book, the reciters of which are rewarded with a place in that heaven. The servitude of Hari through devotion is the highest Mukti or absolution according to this work. There are six modes of adoring Hari, viz. (1) remembrance of him, (2) utterance (of his name and glory), (3) salutation, (4) resorting to his feet, (5) constant worship of him with devotion, and (6) surrender of the whole soul to him. The Bhāgavata-Purāṇa adds three more, viz. hearing (his praise), servitude, and companionship (Sakhyam). These last two are preliminary to the surrendering of the whole soul. In this book Rādhā is mentioned as the highest of the women whom Kṛṣṇa loved, and she is represented to have been formed by the original lord becoming two, one of which was Rādhā (II, 3, 24 ff.). The exaltation of this woman is thus one of the main objects of this Saṃhitā.

The Saṃhitā we have been considering, seems thus to be entirely devoted to the advancement of the cult of the Kṛṣṇa of the cow-settlement or Gokula and of his beloved mistress Rādhā, now raised to the dignity of his eternal consort. The Vyūhas which form a peculiarity of the Pāñcarātra school, are not mentioned in it. The creed afterwards promulgated by Vallabhācārya is exactly similar to that set forth in this book. This Saṃhitā, therefore, must have been written a short time before Vallabha, that is, about the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Rāmānujīyas consider this Saṃhitā to be apocryphal.

XI. The Avatāras of Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa.

§ 41. An Avatāra or incarnation of a god differs from mere identification of two gods in this, that in the former case the god that is considered an incarnation acts like a human being, or even a brute, at the same time that he has the miraculous powers of a god. The transition, however, from the idea of identification to that of incarnation is easy. The person in the flesh is identified with the god who is a mere spirit, so that the habit of thought which in Vedic times led to the identification of some of the Vedic deities with Agni, has been at work even in this conception of the Avatāras. The Avatāras of Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu are variously given by the various authorities. In the passage in the Nārāyaṇīya translated above, six only are given, viz. the boar, the man-lion, the dwarf, Rāma of the Bhṛgu race, Rāma Dāśarathi, and that assumed for the destruction of Kaṃsa (Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa). This passage is followed after a short interval by another in which the incarnations are given as ten, the additions being Haṃsa

(swan), Kūrma (tortoise), and Matsya (fish) in the beginning and Kalkin at the end. The one preceding Kalkin is called Sātvata, i. e. Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. This passage, following so closely on the first, appears to be interpolated when the number of Avatāras became fixed at ten. The Harivaṃśa mentions the six given in the first of these two passages. The Vāyu-Purāṇa gives the incarnations in two passages (chap. 97, vv. 72 ff. and chap. 98, vv. 63 ff.), in the first of which there are twelve, but some of them appear rather to be incarnations of Śiva and Indra. In the second the number ten, which about that time must have come into usage, is made up by adding to the six mentioned above the four: Dattātreya, one unnamed called the fifth, Vedavyāsa, and Kalkin. In the Varāha-Purāṇa we have the ten incarnations which came to be accepted later, containing the Fish, Tortoise, Buddha, and Kalkin, in addition to the six mentioned above. The Agni-Purāṇa gives the same ten. The Bhāgavata-Purāṇa enumerates the incarnations in three different passages. In the first, contained in chapter 3 of Book I, twenty-two are mentioned. In the passage in chapter 7 of Book II we have twenty-three, and in chapter 4 of Book XI sixteen are given. It deserves notice that among the Avatāras mentioned in this Purāṇa are Sanatkumāra; the divine sage (Nārada), who expounded the Sātvata system; Kapila, who explained to Āsuri the Sāṃkhya system, which determines the collection of principles; Dattātreya, who is represented to have taught Ānvīkṣikī to Alarka and Prahrāda and the attainment of excellence by means of Yoga to Yadu and Haihaya; Ṛṣabha, son of Nābhi and Merudevī, who abandoned attachment to all things, acquired serenity and, looking at all things alike and possessing Yoga power, acted as if he were a non-living creature; and lastly Dhanvantari, the teacher of the science of medicine. Ṛṣabha, from the parentage given here and other indications, appears clearly to be the same as the first Tīrthaṃkara of the Jainas. He was probably raised to the dignity of an incarnation as the Buddha of the Buddhists was. There is hardly a wide-spread cult of any of these incarnations except Dattātreya, who is adored and worshipped by a large number of people to this day, and Rāma of whom more will have to be said hereafter. Kṛṣṇa, of course, though included in the Avatāras stands on independent grounds, and his worship over the widest area is due, not to his having been considered an Avatāra, but to his being the peculiar object of adoration to the followers of a new religion or religious reform, as I have ventured to call it, which first took its rise among the Sātvatas.

XII. Later Traces of the Bhāgavata School and General Vaiṣṇavism.

§ 42. We will now resume the chronological thread we have traced from Megasthenes to the latest inscription, that at Nānāghāṭ, which is to be referred to the first century B. C. For about four centuries after this there are no epigraphical or sculptural traces of any Brāhmaṇic religious system; and they reappear about the time

when the Guptas rose to power in the first quarter of the fourth century. The Gupta princes, Candragupta II, Kumāragupta, and Skandagupta, are styled Paramabhāgavatas on their coins. They were thus worshippers of Bhagavat or Vāsudeva. Their dates range from 400 to 464 A. D.

On a panel at Udayagiri, there is a figure of a four-armed god, who is probably Viṣṇu. The inscription below bears the date 82 G. E., i.e. 400 A. D.[1])

There is a pillar at Bhitarī in the Ghāzīpur District of the U. P., on which there is an inscription which records the installation of an image of Śārṅgin and the grant of a village for its worship by Skandagupta, whose dates range between 454 and 464 A. D.[2]) Śārṅgin must have been Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, Skandagupta himself being a Bhāgavata.

A temple of Viṣṇu was erected in 456 A. D. by Cakrapālita, son of Parṇadatta, appointed viceroy of Surāṣṭra or Kāṭhiāvāḍ by Skandagupta. The inscription which records this opens with an invocation of Viṣṇu in the Vāmana or the dwarf incarnation[3]).

In an inscription at Eraṇ in the Sāgar district, C. P., belonging to the reign of Budhagupta and bearing the date 165 G. E., corresponding to 483 A. D., Mātṛviṣṇu and his younger brother Dhanyaviṣṇu are represented to have erected a Dhvajastambha or flag-staff in honour of the god Janārdana. Mātṛviṣṇu is called a great devotee of Bhagavat *(atyanta-Bhagavad-bhakta)*[4]). The god Janārdana must therefore be Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa.

A copperplate inscription of A. D. 495, found near the village of Khoh in Bāghelkhaṇḍ, records the grant of a village, by a chief named Jayanātha, to Bhagavat for repairs to the temple of that god and for the performance of ordinary ceremonies[5]).

An inscription on an iron pillar near the Kutub Minār at Delhi speaks of that pillar as a flag-staff to Viṣṇu erected by a great king named Candra, who enjoyed universal sovereignty and was a great devotee of Viṣṇu. The inscription is not dated, but if the king Candra referred to here was Candragupta II, it belongs to the latter part of the fourth century or the beginning of the fifth[6]).

In his Meghadūta (v. 15) Kālidāsa compares the cloud adorned with a piece of a rain-bow, with Viṣṇu in the shape of the cow-herd adorned with a shining peacock feather. Here there is an identification of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa with Viṣṇu; and, if the Vikramāditya who was the patron of Kālidāsa was Candragupta II of the Gupta dynasty, this must be considered to be a record belonging to the early part of the fifth century.

We have already alluded to the sculptures on a pillar excavated at Mandor near Jodhpur. These sculptures represent the overturning of a cart by the baby Kṛṣṇa, the holding of the Govardhana Mountain

[1]) Corp. Inscr. Ind. Vol. III, p. 21 ff.
[2]) Ibid. p. 52 ff.
[3]) Ibid. p. 56 ff.
[4]) Ibid. p. 88 ff.
[5]) Ibid. p. 121 ff.
[6]) Ibid. p. 139 ff.

by Kṛṣṇa on the palm of his hand, and such other events. I refer them tentatively to the fifth century.

In Śaka 500, Maṅgalīśa, a prince belonging to the early Cālukya dynasty of the Deccan, got a cave scooped out, in which a temple to Viṣṇu was constructed, and an image of Viṣṇu was installed in it. The provision for the performance of Nārāyaṇabali (offerings to Nārāyaṇa) was made by assigning the revenues of a village for the purpose [1]). In this cave-temple there are figures of Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa lying on the body of a serpent, with Lakṣmī rubbing his feet, and of the Boar and Narasiṃha incarnations, and of Harihara in which the peculiar marks of Hari, or Viṣṇu, and of Hara, or Śiva, are combined [2]).

In mentioning the priests who are qualified to install and consecrate the images of certain gods, Varāhamihira says that this function in the case of Viṣṇu should be assigned to Bhāgavatas [3]). Bhāgavatas were thus recognised in his time as the peculiar worshippers of Viṣṇu. Varāhamihira died in Śaka 509. i. e. 587 A. D. [4]).

Amarasiṃha, the author of the well-known Kośa or thesaurus, was a Buddhist. After giving the words expressive of gods generally, when he comes to the names of particular gods, he begins by giving those of Buddha and proceeds next to give the names Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa, etc., of which we have thirty-nine. After finishing these he says that Vasudeva was his father. This means that the thirty-nine names previously given are the names of Vāsudeva. If we examine these, we shall find that before Amara's time Vāsudeva had already been identified with Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa. Except the name Dāmodara, there is no other connecting Vāsudeva with Gokula, and the etymology of Dāmodara which connects him with that cow-settlement is doubtful. While Kaṃsārāti, or the enemy of Kaṃsa, does occur, we have no such name as Pūtanāri, the enemy of Pūtanā, or any other derived from the names of the many demons he slew while he was a boy. There are also no names of incarnations except the doubtful one, Balidhvaṃsin, which, however, has been interpreted by one commentator as the destroyer of ignorance by means of Bali or oblations. There are, of course, several names derived from those of other demons, such as Madhuripu and Kaiṭabhajit, but these are not the enemies destroyed by Viṣṇu in his incarnations as they are usually mentioned. After giving the name of the father of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, Amara proceeds to mention those of Saṃkarṣaṇa, or Baladeva, and afterwards of Pradyumna and Aniruddha. Thereafter he mentions those of Lakṣmī, the wife of Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu, then those of the weapons of the god and his ornaments, and ends with the names of Garuḍa, the vehicle of Viṣṇu. After finishing these he proceeds to the other great god of the Hindus, Śambhu or Śiva. Here Amara appears clearly to have in view the four forms, or Vyūhas, of Vāsudeva recognised by the Bhāgavatas, so that in his time the prevalent form of Vaiṣṇavism was that embraced by the

[1]) Ind. Ant. Vol III. p. 305; Vol. VI. p. 363.
[2]) Fergusson and Burgess, Cave Temples, p. 407.
[3]) Bṛ. S. 60, 19.
[4]) Bhau Daji, Lit. Remains, p. 240.

Bhāgavatas. Amara's exact age is doubtful, but, if he was a Buddhist, he must have belonged to the Mahāyāna sect, the sacred language of which was Sanskrit. This system was in full swing in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries [1]). Amarasiṃha, therefore, must have flourished in this last century, or, if we believe in the traditional verse which asserts his contemporaneousness with Kālidāsa and in Candragupta II as Vikramāditya, the famous patron of learning, he must have flourished in the early part of the fifth century. The identity of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa with Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa is very rarely alluded to, while that with Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa is clearly set forth.

About the middle of the seventh century Bāṇa in his Harṣacarita represents a sage of the name of Divākaramitra, who, originally a Brāhmaṇa, became a Buddhist, as being surrounded in the Vindhya mountains, where he had his abode, by followers of a number of sects, two of which were the Bhāgavatas and Pāñcarātras.

In the Daśāvatāra temple at Ellora there is a figure of Viṣṇu on the body of a serpent with Lakṣmī rubbing his feet and Brahmā seated on a lotus coming out of his navel. There are also images of the Narasiṃha, Vāmana and Varāha incarnations, as well as of Kṛṣṇa holding the Govardhana Mountain over the flocks of the cow-settlement. This temple was constructed about the middle of the eighth century in the time of Dantidurga of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa race. There are similar figures of Avatāras in the Kailāsa temple scooped out in the latter part of the eighth century, in the time of Kṛṣṇa I, uncle of Dantidurga. Among these is also the scene of the destruction of Kāliya by Kṛṣṇa.

There is an inscription in a cave at Pabhōsa, about 32 miles southwest of Allahabad, which probably had a human figure above and runs thus: "The maker of the images of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa and the milk-maids". The date is uncertain, but the inscription is referred to the seventh or eighth century by Bühler [2]).

At Sirpur in the Raipur district, C. P., over the front of a shrine-door there is a sculpture of Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa reclining on the folds of the serpent Śeṣa, and from his navel springs a lotus on which is seated Brahmā. Down the two outer sides of the shrine-door are some of the incarnations of Viṣṇu, one of which is that of Rāma and another of Buddha, whose image is in the usual meditative attitude. The temple belongs probably to the eighth century [3]).

At Osia, 32 miles north of Jodhpur, there is an old temple adjoining to the house of the local Jahagirdar. On two pilasters, projecting from the shrine into the Sabhāmaṇḍapa, are two images of deities both seated on Garuḍa. Both have four hands, but one of them holds a conch-shell, the discus, the mace and the lotus, and the other bears a plough-share and a mace in his two hands, the other two being empty. The last has his head canopied by a five-hooded serpent.

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[1]) Vide my 'Peep into the Early History of India', Journ. Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc., Vol. XX. p. 395.

[2]) Ep. Ind. Vol. II. p. 482.

[3]) Annual Progress Report of Archæological Survey, Western Circle, for 1903—04, p. 21.

They are apparently Vāsudeva and Saṃkarṣaṇa. The temple cannot be later then the ninth century [1]).

In a work called Dharmaparīkṣā Amitagati, the author, who was a Digambara Jaina, says that there were according to the legendary lore current among the Jainas sixty-three eminent men: the twelve supreme sovereigns, the twenty-four Arhats (Jinas), and nine Rāmas, nine Keśavas, and the nine enemies of these nine. The last of the Viṣṇus (Keśavas) was the son of Vasudeva, and his Brāhmaṇa devotees call him the pure, the supreme being. They say: "He who meditates upon the god Viṣṇu, who is all-pervading, a whole without parts, indestructible and unchangeable, who frees a man from old age and death, is free from misery". He is traditionally known to have ten forms or incarnations. These ten forms are the same as mentioned in the Varāha and Agni-Purāṇas (see above), and which are now generally accepted. Thus Buddha had come to be recognised as an incarnation of Viṣṇu before the date of the Dharmaparīkṣā, which is Vikrama 1070, corresponding to 1014 A. D. If the approximate date assigned to the temple at Sirpur is correct, Buddha must have been admitted into the Brāhmaṇic pantheon before the eighth century. Amitagati also speaks of the mighty Viṣṇu having become a cowherd in Nanda's Gokula and of the all-knowing, all-pervading protector of the world (Rāma) as being oppressed by the fire of separation from Sītā like a mortal lover.

Hence, we have evidence of the existence of the cult of Viṣṇu, principally in accordance with the mode professed by the Bhāgavatas from the fourth to the eleventh century. The doctrine of the incarnations had also become an article of ordinary faith, and the founder of Buddhism and the first Tīrthaṃkara of the Jainas also came later to be recognised as incarnations of Viṣṇu.

XIII. The Cult of Rāma.

§ 43. The architectural remains passed under review contain only figures of the incarnations of Viṣṇu and are not to be taken as proving the existence of the cult of any of these incarnations. But at the present day the cult of Rāma exists over a pretty wide area. In the temples and other religious structures hitherto noticed, there is none dedicated to his worship nor any flag-staff like those erected in honour of Janārdana or Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. Rāma, however, was considered as an incarnation of Viṣṇu even in very early times. There are passages in the Rāmāyaṇa pointing to this, but there is good reason to believe that they are spurious or interpolated. But the passage in the Nārāyaṇīya, which we have frequently referred to, contains his name, and so do all the Purāṇas that have been noticed. These in themselves are not sufficient to enable us to determine approximately the period in which he came to be regarded as an incarnation. But in the tenth chapter of the Raghuvaṃśa the story of the birth of Rāma is preceded by the usual appeal to Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa lying on the body of the

[1]) See the forthcoming Annual Report of the Arch. Surv. of India.

great serpent, with Lakṣmī rubbing his feet, in the milky ocean and his promise to be born as a son of Daśaratha for the destruction of Rāvaṇa. Amitagati also speaks in 1014 A. D., as we have seen, of Rāma's being regarded as the all-knowing, all-pervading protector of the world. The Vāyu-Purāṇa, which is the earliest work of that class, must have been written about the fifth century; so that the belief in Rāma's being an incarnation of Viṣṇu existed in all probability in the early centuries of the Christian Era. But there is no mention of his name in such a work as that of Patañjali, nor is there any old inscription in which it occurs. Amarasiṃha, too, has no place for him in his scheme of Brāhmaṇic gods. These circumstances, as well as those mentioned above, show that, though he was regarded as an Avatāra, there was no cult in his honour. Still, as depicted by Vālmīki, Rāma was a high-souled hero and poets, including those nameless ones who wrote Purāṇas in the names of old Ṛṣis, particularly Bhavabhūti, still more highly exalted his character. Rāma, therefore, won a place in the heart of the Indian people, and that must have soon led to the foundation of the cult. But when this took place it is difficult to say. Madhva or Ānandatīrtha, the founder of a sect to be noticed hereafter, is represented to have brought the image of Digvijaya Rāma from Badarikāśrama and sent Naraharitīrtha to Jagannātha about the year 1264 A. D. [1]) to bring what was called the original idols of Rāma and Sītā. The cult of Rāma, therefore, must have come into existence about the eleventh century. There exist manuals giving the modes of worship by means of Mantras or formulae and magic circles, like those prescribed in the Sātvata-Saṃhitā for the worship of Vāsudeva. The ceremony in connection with his birth on the 9th of the bright half of Caitra is given in his Vratakhaṇḍa [2]) by Hemādri, who flourished in the thirteenth century. That writer, as well as Vṛddha-Hārīta [3]), gives the modes of worshipping him as an incarnation along with others on certain occasions, so that it appears that his worship as an incarnation has been of a longer duration than that based on terms of equality with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. Twenty-four images, differing from each other in the order in which the four objects, viz. the conch-shell, discus, mace and lotus, are placed in the four hands of the principal god Vāsudeva or Viṣṇu, are mentioned by both those authors, and the twenty-four names [4]) corresponding to these twenty-four images, Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Govinda, etc., which include those of the four Vyūhas, are repeated by us at the beginning of every ceremony that we perform at the present day; that is, obeisance is made to the twenty-four forms of the god by usimg the word *namaḥ* (salutations) after the dative of each of the names, and the sense is

[1]) See below.

[2]) P. 941 (Bibl. Ind.)

[3]) Vratakhaṇḍa pp. 1034 ff.; Vṛddha-Hārīta-Smṛti (Ānandāśrama Sanskr. Ser.), chap. X. v. 145.

[4]) (1) Keśava, (2) Nārāyaṇa, (3) Mādhava, (4) Govinda, (5) Viṣṇu, (6) Madhusūdana, (7) Trivikrama, (8) Vāmana, (9) Śrīdhara, (10) Hṛṣīkeśa, (11) Padmanābha, (12) Dāmodara, (13) Saṃkarṣaṇa, (14) Vāsudeva, (15) Pradyumna, (16) Aniruddha, (17) Puruṣottama, (18) Adhokṣaja, (19) Narasiṃha, (20) Acyuta, (21) Janārdana, (22) Upendra, (23) Hari, (24) Śrīkṛṣṇa.

'Salutations to Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, etc.'. The name of Rāma, however, is not included in them, while two other Avatāras, Narasiṃha and Vāmana, are mentioned. Every Śrāddha ceremony is wound up by the expression "May Janārdana-Vāsudeva, who is a form of the ancestors, or the father, grandfather and great grandfather, be satisfied by this act". All this shows that Vāsudevism has penetrated into every one of our ordinary ceremonies, which include a repetition even of Vedic Mantras, while this is not at all the case with the cult of Rāma, which is, therefore, of a modern growth. There is a work, entitled the Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa, which Ekanātha [1]), a Mahārāṣṭra saint, who flourished in the sixteenth century, calls a modern treatise, composed of excerpts from older writings and having no pretence to be considered as emanating from the old Ṛṣis. The object of this work throughout has been to set forth the divinity of Rāma. The first book of it comprises what is called Rāmahṛdaya, which was narrated to Hanūmat by Sītā, who says that as the original Prakṛti, she does every thing and did all the deeds mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa, while Rāma as the only existing soul is inactive, unchangeable and blessed, and is a mere witness of her deeds. After she has concluded, Rāma explains the threefold nature of the knowing spirit, viz. (1) the original, (2) that conditioned by Buddhi or finite intelligence, and (3) the appearances, the last two of which are fictitious. The fifth canto of the last book is styled Rāmagītā, which is meant to correspond to the Bhagavadgītā of Vāsudeva and which is narrated by Rāma to Lakṣmaṇa, who takes the place of Arjuna. The doctrine is thoroughly adualistic as that of the previous portion. The world and the individual soul are illusory, and one spirit alone exists. There is another book called Rāmagītā published in Madras, which represents itself to be contained in a larger work called Sattvapārāyaṇa and is composed of eighteen chapters like the genuine Bhagavadgītā. It is narrated to Hanūmat by Rāma. In the beginning it professes itself to be based on the one hundred and eight Upaniṣads, some of which are manifestly very recent. This work, therefore, must be a very modern compilation. Thus the works designed to give importance to Rāma as a religious teacher are of recent origin.

XIV. Vāsudevism or Vaiṣṇavism in the South.

§ 44. We have seen that Saṃkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva had come to be worshipped as gods in the Marāṭha country by about the first century B. C. The cult must have spread further south up to the Tamil country, but there is no evidence to show at what time it was introduced there. The Bhāgavata-Purāṇa (Book XI, chap. 5, vv. 38—40) says, in the usual prophetic style, that in the Kali age there will be found men here and there devoted to Nārāyaṇa, but in large numbers in the Draviḍa country, where flow the rivers Tāmraparṇī, Kāverī and others, and that those who drink the water of these rivers will mostly be pure-hearted devotees of Vāsudeva. When the

[1]) See his Bhāvārtha-Rāmāyaṇa, Āraṇyakāṇḍa.

Purāṇa goes out of its beaten track to make such a statement as this, the fame of the devotees of Vāsudeva, who had flourished in the Tamil country, must have spread over other parts of India when the Purāṇa was compiled. The Purāṇa was regarded as sacred in the thirteenth century, when Ānandatīrtha, who flourished between about 1199 and 1278 A. D., places it on the same level as the Mahābhārata and devotes a treatise to the determination of its drift, as to that of the latter. About the same time Bopadeva prepared an abstract of it at the request of the councillor Hemādri. The Bhāgavata, therefore, must have been composed at least two centuries before Ānandatīrtha to account for the reputation of the sacred character which it acquired in his time. It cannot be very much older, for its style often looks modern and in copying from the older Purāṇas it falls into mistakes, such as the one pointed out by me in another place [1]). The Draviḍa devotees, therefore, noticed in the Bhāgavata, must have mostly flourished before the eleventh century. These devotees, who are known by the name of Āḻvārs, are generally reckoned as twelve in number and are divided into three classes by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar [2]) in accordance with the received chronology which he follows to determine their sequence, though in itself it assigns a preposterously high antiquity to them. Their names, Tamil and Sanskrit, are as follows: —

Class	Tamil name	Sanskrit name
Ancient	Poygai Āḻvār	Saroyogin
	Bhūtattār	Bhūtayogin
	Pēy Āḻvār	Mahadyogin or Bhrāntayogin
	Tirumaḻiśai Āḻvār	Bhaktisāra
Later	Namm Āḻvār	Śaṭhakopa
		Madhurakavi
		Kulaśekhara
	Periy Āḻvār	Viṣṇucitta
	Aṇḍāḻ	Godā
Last	Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi	Bhaktāṅghrireṇu
	Tiruppāṇ Āḻvār	Yogivāhana
	Tirumangai Āḻvār	Parakāla

The date of the first, ordinarily given, is B. C. 4203 and of the last, B. C. 2706, and the others range between these two. Not only are these dates fanciful, but even the sequence shown above is unreliable. Krishnaswami places the last in the earlier half of the eighth century A. D. and all the preceding ones impliedly before that date. But there is distinct evidence to show that Kulaśekhara flourished much later. He was a king of Travancore, and one of the works composed by him styled Mukundamālā contains a verse from the Bhāgavata-

[1]) Early History of the Dekkan (Second Edition), pp. 32—33.
[2]) Ind. Ant. Vol. XXXV, p. 228.

Purāṇa (XI, 2, 36)[1]. Again in an inscription on a tablet, existing in a temple at Narēgal in the Dharwar district, translated by Dr. Fleet[2]), it is stated that Permāḍi of the Sinda dynasty vanquished Kulaśekharāṅka, besieged Chaṭṭa, pursued Jayakeśin, and seized upon the royal power of Poysala and invested Dhorasamudra, the capital of the Poysala dynasty. In another inscription[3]) this Permāḍi is represented to be a vassal of Jagadekamalla II, whose dates range between A. D. 1138 and 1150. While the former was in power as Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara in the seventh year of Jagadekamalla, i. e. in A. D. 1144, a certain grant was made by a body of sellers of betel leaves and nuts. The Kulaśekharāṅka, mentioned as being vanquished by this Permāḍi, must be a prince reigning on the western coast as the others, Jayakeśin, the Kadamba prince of Goa, the Hoysala king, and so forth, were. Putting this statement and the quotation from the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa together, it appears highly probable that the Āḷvār Kulaśekhara lived in the first half of the twelfth century. The sequence, therefore, given above cannot be implicitly believed in. Still it may be admitted that the earliest Āḷvārs flourished about the time of the revival of Brāhmaṇism and Hinduism in the north, which extended up to the Marāṭha country, as we have shown from inscriptions and antiquarian remains, and must have extended still farther to the south. The earliest Āḷvārs may be placed before, about the fifth or sixth century, but there is nothing to show that Vaiṣṇavism had not penetrated to the Tamil country earlier, i. e. about the first century. But an impetus, such as the rise of the Āḷvārs indicates, could in all probability come only from the energy of the revival.

The hostile relations into which the Āḷvārs and the Śaiva saints, Nāyanmārs, came with the Buddhists and Jainas, lend support to the view we have advocated.

The Āḷvārs composed, mostly in Tamil, what are called Prabandhas or songs in praise of the deity full of piety and devotion and containing also religious truths. They are considered as very sacred and spoken of as the Vaiṣṇava Veda. The reverence paid to the Āḷvārs is very great, and their images are placed by the side of the god representing Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa in some form and worshipped. It may be noted here that Kulaśekhara Āḷvār's favourite deity was Rāma, the son of Daśaratha.

XV. Rāmānuja.

§ 45. There were two classes of teachers among the Vaiṣṇavas of the south, viz. the Āḷvārs and the Ācāryas. The former devoted themselves to the culture of the feeling of love and devotion for Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa and composed songs, while the object of the latter was to carry on disputations and controversies and seek to establish their own theories and creeds. The first class we have already noticed briefly.

[1]) *Kāyena vācā manasendriyair vā,* etc.

[2]) Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc., Vol. XI. p. 244.

[3]) Ibid. p. 251.

The first of the second class appears to have been Nāthamuni. His successor was Yāmunācārya or Yāmunamuni. Rāmānuja succeeded Yāmunamuni, one of whose last directions to his successor was to compose a commentary on Bādarāyaṇa's Brahmasūtra. The necessity for such a work was felt by the leaders of the Vaiṣṇava faith, since they found it not possible to maintain the doctrine of Bhakti or love in the face of the theory of Advaita or monism of spirit set up by Śaṃkarācārya as based upon the Brahmasūtras and the Upaniṣads. During the period of the revival of Brāhmaṇism and Hinduism there was such a fermentation of thought as that which existed when Buddhism, Jainism and other heterodox systems on the one hand, and Vāsudevism on the other, arose. The present fermentation, however, did not rest on independent thought, but was based upon the sacred works that had been handed down from the earlier times. The Pāli Buddhism made way for the Sanskrit Mahāyānism, and against this last controversies were carried on by the school of Nyāya founded by Gautama and by the Mīmāṃsakas, especially by Śabarasvāmin and Kumārilabhaṭṭa. But the Mīmāṃsakas attacked not only the Buddhists, but the Aupaniṣadas, or a school of thought based upon the Upaniṣads. They maintained the efficacy of the sacrificial religion alone and denied it to the faith and practices of the latter school. The efforts of this school were therefore directed towards the maintenance of their position that their system alone can lead to supreme bliss. The person who appeared prominently on the scene on this occasion was Gauḍapādācārya and some time after him the pupil of his pupil, Śaṃkarācārya. The theory that this latter set up, was that there exists one spirit alone and the feelings of individuality and other attributes of the animal spirit and the variety of the inanimate world owe their origin to a principle of illusion and are consequently unreal. This doctrine left no room for the exercise of love and piety in the world of reality, though its followers allow it in the ordinary illusive condition of the human souls, and therefore it laid the axe at the root of Vaiṣṇavism. The great wish of the southern leaders of the latter faith was the overthrow of this doctrine of illusion, or Māyā, on the same Aupaniṣada grounds on which it was set up. And this wish of his predecessor was carried out by Rāmānuja, and henceforward every Vaiṣṇava system and even, in one or two cases, Śaiva systems had to tack on Aupaniṣada or Vedāntic theories to their own doctrines.

§ 46. Rāmānuja was born in Śaka 938 corresponding to 1016 or 1017 A. D. In his youth he lived at Kāñcīpura or Conjeevaram and was a pupil of Yādavaprakāśa, who was an Advaita philosopher and therefore professed spiritual monism. Rāmānuja, whose inclinations were towards Vaiṣṇavism, was dissatisfied with the teachings of his master, and the ultimate result was his separation from him. He applied himself to the study of the Prabandhas of the Āḷvārs and drank in their spirit. When he became a successor of Yāmunācārya, he lived at Śrīrangam, near Trichinopoly, and did his life's work there. He is said to have gone on a pilgrimage to the noted holy places of upper India. In the latter years of his age he was subjected to persecution by the Chola prince of his time, who wanted him to renounce Vaiṣṇa-

vism for Śaivism, in consequence of which he took refuge in 1096 A. D. in the dominions of the Hoysala Yādava princes, who reigned in Mysore and whose capital was Dvārasamudra, the modern Haḷēbīḍ. There he converted Viṭṭhala Deva, popularly called Biṭṭi Deva, Biṭṭi being, in all likelihood, the corruption of Viṭṭhala or Viṭṭhi. This took place in 1098 A. D. Viṭṭhala Deva was not the reigning prince, but administered some of the frontier provinces in the name of his brother Ballāla, who was on the throne [1]). Viṭṭhala Deva or Biṭṭi Deva was called Viṣṇuvardhana after his conversion to Vaiṣṇavism. This is the ordinary account. But what appears true is that his name was originally Viṣṇu, which was corrupted into Biṭṭu or Biṭṭi in the Kanarese, the vernacular of the district, so that his original name Biṭṭi Deva is the same as Viṣṇu Deva which he is represented to have assumed after his conversion. He reigned from 1104 to 1141 A. D. [2]) Rāmānuja composed the following works: — Vedāntasāra, Vedārthasaṃgraha, Vedāntadīpa, and commentaries, or Bhāṣyas, on the Brahmasūtras and the Bhagavadgītā [3]).

§ 47. The Vedāntic theory, or the theory based upon the Brahmasūtras and the Upaniṣads, which Rāmānuja set up to provide scope for the feeling of Bhakti, or love for God, and the spirit of worship, was that there are three eternal principles, the individual or animal soul (Cit), the insensate world (Acit), and the Supreme Soul (Īśvara). There are Upaniṣad texts to support this, and one of them is that in the ŚU. (I, 12) to the effect that all Brahman, regarded as composed of the enjoyer or sufferer, the objects from which enjoyment or suffering springs, and the controller or mover, is threefold. But the Brahmasūtras lay it down on the authority of the Upaniṣads that Brahman is the material as well as the efficient cause of the world. To make this possible in his system, Rāmānuja resorts to the passage in BU. of the Mādhyaṃdina school, beginning from III, 7, 3, in which the Supreme Soul is stated to be the internal controller (Antaryāmin) of the individual soul as well as of the external world. The form that he gives to his theory is that the individual soul and the insensate world are the attributes of the Supreme Soul. They constitute his body, as stated in the Upaniṣad also, and thus they with the controlling inward Supreme Soul constitute one entity called Brahman, just as the body and the indwelling soul constitute the human being. Before creation the body of the Supreme Soul exists in a subtile form and, when creation takes place, it develops in the form of the existing universe; thus Brahman is the material cause of the external world. It is also the efficient cause, when, as the internal controlling soul, it wills to create. The subtile form of the insensate world is the Prakṛti, a term first invented by the original author of the Sāṃkhya doctrine. It develops under the guidance of the indwelling Supreme Spirit until the mundane egg is produced. The successive stages of Mahat, Ahaṃ-

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[1]) See Krishnaswami Iyengar's paper in No. 8 of the magazine Viśiṣṭādvaitin for most of these facts.

[2]) Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. XVIII, p. 173.

[3]) See Krishnaswami's paper alluded to above.

kāra, etc., are like those of the Sāṃkhya system, which has been adopted by the Purāṇas also in the account of the creation. And the creation after the production of the mundane egg is also made by Īśvara as the internal controller of Brahmadeva, Dakṣa, etc.

Īśvara or God is free from all faults or defects. He is eternal, pervades all living and non-living things, is the internal controller of all, is pure joy or blessedness, is possessed of the auspicious qualities of knowledge, power, etc., is the creator, protector and destroyer of the world, and is resorted to by those who are afflicted, who wish to gain knowledge, who seek to attain a certain end, and who are already enlightened [1]. He confers the fourfold fruit of existence [2]. He is possessed of a wonderful celestial body of unsurpassable beauty and has for his consorts Lakṣmī [3], Bhū (the earth), and Līlā (sport). This Īśvara appears in five different modes: —

I. Para or the highest, in which mode Nārāyaṇa, called also Parabrahman and Para-Vāsudeva, lives in a city called Vaikuṇṭha, which is guarded by certain persons and which has doorkeepers; seated in a pavilion of gems on a couch in the form of the serpent Śeṣa placed on a throne having the eight legs, Dharma and others; attended by Śrī, Bhū and Līlā; holding the celestial weapons, conch-shell, discus, and others; adorned with celestial ornaments, such as a tiara and others; possessed of numberless auspicious attributes, knowledge, power, and others; and his presence being enjoyed by the eternal spirits, such as Ananta, Garuḍa, Viṣvaksena, and others, and by delivered souls.

II. Vyūha, in which the Para himself has assumed four forms, Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha for convenience of worship and for purposes, such as creation, etc. Of these Vāsudeva is possessed of the six qualities; Saṃkarṣaṇa has two, viz. omniscience and sustaining power; Pradyumna, two, viz. controlling power and unchangeableness; and Aniruddha, creative power and all-overcoming prowess [4].

III. Vibhava, which mode consists of the ten Avatāras, fish, tortoise, etc.

IV. Antaryāmin, in which mode he dwells in the heart and is to be seen by Yogins and accompanies the individual souls even when they go to heaven or hell.

V. Idols or images set up in houses, villages, towns, etc., made up of a material chosen by the worshipper, in which he dwells with a body not made up of matter [5].

Other authorities leave out Vāsudeva from the Vyūhas and have the other three only. The Arthapañcaka has another form of the Antaryāmin, in which form he dwells in everything and rules over all, is

[1]) These are the four, Ārta, Jijñāsu, etc., mentioned in BhG. (7, 16).

[2]) Artha, or worldly prosperity, Kāma, or the objects of desire, Dharma, or religious merit, and Mokṣa, or final deliverance, are the four objects of existence.

[3]) From the Tattvatraya of Lokācārya.

[4]) These are translations of the word Jñāna, Bala, Aiśvarya, Vīrya, Śakti, and Tejas, according to the definitions in the Yatīndramatadīpikā.

[5]) Yatīndramatadīpikā 9.

bodiless, all-pervading and store of all good attributes, and is called Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva [1]), etc.

Self-consciousness, knowledge, union as a soul with a body, agency, are attributes common to the supreme and individual souls [2]). The latter is self-illumined, joyous, eternal, atomic, imperceptible to the senses, unthinkable, devoid of parts, unchangeable, the substratum of knowledge, subject to God's control, depending on God's existence for his own existence. and an attribute of God [3]). This description of the individual soul differs a great deal from that of Śaṃkarācārya, who attributes no agency or substantiality to it; and the dependence on God in a variety of ways cannot, of course, be thought of under the doctrine of spiritual monism. The soul's being an atom is also denied by Śaṃkara's school and various others. The souls are many and are divided into: (1) Baddha or tied down to the circle of existences from Brahmadeva to the vilest worm, as well as the vegetable souls; (2) Mukta or finally delivered; and (3) Nitya or eternal. Of the first class, those that are rational, that is, not brutes or vegetables, are of two sorts: (1) desirous of enjoyment; (2) desirous of final deliverance. Of those that are desirous of enjoyment, some devote themselves tho the acquisition of wealth and the satisfaction of carnal desires, and others, who seek to attain the happiness of heaven, perform all rites and sacrifices, make pilgrimages to holy places and give in charity. Some of these devote themselves to Bhagavat and others to other deities. Some of those who desire final deliverance seek the consciousness of their pure soul only (Kevalin), and others eternal bliss. Of these latter, some are Bhaktas, who seek to attain God by resorting to Bhakti with all its details, having first of all studied the Vedas and acquainted themselves with the Vedānta and the philosophy of rites (Karman). The three upper orders alone can practise Bhakti, but not the Śūdras. Others are Prapannas, who are those who take refuge in God, feeling themselves poor and helpless. Of Prapannas, some seek the first three objects of life, while the rest, finding no happiness in these, renouncing everything worldly, desire eternal bliss (Mokṣa) alone and, seeking the advice of a preceptor and acquiring from him the impulse to action, fling themselves on the will of God, not having the power of going through the Bhakti process and being helpless. This Prapatti or surrender to God can be practised by all orders, including Śūdras [4]).

What are necessary for the efficacy of the method of Bhakti, are Karmayoga or the performance of actions, and Jñānayoga or the acquisition of knowledge. Karmayoga is the performance of all acts, rites and ceremonies without regard for the fruit resulting from them. These are the worship of the deity, practice of austerity, pilgrimage to holy places, giving in charity and sacrifices. This Karmayoga purifies the soul and leads to Jñānayoga, or acquisition of knowledge.

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[1]) See my Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts during 1883—84, p. 69.
[2]) Yat. 8.
[3]) Tattvatraya.
[4]) Yat. 8.

This knowledge consists in seeing oneself as distinct from Prakṛti, or matter, and as an attribute of God himself (Śeṣa). This Jñānayoga leads to Bhakti. Bhaktiyoga, or the method of Bhakti, consists in continuous meditation accompanied by the practice of the eight Yoga processes, Yama, Niyama, etc. This is to be attained by (1) the purification of the body by the use of unpolluted and unprohibited food, (2) chastity, (3) constant practice, (4) the performance of five great rites and ceremonies according to one's means, (5) virtues such as truth, uprightness, compassion, charity, non-destruction of life, (6) hopefulness or absence of despondency, and (7) absence of elatedness. Bhakti, as promoted by these seven means, assumes the form of actually seeing (God) and produces the final mental perception. Prapatti consists in the resolution to yield, the avoidance of opposition [1]), a faith that God will protect, acceptance of him as saviour or praying him to save, and sense of helplessness resulting in throwing one's whole soul on him [2]). Prapatti thus comes to self-surrender [3]).

The Arthapañcaka mentions a fifth way called Ācāryābhimānayoga, which is for one who is unable to follow any of the others and consists in surrendering oneself to an Ācārya or preceptor and being guided by him in everything. The preceptor goes through all that is necessary to effect his pupil's deliverance as a mother takes medicine herself to cure an infant.

Sixteen modes of worship are to be practised by the devotees of Viṣṇu, as stated in a passage quoted from the Padma-Purāṇa by a recent writer of the Rāmānuja school. Eight of these are the same as those included in the nine modes of Bhakti enumerated in a previous section as mentioned in the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, Sakhya, or friendship or companionship, being omitted. The other eight are: (1) imprinting the marks of the conch-shell and the discus and other weapons of Hari on the body; (2) the making of a vertical mark on the forehead; (3) repeating of Mantras on the occasion; (4) drinking the water used in washing the feet of Hari; (5) the eating of the offerings of cooked food made to him; (6) doing service to his devotees; (7) the observance of fast on the 11th of the bright and dark halves of each lunar month; (8) laying Tulasī leaves on the idol of Hari.

A text from the Hārītasmṛti is also quoted giving nine modes of worship (Bhakti), three of which are common to it with the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa. The other six are the same as the eight in the above, the first two being combined and the third being omitted. The vertical mark on the forehead mentioned above consists of two lines made with white earth and a connecting cross line at the bottom with, in the middle, a yellow line made with turmeric powder or a red line composed of the same material reddened by mixing it with lime.

1) The two expressions thus translated have also been otherwise explained as bearing good-will to all and the absence of ill-will.

2) There is another reading here which should be translated as throwing oneself upon him and a feeling of helplessness. Thus there are six constituents of Prapatti. These are: (1) ānukūlyasya saṃkalpaḥ (2) prātikūlyasya varjanam, (3) rakṣiṣyatīti viśvāso (4) gōptṛtvavaraṇaṃ tathā, (5) ātmanikṣepa- (6) kārpaṇye ṣaḍvidhā śaraṇāgatiḥ.

3) Yat. 7.

§ 48. In Northern India there are not many followers of Rāmānuja; in Southern India there is a very large number. There are two schools among them, known by the names of Vaḍakalai, or northern learning, and Tenkalai, or southern learning. The essential difference between them is brought out by the different illustrations [1]) that they give of the connection between God's grace and man's effort in bringing about final deliverance. The illustration used by the former, or the northern, is that of a female monkey and her cub. The cub has to hold fast its mother on the abdomen to be conveyed to a safe place. The southerns use the illustration of the cat and its kittens. The female cat catches hold of the kitten, without any effort on its part, and takes it to a place of safety. In the first case the doctrine is that the process of deliverance must begin with an act of a person seeking it. In the other case the process begins with God himself. In keeping with this distinction is the idea of Prapatti or self-surrender held by the two sects. The first maintains that Prapatti is one of the ways resorted to by the devotee and begins with him. The southern school holds that it is not one of the ways, but it is a frame of mind which characterises all those who seek absolution and reject all other ways in favour of this. Those who resort to other ways have not arrived at the right mood which leads to God. When a soul is in this frame of mind, God himself takes entire possession of him, while by the other ways man, as it were, makes approaches towards him. The Vaḍakalai lays down that Prapatti is for those who cannot follow other ways, such as Karmayoga, Jñānayoga and Bhaktiyoga, while the Tenkalai holds that it is necessary for all, whether able or not, to follow the other ways. The first school says that one should give himself up to God when one finds other ways, which have been resorted to, to be fruitless. The second holds that self-abandonment to God should precede the trial of other ways. Self-assertiveness is the characteristic of the first, but it is forbidden by the second and self-abandonment is enjoined. The northerners say that the six ways of Prapatti or self-surrender given above are preliminaries to the Prapatti which results from them. The southerners say that Prapatti must take place first and then the six follow as results. The northern school teaches that a person belonging to an inferior caste should be treated well only so far as conversation by words is concerned. The southerners say that they should be admitted to an equal treatment in all respects and no distinction be made. The syllable Om should be omitted from the eight-syllabled Mantra, according to the Vaḍakalai, when taught to others than Brāhmaṇas; the Tenkalai does not make this distinction and provides for the teaching of the whole Mantra in the same form to all [2]).

§ 49. It will be seen from the short summary here given that Rāmānuja derives his metaphysical doctrines from texts in the Upaniṣads and from the Brahmasūtras, while his theory of the production

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[1]) The following remarks are based on Viśiṣṭādvaitin, Vol. 1, No. 8, pp. 200ff., and Mr. Govindācārya's article, JRAS. 1910, pp. 1103ff.

[2]) This mantra is "Om Namo Nārāyaṇāya".

of the external world is that adopted by the Purāṇas and based on the twenty-four elements of the Sāṃkhya system. His Vaiṣṇavism is the Vāsudevism of the old Pāñcarātra system combined with the Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu elements. The last name does not occur often in the literature of his school. The most prominent name is Nārāyaṇa, though Vāsudeva takes his proper place when the Supreme Soul and the Vyūhas are spoken of. The name of Gopālakṛṣṇa is conspicuous by its absence, and Rāmānuja's system is free from that repulsive form which Vaiṣṇavism assumes when Rādhā and other cowherdesses are introduced. Rāma too does not appear to be a favourite deity. Rāmānuja's doctrines as to the way of reaching the Supreme Soul are the same as, or amplified forms of, those in the Bhagavadgītā. But in this system Bhakti is reduced to the form of a continuous meditation on the Supreme Soul. It thus corresponds to the Upāsanās, or meditations, described by Bādarāyaṇa, and does not mean a boundless love for God, as the word is commonly understood, though the meditation that is enjoined implies tacitly a feeling of love. The tendency of Rāmānuja's system seems to be to give an exclusive Brahmaṇic form to the traditional method of Bhakti, or devotion to God, and this is distinctly seen in the doctrines of the Vaḍakalai, while the Tenkalai, or southern learning, is more liberal and so shapes the doctrines of the system as to make them applicable to Śūdras also. But we shall find the Śūdras asserting themselves when we come to the disciples of Rāmānanda and to the Marāṭha saints and teachers, Nāmdev and Tukārām.

The fifth Upāya, or way to God, given in the Arthapañcaka, of surrendering oneself completely to a teacher or preceptor, doing nothing oneself and the preceptor doing all that is necessary for one's redemption, seems suspicious. It has a striking resemblance to the Christian doctrine of Christ suffering or, in the words of our author, going through the processes necessary for redemption, the believer doing nothing but putting complete faith in his saviour. If the prevalence of Christianity in and before the time of Rāmānuja in the country about Madras is a proved fact, this doctrine as well as some of the finer points in the theory of Prapatti may be traced to the influence of Christianity. Rāmānuja's system is known by the name of Śrīsaṃpradāya or the tradition springing from Śrī.

XVI. Madhva or Ānandatīrtha.

§ 50. The great object of the Vaiṣṇava teachers of the eleventh century and upwards was to confute the theory of Māyā, or the unreality of the world, and establish the doctrine of Bhakti, or love and faith, on a secure basis. Rāmānuja effected this by the system which he promulgated and which we have already noticed. But in order to reconcile his doctrine with the theory set forth in the Brahmasūtras on the basis of the Upaniṣads, that God is the material as well as the efficient cause of the world, he propounded the doctrine of God's being a composite person, having for his body the individual souls and the inanimate world. Even this Madhva considered objectionable as having a tendency to depreciate the independent majesty of God, and

therefore he denies his being the material cause of the world. All the Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa which set forth that doctrine. have been interpreted by him in an entirely different way. Probably he would have set aside the Brahmasūtras altogether, but he could not do so, since the work had acquired an uncontested authoritativeness as regards religious truth before his time. He had therefore to show that his system did not go against the Brahmasūtras and therefore accepted them and interpreted them in almost a fantastic manner. Texts from the Upaniṣads, too, which do not agree with his doctrines, he treats similarly. In opposition to the pure monism of Śaṃkara and the qualified monism of Rāmānuja, Ānandatīrtha sets forth five eternal distinctions or individualities, viz. the distinction between (1) God and the individual spirit, (2) God and the inanimate world, (3) the individual spirit and the inanimate world, (4) one individual spirit and another, (5) one inanimate object and another. According to the Madhvavijaya, or the history of the triumphs of Madhva, by Nārāyaṇa, the son of Trivikrama, there was in the town of Rajatapīṭha a family known by the name of Madhyageha. Madhva's father was called Madhyagehabhaṭṭa [1]; the name given to Madhva after his birth was Vāsudeva. After Vāsudeva had received the usual education of a Brāhmaṇa. he was initiated as an anchorite by Acyutaprekṣācārya who thus became his Guru. After his initiation he went to Badarikāśrama in the Himālaya and brought back the idols of Digvijaya Rāma and Vedavyāsa. He was raised to the seat of high priest in the presence of kings. Ānandatīrtha went from country to country, putting down the advocates of the doctrine of Māyā and others, and established the Vaiṣṇava creed. He had for his pupils Padmanābhatīrtha, Naraharitīrtha, Mādhavatīrtha, and Akṣobhyatīrtha. Naraharitīrtha was sent to Jagannātha in Orissa to bring the original idols of Rāma and Sītā. Ānandatīrtha's other names were Pūrṇaprajña and Madhyamandāra, or wish-giving tree of the family of Madhya.

The date of his death given in the list preserved in several of the Maṭhas, or establishments of the sect, is Śaka 1119, and as he lived for seventy-nine years. the date of his birth has been given as Śaka 1040. But these statements are open to serious doubts. There is an inscription in the Kūrmeśvara temple at Śrīkūrmam in the Chicacole Tāluka of the Ganjām District in which Naraharitīrtha is represented to have constructed a temple and placed in it an idol of Yogānandanarasiṃha in the year Śaka 1203 [2]. The first person therein mentioned is Puruṣottamatīrtha, who is the same as Acyutaprekṣa [3], then his pupil Ānandatīrtha, and the last is Naraharitīrtha, the pupil of Ānandatīrtha. This Naraharitīrtha is considered by some to have been the ruler of Orissa. But this arises from a confusion between him and a king bearing the same name, in the slightly modified form of Narasiṃha,

[1] Kallianpur in the Uḍipi Tāluka of the district of South Kanara in stated to be the birth-place of Madhva. It was probably the same as the Rajatapīṭha of the Madhvavijaya. (Imp. Gaz. Vol. XIV, page 314.)

[2] Ep. Ind. Vol. VI, pp. 260ff.

[3] Madhvavijaya, VI. 33.

who was the actual ruler of the country from about Śaka 1191 to 1225. He is mentioned in an inscription at Śrīkūrmam of Naraharitīrtha himself, bearing the date Śaka 1215, which is represented as the eighteenth year of the king's reign [1]). He was Narasiṃha II and was the prince panegyrised in a work on rhetoric, the Ekāvali [2]). Naraharitīrtha's other dates gathered from other inscriptions range between Śaka 1186 and 1212 [3]). All these epigraphical records confirm the truth of the tradition that Naraharitīrtha was sent by Ānandatīrtha to Orissa. He appears to have held a very high position there.

Now if Naraharitīrtha's active period extended from Śaka 1186 to 1215, his master could not have died in Śaka 1119, i. e. fully 67 years before. It seems, therefore, reasonable to take the date given in Madhva's Mahābhāratatātparyanirṇaya, which is 4300 of the Kali age, to be the correct date of his birth. It corresponds to Śaka 1121, which, bearing in mind the fact that some use the current year of an era and some the past, we must regard as equivalent to Śaka 1119, the date given in the lists for Ānandatīrtha's death. But instead of taking it as the date of his death, we shall have to regard it as the date of his birth. He lived for 79 years according to the current account, so that his death must be placed in Śaka 1198 [4]). The two dates may, therefore, be taken as settled. Ānandatīrtha thus lived in the first three quarters of the thirteenth century. He was succeeded, according to the list, by Padmanābhatīrtha who held the pontificate for seven years, i. e. up to Śaka 1205. He was succeeded by Naraharitīrtha who occupied the pontifical seat for nine years, i. e. up to Śaka 1214, or, if we regard 1121 as the date of the first pontiff's birth according to the strict interpretation of the Kali date, up to Śaka 1216; and, as we have seen, his latest date in the inscriptions is Śaka 1215.

§ 51. The Mādhvas follow the method of Vaiśeṣikas and divide all existing things into the categories of substance, qualities, etc., with some modifications of their own [5]). God is a substance. The supreme soul possesses innumerable or an infinite number of qualities. His functions are eight, viz. (1) creation, (2) protection, (3) dissolution, (4) controlling all things, (5) giving knowledge, (6) manifestation of himself, (7) tying beings down to the world, (8) redemption. He is omniscient, expressible by all words, and entirely different from the individual souls and the inanimate world. He possesses the holy form made up of knowledge, joy, etc., independent of every thing, and one only, assuming different forms. All his forms are his full manifestations, and he is identically the same with his incarnations in qualities, parts, and actions. Lakṣmī is distinct from the Supreme Soul, but entirely

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1) Ep. Ind. Vol. VI, page 262, note.

2) See my note in Trivedi's edition of the work, BSS.

3) Ep. Ind. Vol VI, p. 266.

4) This agrees with the tradition existing in the Maṭha at Phalmāru, near Mulki in South Canara, to the effect that Ānandatīrtha was born in Śaka 1119 and died in Śaka 1199; Ep. Ind. Vol. VI, p. 263, note.

5) This account of the system is abrigded from a work called Madhvasiddhāntasāra by Padmanābhasūri, printed in Bombay by Jāvaji Dādāji, Nirnayasagara Press, published at Kumbhakonam in Śaka 1815, corresponding to 1883 A. D. The tedious details are omitted.

dependent on him. She is eternal and blessed (Mukta) like the Supreme Soul and is his consort. She has various forms, but no material body, and is thus like the Supreme Soul, and like him is expressible by all words. She possesses the same extension in space and time as the Supreme Soul, i. e. is concomitant with him. Jīvas or individual souls go through the usual succession of existences and are characterised by ignorance or other defects. They are innumerable individually, or as members of groups, such as Ṛjus [1]) who are fit for attaining Brahmahood, and others who are fit for the attainment of the dignity of Rudra, Garuḍa, Asuras, or demons, etc. They are of three kinds: (1) fit for attaining final bliss, (2) always going through the circle of existences, and (3) fit for the condition of darkness. The gods, Ṛṣis, and the manes, and the best of men, belong to the first class, ordinary men belong to the second class, and demons, ghosts, and the vilest of men, etc., to the third class. All these individual souls are distinct from each other and from the Supreme Soul. Creation begins when the Supreme Soul disturbs the equilibrium of the Prakṛti, which then develops into all the other principles of the Sāṃkhya system, as modified by the Purāṇas, until the mundane egg is produced. Then placing the sentient and non-sentient objects into his inside, he enters into the mundane egg. Then, at the end of a thousand celestial years he produces from his navel a lotus, which is the seat of the four-faced Brahmadeva; and from this last after a long time the ordinary creation takes place.

All knowledge springs from Paramātman, whatever the means by which it is produced. It is of two kinds — that which leads to worldly existence, and that which leads to Mokṣa. Viṣṇu bestows knowledge on the ignorant and Mokṣa on those who have knowledge. The knowledge, or feeling which creates an attachment to the body, child or wife, leads to a worldly life. This is not true knowledge, but ignorance from which results that worldly life; and that ignorance is dispelled by the knowledge of God. Mokṣa is attained by the direct knowledge or perception of Hari by means of a method of service possible to oneself and in a body fitted for it. That direct perception is possible to all good individual souls from Brahmadeva to the best of men. This direct perception is to be attained by many means. What are necessary for direct knowledge, which leads to Mokṣa, are (1) Vairāgya, or the disgust of enjoyments of this world or the next, generated by seeing the vanity of the world and by the company of good persons; (2) equanimity (Śama) and self-control (Dama), etc.; (3) acquaintance with the lore; (4) self-surrender (Śaraṇāgati), in which the mind is devoted to God, as the best of all beings, and is full of the highest love, and in which everything is resigned to God and he is worshipped with devotedness in the three ways, and which is accompanied with the faith that he will unfailingly protect and the feeling that the devotee is his; (5) attendance on a Guru, or preceptor, and propitiation of him, which is necessary for Mokṣa or redemption; (6) acquisition of knowledge from the Guru and not from books or, in the absence of a Guru, from a good Vaiṣṇava, and, in rare cases,

[1]) Ṛjus are a class of gods.

from books also; (7) reflection over what has been taught; (8) devotion, in the order of their merits, to a preceptor and persons better than oneself and deserving respect; (9) love of God (Paramātmabhakti) consequent on the knowledge of God's greatness and his being the best of all. This love should be firm and higher than that for all others, and this leads to Mokṣa or eternal bliss; (10) sympathy for those who are inferior, but good men, love for those who are equal, as if they were the same as themselves, and respectful love or reverence for superiors; (11) performing rites and ceremonies deliberately without any desire, which has the effect of purifying the soul; (12) the avoidance of prohibited deeds, i. e. sins great and small; (13) resigning every act to Hari as done by him and not by oneself; (14) the knowledge of the comparative position of beings and of Viṣṇu as the highest of all; (15) knowledge of the five distinctions already mentioned; (16) distinguishing Prakṛti from Puruṣa, all beings from Nārāyaṇa down to men with their consorts being Puruṣas and the inanimate world being the Prakṛti; (17) reprobation of false doctrines; (18) Upāsanā or worship. This last is of two kinds, viz. (1) the learning of the Śāstras, (2) meditation. Meditation (Nididhyāsā) is placing Bhagavat before the mind's eye to the exclusion of everything else. This meditation is possible for one who has a distinct knowledge of a thing acquired after the removal of ignorance, doubt and delusion by means of reading or hearing something read and reflection. Some people meditate on Bhagavat as a single spirit and others on him as having four phases as Sat (existence), Cit (knowledge), Ānanda (joy), Ātman (spirit). Then are given meditations resorted to by gods and some of those mentioned in the Brahmasūtras. All these eighteen ways lead to the direct knowledge of God, which is possible for all from Brahmadeva to man. The direct knowledge of God attained by men is comparable with the coruscation of lightning and that attained by gods to the bright disk of the sun. Garuḍa and Rudra have that knowledge in the shape of a reflection, while Brahmadeva has the knowledge of the whole with all its parts, and some have the knowledge of him as dwelling in the universe and limited by the universe. The direct knowledge is simply mental.

§ 52. The followers of Madhva wear a mark on the forehead composed of two white perpendicular lines made with an earth called Gopīcandana above the bridge of the nose, and a dark line in the middle with a reddish spot in the centre. The two white lines are joined by a cross line on the bridge of the nose. They wear on the shoulders and on the other parts of their body prints, made with the same white earth, of the conch-shell, the discus, and other weapons of Viṣṇu. These are impressed occasionally with a heated metallic stamp on the skin, so as to leave a permanent scar. Members of this sect exist in pretty large numbers in the Kanarese districts of the Bombay Presidency, Mysore and on the western coast from Goa to South Kanara, and there are only scattered adherents in Northern India. There are eight establishments, or Maṭhas, for the dissemination and preservation of the creed in South Kanara and three in the inner country. Some of these were founded by Ānandatīrtha himself.

Ānandatīrtha composed thirty-seven[1]) different treatises. He includes among the authorities enumerated by him in support of his system the Pañcarātra-Saṃhitās; but it will be seen from the account given above that in his creed there is no place for the Vyūhas, Vāsudeva and others, and the name by which the Supreme Spirit is spoken of is mostly Viṣṇu. Some of his incarnations, especially Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, are also adored. But the Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa element seems to be entirely absent from his system, and Rādhā and the cowherdesses are not mentioned. It thus appears that the Pāñcarātra or Bhāgavata system has been set aside by Ānandatīrtha or thrown into the background. The old traditional Vāsudevism of the Bhāgavata school gradually disappeared about his time and made room for general Vaiṣṇavism.

XVII. Nimbārka.

§ 53. We have thus noticed the form which Vaiṣṇavism assumed in the south from the middle of the eleventh century to the middle of the thirteenth. A strong feeling of Bhakti, or love, and a fear of the dangerous consequences of the doctrine of Māyā, or illusion, were the guiding principles of the new development. The influence of this last extended itself to the north, and we can distinguish between two classes of founders of sects, viz. (1) those who wrote in Sanskrit, and (2) those who used the vernacular for the propagation of their creed. The first of the former class we have to notice is Nimbārka. Nimbārka is said to have been a Tailaṅga Brāhmaṇa by birth and to have lived in a village called Nimba[2]), which perhaps is the same as Nimbāpura in the Bellary district. He was born on the 3rd of the bright half of Vaiśākha, and his father's name was Jagannātha, who was a Bhāgavata, and his mother's Sarasvatī[3]). He is believed by his followers to be an incarnation of the Sudarśana, or the discus of Viṣṇu. As to when he flourished we have no definite information, but he appears to have lived some time after Rāmānuja[4]). Nimbārka composed the Vedānta-

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[1]) For the names of these see the Granthamālikāstotra in my Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts during 1882—83, p. 207.

[2]) Manuscript No. 706 of the collection of 1884—7. Nimbārka was the "sun of Nimba".

[3]) Introduction to the commentary on Daśaślokī by Harivyāsadeva. It is to be regretted that the commentator does not give the year of Nimbārka's birth.

[4]) In my Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts for the year 1882—83, I have given two succession lists of spiritual teachers, one of the sect of Ānandatīrtha (p. 203) and another of that founded by Nimbārka (pp. 208—12). This contains 37 names. There is another list in Manuscript 709 of the collection of 1884—7, which contains 45 names. The two lists agree up to No. 32 Harivyāsadeva. After that, while the first has only five names, the second has thirteen names, and none of these agrees with any of the five, so that after Harivyāsadeva the line appears to have divided itself into two branches. No. 709 of the same collection was written in Saṃvat 1806 corresponding to 1750 A. D., when Gosvāmin Dāmodara was living. He was the thirty-third after Nimbārka in the new branch line. The thirty-third after Ānandatīrtha died in 1879 A. D. Ānandatīrtha according to our revised date died in 1276 A. D., so that his thirty-three successors occupied 603 years. Supposing that the thirty-three successors of Nimbārka occupied about the same period and allowing about fifteen years of life to Dāmodara Gosvāmin, who was living in 1750 A. D., and subtracting from 1765 A. D. 603 years, we have

pārijātasaurabha, which is a short commentary on the Brahmasūtras, and also a small work containing ten stanzas of the name of Siddhāntaratna, usually called Daśaślokī, from the number of stanzas contained in it. Śrīnivāsa, the immediate follower of Nimbārka, wrote a commentary called Bhāṣya on the first, and Harivyāsadeva, the thirty-second in the list of succession, wrote on the second. The thirteenth in the list, Devācārya, wrote the Siddhāntajāhnavī, and his successor, Sundarabhaṭṭa, wrote a commentary on it, called Setu. The thirtieth in the list composed a commentary, or Bhāṣya, on the Brahmasūtras. His name was Keśava Kaśmīrin.

§ 52. Nimbārka's Vedāntic theory is monistic as well as pluralistic. The inanimate world, the individual soul and God are distinct from one another as well as identical. Identical they are in the sense that the first two have no independent existence, but are dependent on God for their existence and action. The theory of the Brahmasūtras that Brahman is the material cause of the universe, is thus understood: To be the material cause of an effect is (1) to possess the capacity of assuming the form of that effect, and (2) to be fitted to do so. Brahman possesses various capacities which are of the nature of the animate and inanimate worlds. These in a subtle form constitute its natural condition. This satisfies the first of the two requirements. The capacities again contain in them the rudiment of the effect, i. e. the world, in a subtle form. This meets the second requirement. By realising these capacities and bringing the subtle rudiment into a gross form Brahman becomes the material cause of the world. Rāmānuja's theory of Brahman forming with the animate and inanimate world a composite personality and of its being the material cause in so far as the bodily portion of the composite personality becomes developed, is rejected by the school of Nimbārka [1]). For a further knowledge of the system I will here give a translation of the Daśaślokī.

I. Jīva, or the individual soul, is knowledge, dependent on Hari, and is in a condition to be associated with, or dissociated from, a body; is an atom; different in different bodies; and is a knower and numberless.

It is called knowledge here to show that it is able to know without the organs of sense, and it is not to be understood here that the soul is the mere phenomenon of knowledge, and not a substance, which is the doctrine of Śaṃkarācārya.

II. The individual soul has his form distorted by its contact with Māyā, or Prakṛti, or the constituent principle with the three qualities which has no beginning. Its true nature becomes known by the grace of God.

Individual souls are of two sorts: (1) those delivered or in a supremely blissful condition; (2) those tied down to the circle of existences. The first are of two kinds: (1) those who are eternally

1162, which is about the date of Nimbārka's death, so that he lived after Rāmānuja. This calculation of ours is of course very rough and, besides, the date of the manuscript No. 706. which is read as 1913 by some, but which looks like 1813, conflicts with this calculation, as nine more Ācāryas flourished after Dāmodara. And, if 1813 is the correct date, seven years cannot suffice for these, though 107 may, if the date is read 1913.

[1]) See Keśava's commentary, Br. S. I. 4, 23.

in a supremely blissful condition, such as (a) Garuḍa, Viṣvaksena, and (b) the crown, ear-ornaments and the flute considered as living beings; and (2) those who are freed from the trammels of life. Of these last some attain to the likeness of God and others are content with the perception of the nature of their own soul. Corresponding to these two last are two kinds of Mumukṣu, those who seek deliverance of either kind.

III. The inanimate objects are of three kinds: (1) not derived from Prakṛti; (2) derived from Prakṛti; and (3) time. In the things derived from Prakrti we have the ordinary material objects having the three colours, viz. red, white, and dark.

The first class consists of those which are spoken of figuratively by the use of the names of objects belonging to the second class, such as the sunlike refulgence of the Supreme Soul. It is a refulgence not arising from the Prakṛti. Similarly the body, hands, feet, and ornaments of God, as well as all the surroundings, such as garden, palace, etc., belong to the first class and are of an inanimate nature, though they are not made of matter, i. e., not derived from Prakṛti[1]).

IV. I meditate on the highest Brahman, viz. Kṛṣṇa, who has eyes like the lotus, who naturally is free from all faults, is the store of all beneficient attributes, who has Vyūhas for his parts, and who is adored by all.

The Vyūhas here mentioned are those usually referred to in the Pāñcarātra and Rāmānuja systems. The commentators understand the incarnations also by this expression. One gives a large number of these, divided into classes on certain principles. Kṛṣṇa is called Vareṇya or adored by all, because he has a holy celestial body and bodily qualities, such as beauty, tenderness, sweetness and charm. All these are of course non-material (Aprākṛta), though inanimate according to stanza III.

V. I reflect on the daughter of Vṛṣabhānu (Rādhikā), who shines with a corresponding beauty on the left side (of Kṛṣṇa), is attended on by thousands of female friends, and who always confers all desired objects.

VI. This Parabrahman should be always worshipped uninterruptedly by men in order to be free from the darkness in the shape of ignorance, in which they are enveloped. So was Nārada, who directly perceived the whole truth, taught by Sanandana and others.

VII. All things having Brahman for their souls in accordance with the Śrutis and Smṛtis, the knowledge that [Brahman] is all is true. This is the doctrine of those who know the Vedas, and at the same time the three forms are true as determined from the sacred precepts (Smṛtis) and the Sūtras.

Here is laid down the unity of all things in so far as Brahman is the inner controlling soul of all and is concomitant with them, and their existence and actions are dependent on it, and also pluralism, since there are three distinct substances, which are called forms of

[1]) The physical attributes given to God by Rāmānuja and the rest and to which the word 'celestial' is sometimes prefixed, are to be understood in this sense.

Brahman in the stanza, viz. the inanimate world, the individual soul and the Supreme Soul.

VIII. There appears no way to salvation except the lotus-like feet of Kṛṣṇa, which are adored by Brahmadeva, Śiva and others — Kṛṣṇa, who, at the desire of a devotee, assumes a form easy of meditation and whose power is unthinkable and whose essence cannot be comprehended.

IX. His grace extends itself to those who have a feeling of helplessness and other qualifications, and by that grace is generated Bhakti, or devotion, consisting of special love for him, who has no superior lord. This Bhakti is of two kinds: the highest is one, and the other is that which leads to or is instrumental to it.

By the feeling of helplessness and other qualifications are meant the six modes of Prapatti given in connection with Rāmānuja's system. The Bhakti which is instrumental to that which is the highest, is of the nature of the six or nine modes mentioned in previous sections.

X. These five things should be known by the devotees: (1) the nature of the being to be worshipped; (2) the nature of the worshipper; (3) the fruit of God's grace; (4) the feeling of enjoyment consequent on Bhakti, or love; (5) obstructions to the attainment of God.

The first is the knowing of the nature of the Supreme Being as existence, intelligence and joy (Saccidānanda), of his possessing a celestial body (non-material), of his dwelling in such places as the cow-settlement (Vraja), which is called the celestial city (Vyomapura), of his being the cause of all, omnipotent, tender, merciful, gracious towards his devotees, and so forth. The second consists in knowing the worshipper as an atom, possessing knowledge and joy, and as the servant of Kṛṣṇa, etc. The third is the self-surrender and the giving up of all actions except the service of God, which results in self-surrender. The fourth arises from serenity, servitude, friendliness, affection, and enthusiasm. These states of mind are consequent upon the peculiar relation to God of each individual, as affection was the feeling of Nanda, Vasudeva and Devakī, and enthusiasm, of Rādhā and Rukmiṇī. The fifth are such as regarding the body as the soul, dependence on others than God and one's preceptor, indifference to the commands of God contained in the sacred books, worshipping other gods, giving up one's own peculiar duties, ingratitude, spending one's life in a worthless manner, vilification of good men, and many others.

§ 55. These ten stanzas contain the quintessence of Nimbārka's system. This appears to have Rāmānuja's doctrines for its basis and is a sidewise development of it. It gives predominance to Prapatti or self-surrender of the six kinds alluded to above, and then, by the grace of God, love for Him is generated. His Sādhana Bhakti comprehends all the Yogas of Rāmānuja's system. Rāmānuja, as we have already remarked, changes the original sense of Bhakti and renders it equivalent to the Upāsanā, or the meditation prescribed in the Upaniṣads. But Nimbārka keeps to the original sense. His doctrines make a nearer approach to the Tenkalai, or southern learning, of the Rāmānujīyas. But the great difference between the two teachers is, that, while Rāmānuja confines himself to Nārāyaṇa and his consorts Lakṣmī, Bhū and Līlā, Nim-

bārka gives almost an exclusive prominence to Kṛṣṇa and his mistress, Rādhā, attended on by thousands of her female companions. Thus the fourth element of Vaiṣṇavism which we have mentioned rises to the surface in Vaiṣṇavism about this time and retains its place in Northern India, including Bengal, except in the case of those sects whose favourite deity is Rāma and not Kṛṣṇa; and to these for the present we will now turn our attention, coming back again to Kṛṣṇaism later on. Nimbārka's system is known by the name of Sanakasaṃpradāya, or the tradition originating with Sanaka. Though Nimbārka was a southerner, he lived at Vṛndāvana near Mathurā, which accounts for the preference given by him to the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa form of Vaiṣṇavism. His followers are scattered over the whole of Northern India and exist in large numbers near Mathurā and in Bengal. They wear two perpendicular lines of Gopīcandana with a black spot in the middle on the forehead and use a necklace and rosary of the wood of the Tulasī plant. They are divided into two classes, the ascetics and householders. This distinction appears to have originated at the time of Harivyāsadeva, after whom, as I have observed in a note, the successors of Nimbārka were divided into two branches. The reason for the division was probably this new distinction.

XVIII. Rāmānanda.

§ 56. A spirit of sympathy for the lower castes and classes of Hindu society has from the beginning been a distinguishing feature of Vaiṣṇavism. Still, so far as we have advanced, the great teachers kept these castes and classes into, what might be called, an outer court, though they were admitted to the benefits of the new dispensation. They had not, as the pure Vedāntins assert, to do the duties prescribed for their mean position and rise in succeeding lives until they were finally born as Brāhmaṇas, when alone they could avail themselves of the methods laid down for the attainment of Mokṣa, or deliverance. They could attain this even as members of the lowest caste by resorting to devotion, but the Brahmaṇic teachers, Rāmānuja and others, made the methods based on the study of the Vedic literature accessible only to the higher castes, leaving other methods to the rest. But Rāmānanda now began a radical reform and made no distinction between Brāhmaṇas and members of the degraded castes, and all could even dine together, provided they were the devotees of Viṣṇu and had been admitted into the fold. Another reform, which must be traced to Rāmānanda, was the use of the vernaculars for the propagation of the new creed. And a third very important reform made by him was the introduction of the purer and more chaste worship of Rāma and Sītā instead of that of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā.

Mr. Macauliffe mentions Mailkot as the place of his birth and says that he must have flourished in the end of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century, which, he states, corresponds with a reckoning which gives 1398 A. D. as the date of the birth of Kabīr. This would rather make Rāmānanda live long before the end of the fourteenth century, as Kabīr was his successor and ordinarily believed

to be his pupil [1]). The authority [2]) I have consulted states that he was born at Prayāga as the son of a Kānyakubja Brāhmaṇa, named Puṇyasadana, and his wife Suśīlā. The date of his birth is given as 4400 of the Kali age, equivalent to 1356 of Vikrama-Saṃvat. This corresponds to 1299 or 1300 A. D. and is more consistent with the traditional statement that there were three generations between him and Rāmānuja. The date of Rāmānuja's death is usually given as 1137 A. D., though it makes him out as having lived for 120 years. The lapse of three generations between 1137 and 1300 A. D. is a more reasonable supposition than between 1137 and the end of the fourteenth century. This last date, therefore, given for Rāmānanda is manifestly wrong, and that occuring in the book I have consulted appears to be correct in all probability.

From Prayāga Rāmānanda was sent to Benares for the usual education of a Brāhmaṇa. After he finished this, he became a disciple of Rāghavānanda, a teacher of the Viśiṣṭādvaita school of Rāmānuja. After some time he gave up some of the restrictive practices of the sect, such as that of taking food without being seen by anybody, and separated himself from his preceptor and himself became the founder of a school. As indicated above, he took pupils from the degraded castes also. Thirteen of them became noted and their names are: 1. Anantānanda, 2. Surasarānanda, 3. Sukhānanda, 4. Naraharīyānanda, 5. Yogānanda, 6. Pīpā, 7. Kabīr, 8. Bhāvānanda, 9. Senā, 10. Dhannā, 11. Gālavānanda, 12. Rāidās, and 13. Padmāvatī. Of these Pīpā was a Rājpūt, Kabīr was a Śūdra and spoken of also as a Mahomedan following the profession of a weaver, Senā was a barber, Dhannā a Jāṭ, Rāidās belonged to the degraded caste of curriers or workers in leather, and Padmāvatī was a woman. With the first twelve he went about the country visiting holy places, conducting disputations with the advocates of the Māyā doctrine, Jainas, Buddhists, etc., establishing his own Viśiṣṭādvaita theory and converting men to his views and admitting them as his disciples. Rāmānanda is stated to have died in 1467 of Vikrama-Saṃvat, corresponding to 1411 A. D. This gives him a life of 111 years, which is rather improbable. Some of his pupils became the founders of different schools, and through them the worship of Rāma spread over an extensive portion of Northern and Central India, successfully competing with that of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa.

XIX. Kabīr.

§ 57. The few particulars that have come down to us about the birth and life of Kabīr are these. He was the son of a Brāhmaṇa widow who cast him away as soon as he was born, to hide her shame, near the Lahar Tank in Benares. A Mahomedan weaver of the name of Nīrū was passing by the way with his wife Nīmā, when the latter

[1]) The Sikh Religion, etc. by M. A. Macauliffe, Vol. VI, pp. 100—1. 1908 A. D. is said by Macauliffe to correspond to the 510th year of *his* era. By *his* he must mean Kabīr's.

[2]) Chapters from the Agastya-Saṃhitā with a Hindī translation by Rāma Nārāyaṇa Dās, completed in Saṃvat 1960, corresponding to 1904 A. D.

saw the child and carried it home. He was nurtured and brought up by her and her husband Nīrū, and Kabīr, when he had grown up, followed the occupation of a weaver. He showed leanings towards the Hindu faith, and the idea of making Rāmānanda his Guru, or preceptor, arose in his mind. But he conceived it not possible that that sage should receive a Mahomedan as his disciple and therefore had recourse to a contrivance. He laid himself down on the Ghāṭ, or pavement on the Ganges, at which Rāmānanda bathed very early in the morning. On the way Rāmānanda trampled on the boy and exclaimed: "Rāma, Rāma! What poor creature is it that I have trampled upon?" Kabīr rose up and received the exclamation "Rāma, Rāma" as a Mantra communicated to him by Rāmānanda, and he understood that he had thus been made a disciple. Another account is that, being trampled on, Kabīr rose up and cried aloud, when Rāmānanda told him to be quiet and go on uttering the name of "Rāma". Considering that he had thus been accepted as a pupil, Kabīr went on with his adorations of God, proclaiming that he was the disciple of Rāmānanda. Some Hindus went to the latter and asked him whether he had initiated Kabīr. Thereupon Kabīr was sent for and asked by Rāmānanda, when it was that he had been initiated. Kabīr mentioned to him the incident of his having been trampled upon on the Ghāṭ. Then Rāmānanda remembered the matter and clasped Kabīr to his breast. Since that time Kabīr regularly attended at his master's Maṭha and joined him in his disputations with the Paṇḍits. For some time Kabīr lived at Manikapur, as is mentioned in one of his Ramainīs. There he heard of the fame of Shaikh Taqqi and of twenty-one Pīrs. He heard their discourses, condemned their teachings and said: "Oh Shaikhs, of whatever name, listen to me; open your eyes and see the origin and the end of all things and their creation and dissolution". In one of the books of this sect, Shaikh Taqqi is represented as an enemy of Kabīr and a Pīr, or the religious guide, of Sikandar Lodi. At his advice the emperor persecuted Kabīr and used various methods to destroy him. But Kabīr miraculously escaped death and was eventually reconciled to Sikandar Lodi, who received him into his favour. Kabīr died at Maghar, and there was a dispute between the Hindus and the Mahomedans as to the disposal of his dead body, which was covered by a sheet of cloth. When the sheet was removed, the body had disappeared, and in its stead there was a heap of flowers. The Mahomedans took one half of the quantity and buried it at Maghar and erected a tomb over it, and the Hindus took their share to Benares, where it was burnt. Kabīr had a wife of the name of Loi, a son of the name of Kamāl, and a daughter of the name of Kamālī. But there are miraculous stories as to how Kabīr came by them.

As to how much of this account is historical and how much legendary, it is difficult to say. But that he was a Mahomedan weaver at the beginning may be accepted as a fact. And that Shaikh Taqqi, a Mahomedan Pīr, who is mentioned in one of the Ramainīs, as stated above, was his rival and that Kabīr lived about the time of Sikandar Lodi may also be regarded as historical. As to whether Kabīr was a disciple of Rāmānanda, there is some question, as will be presently

mentioned. Mr. Westcott considers it not impossible that he should have been both a Mahomedan and a Sūfi [1]), but all his writings show a complete familiarity with the names occuring in Ḥindu religious literature and Hindu manners and customs, so that it appears to me that there is little or nothing in Kabīr's writings calculated to show that his teachings had a Mahomedan basis. The basis appears to be purely Hindu, though Kabīr was a bold and uncompromising reformer and hurled anathemas at the Paṇḍits, the Brāhmaṇas proud of their caste, and the teachers of the existing sects of the Ḥindus, and thus appears to have come under the influence of Mahomedanism.

The dates given by various writers for the birth and death of Kabīr are conflicting. Mr. Westcott makes him live for 78 years, from 1440 to 1518 A.D. [2]), and according to Mr. Macauliffe he was born in Saṃvat 1455, corresponding to A.D. 1398 [3]), and he died in A.D. 1518 [4]), having lived for 119 years, five months and twenty-seven days. In a footnote he quotes from an original work the date Śaka 1370, corresponding to 1448 A. D., as the date of his death. Sikandar Lodi was on the throne of Delhi from 1488 to 1517 A. D. The last of the three dates does not harmonise with this, and so it must be given up. Rāmānanda, we have seen, is spoken of as having been born in 1298 A. D. and died in 1411 A. D. If Mr. Westcott's date for Kabīr's birth is true, Kabīr cannot have been a disciple of Rāmānanda. If that of Mr. Macauliffe is accepted, it is just possible that he should have so become, for at the time of Rāmānanda's death Kabīr must have been thirteen years of age, and he is represented in one of the legends to have been but a boy when he was accepted as a disciple by the old sage. The date 1518 A. D. given by both the writers for his death may be accepted as correct. But, if that of his birth given by Mr. Macauliffe is also accepted, we shall have to suppose that Kabīr lived for 119 years; Rāmānanda also according to the dates given in the last section lived for 113 years. Whether both of them lived such long lives might well be questioned. But, until we have more evidence, the dates for Rāmānanda already noticed and for Kabīr as given by Mr. Macauliffe may be provisionally accepted, and thus Kabīr might be considered to have really been a disciple of Rāmānanda, though, of course, being a boy of thirteen, he could not have taken part in his master's disputations with Paṇḍits. In Kabīr's works, however, so far as I have seen them, Rāmānanda's name does not occur, though the name Rāma as that of the Supreme Being and also the relation of the individual soul with Rāma as well as his refutation of the doctrine of God's being Videha or Nirguṇa, i. e. without attributes, must have been borrowed from Rāmānanda's doctrines, which again are based on Rāmānuja's system.

§ 58. We now give a translation of a few passages illustrative of the teachings of Kabīr [5]).

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[1]) Kabir and the Kabir Panth by Rev. G. H. Westcott. Cawnpore, 1907, p. 44.

[2]) *Ibid.* Chronological Table, p. VII.

[3]) The Sikh Religion, Vol. VI, p. 122.

[4]) *Ibid.* pp. 139—40.

[5]) The edition consulted is that published with a commentary under the orders of Raghurajasimha, Maharaja of Rewah, in Saṃvat 1924.

First Ramainī[1]).

1. There was in the inside a substance called Jīva, or individual soul, the Internal Light illuminated [it]. 2. And then followed a woman of the name of 'desire'; and she was called Gāyatrī. 3. That woman gave birth to three sons, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa. 4. Then Brahmā asked the woman who was her husband and whose wife she was. 5. (She replied:) "Thou and I, I and thou, and there is no third. Thou art my husband and I am thy wife." 6. The father and son had a common wife; and one mother has a two-fold character; there is no son who is a good son and who will endeavour to recognise his father.

Second Ramainī.

1. In the light there was sound, which was a woman. 2. And of the woman were Hari, Brahmā and the enemy of the three cities (Śiva). 3. Then Brahmā created an egg and divided it into fourteen regions. 4—6. Then Hari, Hara and Brahmā settled in three regions, and then they arranged the whole Brahmāṇḍa and the six philosophies and ninety-six heresies. Nobody then taught the Veda for his sustenance; and Turuk did not come for making circumcision. 7. The woman brought forth from her womb children. They became distinct individuals and followed different courses of action. 8. Therefore I and thou are of one blood and are one life. Distinctness arises from ignorance. 9. From one woman all sprang, and what knowledge is it that brought about distinctness between them? 13 (Sākhī). Kabīr proclaims: All this ordinary world is destructible; without knowing the name of Rāma all individuals are drowned in the ocean of existence.

Kabīr's account of creation seems to be this. In the light of Rāma there existed a substance which was the subtle element, the sum total of all individual souls. And then that substance was illuminated by that light. Then followed a desire in the shape of a woman, which was at the same time called Gāyatrī and sound (Śabda), and from her the creation took its rise. His idea thus seems to be that individual souls came into being, or were developed out of a substance which was their subtle form, at the will of the Supreme Soul, which (will) was uttered in the form of a sound. That is to say, the Supreme Soul was not the material cause of the world, but a distinct subtle entity. What, in the language of the Upaniṣads, became many was this entity and not the Supreme Soul himself. Kabīr's philosophy is thus not a monism, but dualism. All individuals sprang into existence from the same cause, there was one blood and one life, and consequently the distinction of castes and races was a later fiction. Kabīr thus appears to be an opponent of this distinction.

Fifth Ramainī.

The substance of the first five Caupāīs seems to be that Hari, Hara and Brahmā, taking the two letters (Rāma), laid the foundation of all

[1]) Ramainī is a piece of composition consisting of several Caupāīs (Sk. Catuṣpadī), which are stanzas consisting of four lines with the ends of the first two and of the last two rhyming with each other, and a Sākhī (which is another species of metre) at the end.

learning, and gradually the Vedas and Kitābs (books) came to be composed. 6—8. In all the four ages the devotees devised systems, but were not aware that the bundle they had tied up was torn. Men ran in all directions for salvation, being afraid. Abandoning their lord they ran towards hell.

Eighth Ramainī.

1. The precept "Tat tvam asi" (that thou art) is the message of the Upaniṣads. 2. They lay great stress upon it, and those who are qualified explain it (at great length). 3. Sanaka and Nārada became happy by regarding the highest principle to be distinct from themselves. 4. The colloquy between Janaka and Yājñavalkya comes to the same effect, and that same sweet sentiment was tasted by Dattātreya. 5. Vasiṣṭha and Rāma sang together the same thing, and that same thing was explained to Uddhava. 6. That same thing was substantiated by Janaka and, though he had a body, he was called bodiless (Videha). 7 (Sākhī). No mortal becomes immortal without abandoning the pride of birth. That which one cannot see by experience is to be considered as "unseen" or "unperceived".

In this Ramainī Kabīr shows acquaintance with the Upaniṣads and other branches of Hindu sacred literature, so that he cannot have been a mere "Sūfi and Mahomedan". He rejects the theory of the identity between the Supreme and the individual souls, which is regarded as being laid down in the expression "That thou art" of the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad. The commentator says that by "that" is to be understood the subtle body of sixteen parts and the expression means "Thou art that subtle body". Kabīr takes all the individuals he has named in this Ramainī to have preached duality.

In the fourteenth Ramainī there is a condemnation of the several systems of religion, that contained in the Purāṇas, that of Brahmā, Haṃsa, Gopāla, Śambhu, ghosts and goblins and various forms of worship up to the Nevāja of the Mahomedan.

Thirty-fourth Ramainī.

1. The Paṇḍits were misled by the study of the Vedas which are based on the Guṇas, or qualities, and did not know their own nature and their true friend (God). 2. They practise Saṃdhyā, Tarpaṇa, the six rites and various other such ceremonies. 3. In all the four Yugas Gāyatrī has been taught; ask who obtained salvation (Mukti) by its means. 4. When you are touched by other people, you bathe; tell me who is more degraded than yourselves. 5. You are very proud of your virtues. Too much pride is not good. 6. How can he whose name destroys all pride bear this proud behaviour? 7 (Sākhī). Giving up the traditional mode of worship of the family, they seek the place of Nirvāṇa; having destroyed the seed and sprout, they became an entity without attributes (Videha or Nirguṇa).

Kabīr here condemns the rites, ceremonies and other practices of the Brāhmaṇas, the pride that is generated in them by these, the contempt in which they hold people of other castes, and also their search of Nirvāṇa, or a condition without any attributes, i. e. the A-dvaita, or a-dualistic, system which they follow.

Fortieth Ramainī.

1. The sea, which is a collection of waters, is a ditch, and in it are the sun, the moon, and thirty-three crores of brothers. 2. In the whirlpools (of such a universe) they (men and gods) have seated themselves and desire happiness, but have not shunned the touch of misery. 3. Nobody knows the secret of misery, and the world has become mad in a variety of ways. 4. Everybody is a fool or a sage in himself and nobody knows Rāma who dwells in the heart. 5 (Sākhī). They themselves are Hari (God), they themselves are lords, they themselves are the slaves of Hari. When there is no guarantee, the lady (Mukti, or salvation) goes away disappointed.

Here again there is a condemnation of various systems and of the self-confidence which has given rise to them and the neglect of God dwelling in the heart.

Sākhīs.

I.

31. The crowds went by the path traversed by the Paṇḍits. Lofty is the ascent to Rāma. Kabīr has climbed it. 135. The whole world has gone astray by partiality for one's own system. He who, becoming free from partiality, adores Hari, is a wise sage. 138. The great ones are lost in their own greatness; pride peers out through every pore; when they are not familiar with a wise preceptor, all the orders of men are of the Camār caste, i. e. the degraded caste of curriers. 182. The Kali is a wicked age; the world is blind and nobody believes in the true word. He to whom a salutary advice is given, becomes an enemy. 211. Three things went to a holy place (the body, the fickle heart, and the mind which is a thief). They did not destroy a single sin, but on the contrary the mind contracted ten others. 260. The Kabīrs (men in general) polluted the path of Bhakti, or faith, by washing pebbles and stones. Keeping poison within, they have thrown out the nectar. 358. "I am the author of the whole creation, there is no other who is superior to me." (This is what some people think.) Kabīr says that, when one does not know what one is oneself, one thinks everything to be contained in oneself. 365. In this world all have passed away considering themselves to be Rāma, but no one actually became Rāma. Kabīr says that those who know Rāma as he truly is, attain all their objects. 366. This world has become mad and has conceived a love for something which can be no matter of experience; and denying all authoritativeness to actual experience, they attach themselves to a soul without attributes (Videha). 372. Seeing a void, men were misled and went about searching in all quarters till they died, but did not find a form without attributes.

II.

91. The bee loiters in the garden, being enticed by the innumerable flowers in it. In the same manner the individual soul loiters among the objects of sense and at the end goes away disappointed. 95. The soul is to the mind as a monkey is to a showman. Making it dance in a variety of ways, it (mind) finally retains it in its own hands.

96. The mind is fickle, a thief and perfect swindler. The gods and the sages fell off in consequence of the mind, and mind finds a hundred thousand openings. 136. If a man gives up his belongings, it does not mean much. Egotism, or self-pride, cannot be given up. Self-pride, which led astray the great Munis, devours all. Running after gold and women, men are burnt by the passion generated by an illusion. Kabīr says, how can they be saved, being like cotton which has come in contact with fire? 147. All became subject to the power of illusion: Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśa, and the four, Nārada, Śārada, Sanaka, and Gaṇeśa, the son of Gaurī. 209. Do not kill a poor living creature; the life of all is the same. You will not be free from (the sin of) killing, even if you hear crores of Purāṇas.

III.

122. He to attain whom the great sages (Munis) go through austerities and whose virtues the Vedas sing, himself gives instruction, but nobody believes. 208. One single poor soul is bound up by many fetters. If the father (God) will not liberate him, what power has the soul himself to do so? 243. I (God) instruct him; but he does not understand and sells himself into the hands of others. I pull him towards myself; but he runs away to the city of death (Yama). 282. If you endeavour to acquire one thing (God), every other thing will come to you; but if you endeavour to acquire every other thing, that one thing will be lost. If you water the root of a tree, you will obtain a sufficiency of flowers and fruits. 310. If you want me (God), give up your desire for every other thing and become mine, and then everything will be yours. 336. He has entered into every body and remains there fully watchful. When one wants a certain accomplishment, he inspires him with the corresponding thoughts (calculated to enable him to achieve success).

Here the first group contains a condemnation of the current religious doctrines; the second gives a specimen of Kabīr's moral teachings; and the third explains the way in which God's grace operates towards the deliverance of man. Kabīr, therefore, was as much a constructive reformer as destructive. In Sākhī 260 of the first group Kabīr, it will be seen, condemns the worship of idols. The religion which he promulgated, therefore, was a pure spiritual theism. The mode of worship used by his followers up to the present day consists of prayers and praises only. Kabīr founded a Pantha, or a sect, and the Maṭhas, or establishments, of that sect exist in several parts of India. The principal one is at Benares, with a branch at Maghar in the Gorakhpur district, where he died. This last is said to be in the charge of a Mahomedan Mahant, or superior. The second was established by Dharmadās, his chief disciple, in the Chattisgarh district of the Central Provinces[1]). The followers of Kabīr's sect are to be found principally among the lower castes, but the sage is highly venerated by all Vaiṣṇavas of whatever caste or class.

[1]) For details see Rev. G. H. Westcott's volume on Kabīr referred to above.

XX. Other Rāmānandins.

§ 59. Malukdās, who lived about the end of Akbar's reign, i. e. about the end of the sixteenth century, was a worshipper of Rāma. The tradition that he belonged to the school of Rāmānanda appears to be correct. Like Kabīr, he seems to have been a non-idolater, since in a hymn which I have seen he ridicules men and women who hammer valuable metals into gods, worship them, and, whenever there is a necessity, sell them for the price of the metal, and says that the true way was shown to him by his wise preceptor. The sect founded by him has seven Maṭhas, or establishments, and its adherents follow the occupation of householders.

Dādu was a cotton cleaner at Ahmedabad. At twelve he removed to Sambhar and finally settled at Naraina, about twenty Kos from Jaipur. He flourished about 1600 A. D. at the end of Akbar's reign. His doctrines appear to be similar to those of Kabīr. The only mode of worship was Japa, or the repetition of the name of Rāma. The sect does not worship images of Rāma and it erects no temples. Dādu inculcates faith in, and love of, Rāma and meditation on him. His followers are divided into three classes: (1) Viraktas, (2) Nāgas, and (3) Vistaradhārins. The first live the life of ascetics, the second are bearers of arms and enter into the service of princes as soldiers, and the third lead an ordinary life.

Rāidās, a pupil of Rāmānanda, was a founder of a sect the followers of which are to be found in the caste of Camārs, or leather-workers. Nābhājī in his Bhaktamālā tells many legends about him. Under the name of Rohidās he is known and revered even in the Marāṭha country, and Mahīpatī, the Marāṭha writer on saints, devotes a chapter to him.

Senā the barber, a follower of Rāmānanda, is also reported to have founded a sect. He too is known in the Marāṭha country [1]).

XXI. Tulasīdās.

§ 60. Another person who contributed to the propagation of the cult of Rāma over Northern India, was the famous Tulasīdās, whom we will now briefly notice. Tulasīdās belonged to the Saravaryā or Sarayūparīṇa caste of Brāhmaṇas and was born in Saṃvat 1589, corresponding to 1532 A. D., under an inauspicious constellation. He was abandoned by his parents and was picked up by a Sādhu, or a pious man, in whose company he visited many places in India. His father's name was Ātmārāma Śukla Dūbe, his mother's Hulasī, and his own Rāma Bōta. His father-in-law was a man of the name of Dīnabandhu Pāṭhaka, and his wife was called Ratnāvalī. His son's name was Tāraka.

Tulasīdās commenced the composition of his great work, Rāmacaritamānasa, usually known as Rāmāyaṇa, at Ayodhyā in 1574 A. D. and finished it at Benares. He wrote eleven other works, six of which were smaller. Tulasīdās was not a sturdy reformer like Kabīr and

[1]) See Wilson's Hindu Religions.

does not seem to have founded a sect or even to have promulgated a definite Vedāntic theory. In this respect he appears to have been, like a host of other persons who flourished in the country, a teacher of the Bhaktimārga, or the path of devotion, which is based upon a dualistic philosophy with a leaning towards spiritual monism of the Advaita system. Tulasīdās died in 1623 A. D.[1]).

§ 61. I will now give a short specimen of Tulasīdās' teachings from his Rāma-Satasaī, the composition of which, as stated in Dohā 21 of the first chapter, was commenced on Thursday, the ninth of the bright half of Vaiśākha, Saṃvat 1642 = 1585 A. D.

Chapter I.

(Dohā 3) The highest soul, the highest excellent place, than whom or which there is no other, Tulasī understands and hears to be Rāma, the blessed. (Dohā 4) "Rāma whose attributes confer blessings upon all is himself free from all desires. He fulfils all desires, is the benefactor of all. The sages assert this." — So says Tulasī. (Dohā 15) Tulasī sees plainly that in every pore of Rāma there is an endless universe. He is pure, is unchangeable and is irresistible. (Dohā 6) The blessed Jānakī is the mother of the world, and Rāma the father. Both are beneficent. Their grace destroys sin, and creates conscience (confers the knowledge of distinguishing good from evil). (Dohā 44) Where there is Rāma, there is no [evil] desire; where there is [evil] desire, there is no Rāma. Oh Tulasī, the sun and the night do not exist in one place. (Dohā 45) When Rāma is afar, Māyā (illusion or temptation) is strong. When he is known, it becomes tiny or thin. When the sun is at a distance, the shadow is long; when he is on the head, it is below the feet. (Dohā 48) Says Tulasī: "If there is no love for Rāma, all learning is thrown into an oven; and Yama takes away knowledge and devours it; everything burns away, and the very root is destroyed". (Dohā 57) All things by which a man is surrounded, serve as hindrances, and none proves a help (towards the way of bliss); and, in such circumstances, if the end is good, it can become so only through Rāma's grace.

Chapter II.

(Dohā 17) Says Tulasī: "Through the disobedience of God, man brings evil on himself and all his associates. The king of the Kurus, while governing his kingdom, was reduced to dust along with his army and family". (Dohā 18) Says Tulasī: "From sweet words results good on all sides. This is a spell that overcomes everything; avoid all harsh words". (Dohā 19) "A man attains happiness by the grace of Rāma, and it escapes one without it", says Tulasī, "though they know this, bad men neglect to adore Rāma."

Chapter IV[2]).

82 (89 B. I.). The excellent retentive faculty is called Girā or Sarasvatī, and the immutable Dharma is a Vaṭa tree. Dharma con-

[1]) For details see Dr. Grierson's articles in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXII.

[2]) The editions consulted are those published by Navalkiśora at Lakhnau in 1886 and in the Bibliotheca Indica in 1897.

sists of a triad of confluent rivers destroying sin. Oh Tulasī, conceive no dislike for these and accept these.

The triad is given by the commentator as action, knowledge, and Bhakti, or devotion.

83 (90 B. I.). One becomes clean by bathing (in these three confluent rivers), i. e. grasping the triad by the understanding. The dirt in the shape of immorality is washed off, and then there is no doubt as to the easy attainment of the place of Rāma. 84 (91 B. I.). Forgiveness is holy Vārāṇasī. Bhakti, or devotion, is like the river of gods (Gaṅgā), and clear knowledge is like Viśveśvara. These together with compassion, which is power (Pārvatī), shine.

The commentator remarks that just as Benares with the other three brings about deliverance, so do forgiveness, devotion, knowledge, and compassion.

85 (92 B. I.). Vārāṇasī is not far from him whose heart dwells in the house which is Kṣamā (forgiveness) — Vārāṇasī, in which shines, oh Tulasī, the celestial river in the shape of Bhakti, which results in numerous virtuous deeds. 86 (93 B. I.). Kāśī is the bright half of a month and Magaha, or Magadha, is the dark half in which dwell covetousness, infatuation, intoxication, and lust. Oh Tulasī, considering which is beneficial and which is injurious, do [choose where to] reside during all the watches of the day.

Kāśī is associated with the four virtues mentioned above, and Magadha with the vices noticed here. So one is told to practise what is beneficial and to avoid what is injurious.

87 (94 B. I.). What has gone away will not come again. Therefore do acquire knowledge. The same thing that you have to-day you will have to-morrow; therefore, oh Tulasī, give up all infatuation.

The idea seems to be: Do not waste time by procrastination; begin your devotions at once.

88 (95 B. I.). The past and the future hang together on the present. Oh Tulasī, do not entertain any doubt; get through that which is before you at present.

89 (96 B. I.). A good soul is like the Mānasa (lake), and in it is the pure water of the sweet glory of Rāma. Sin is washed off and the heart becomes pure (by bathing in that water); and this calm water is not inaccessible to the wise.

The idea seems to be that in a good soul a taste for devotion to Rāma springs up and, when it is cultivated, the soul becomes pure.

From these extracts it will be seen that according to Tulasīdās Rāma is the supreme God, and that through his grace man becomes holy and blessed. He should, therefore, be adored; where he is, sin is not, and therefore, for the purification of the mind, he should always be thought of and meditated on. The ways to God usually followed are, he says, inefficacious and as such may be thrown into the fire.

XXII. Vallabha.

§ 62. We will now turn our attention to the more extensive and almost exclusive cult of the Kṛṣṇa of Gokula. The founder of it was

Vallabha. He was the son of a Tailaṅga Brāhmaṇa named Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa, who was a student of the Black Yajurveda and lived at a village named Kāṅkarava in the Telugu country. On one occasion Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa went on a pilgrimage to Benares with his wife, Elamāgāra. On the way she gave birth to a son on the eleventh of the dark half of Vaiśākha of the Vikrama year 1535, corresponding to 1479 A. D. [1]) That son was known as Vallabha. Vallabha lived for some time in Vṛndāvana and for some time at Mathurā. About that time it is alleged that Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa manifested himself on the Govardhana hill by the name of Devadamana, called also Śrī-Nāthajī. The God told Vallabha in a dream to come and see him, informing him that his companions in the cow-settlement, when he became incarnate as Kṛṣṇa, were born again in the present age and commissioned him to make them his attendants, that he might sport with them as in the former age. Accordingly, Vallabha went and saw Devadamana or Śrī-Nāthajī. Śrī-Nāthajī commanded him to erect a shrine for himself and to promulgate the method of worshipping him, without which a man would not be admissible to the Puṣṭimārga, or the path of divine grace, which Vallabha had founded. The meaning of this seems to be that Vallabha connected his system with a special manifestation of Kṛṣṇa known by the name of Śrī-Nāthajī [2]).

Vallabha's Vedāntic theory is the same as that of an earlier author of the name of Viṣṇusvāmin. This Viṣṇusvāmin is said to have been the son of the councillor of a Draviḍa chief dependent upon the emperor of Delhi [3]). Nābhājī in his Bhaktamālā makes Jñāndeva, Nāmdeva, Trilocana, and lastly Vallabha his successors [4]). The first was Jñāndeva, who is represented as a follower of his system (Saṃpradāya). He was one of three sons born to a man, who became a householder after he had assumed the order of an ascetic. He was, therefore, excommunicated and was not allowed to learn the Vedas. But he himself by his miraculous power made a male buffalo repeat the Vedas. This story is the same as that related of the Jñandeva of Mahārāṣṭra, the author of a vernacular commentary on the Bhagavadgītā. But the Marāṭhas do not know of Viṣṇusvāmin as his Guru, or teacher, or of Jñāndeva being his successor or follower. If, however, the tradition reported by Nābhājī is correct, Viṣṇusvāmin must have lived about the middle of the thirteenth century. The date of the commentary above alluded to is Śaka 1212, corresponding to 1290 A. D.

The Vedāntic theory of Viṣṇusvāmin which is the same as that of Vallabha is as follows. The one primeval soul was not joyful, because he was alone (BU. I, 4, 3), and, desiring to be many, he himself became the inanimate world, the individual soul, and the inward controlling soul. These sprang from him like sparks from a burning fire and are his parts (MU. II, 1). By his own inscrutable power he rendered the properties of intelligence and joy imperceptible in

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1) Yajñeśvara, Āryavidyāsudhākara.

2) See Harirāya Mahārāja's Govardhanaprākaṭyakī Vārtā, published in Saṃvat 1935, p. 11.

3) Yajñeśvara, Āryavidyāsudhākara, p. 228.

4) Ed. by Khemaraj, Bombay, Śaka 1827 (1905 A. D.), pp. 95—98.

the first, and his joy alone in the second, while the third has all the attributes perceptible in it. Simple Brahman as such has perceptible joy prevailing in it [1]).

§ 63. The following particulars have been gleaned from two works belonging to Vallabhācārya's sect [2]). The whole world has Brahman for its material cause. The perception of forms apparently different from the Brahman is due to ignorance or delusion and to the true nature of Brahman being rendered imperceptible. The individual soul is identical with Brahman, a part of Brahman and atomic. From the Akṣara composed of existence, inteliigence, and joy (Saccidānanda) particles come out as sparks from fire. From the predominance of the Sat portion in them the joy portion is concealed, and thus we have the individual souls possessing Sat, existence, and Cit, intelligence. The individual soul is not a form of the Supreme Soul altered by a third thing being involved in it, such as the Māyā (illusive power), but is itself the same substance as the Supreme Soul with one attribute rendered imperceptible. The relation between the two is thus that of identity (Advaita), both being in the pristine unchanged form, i. e. identity of untransformed souls (Śuddhādvaita).

The individual soul is of two kinds: (1) going through the circle of existences, and (2) delivered from the trammels of life. The first is subject to misery in consequence of his delusion that his body and senses are his soul. He remains in this condition till he acquires knowledge, sees the vanity of the world and devotes himself to meditation and the love of God, when he is delivered. The delivered souls are: (1) those who have become so, while in their previous condition, by the termination of ignorance or delusion, such as Sanaka and others; and (2) those who dwell in the world of the Bhagavat, other than the pervading Vaikuṇṭha [3]), where they attain the condition of pure Brahman by the favour of the Bhagavat; (3) there are others, who, having the divine nature in them and coming in contact with good men, resort to various ways of Bhakti, or the propitiation of God, until perfect love alone for him comes to dwell in their heart, and finally become the associates of the Bhagavat in his eternal sports and amusements. This last is the highest Mokṣa, or deliverance. That class of worldly souls who have no divine nature in them and in whom evil predominates, are ever moving in the circle of existences. The souls who have the divine nature in them are of two kinds: (1) those who subject themselves to certain moral discipline (Maryādājīva), and (2) those who depend entirely on God's grace (Puṣṭijīva). Both attain final deliverance, but there is a difference which corresponds

[1]) Sakalācāryamatasaṃgraha by Śrīnivāsa, Chowkh. Series.

[2]) Śuddhādvaitamārtaṇḍa by Giridhara, and Prameyaratnārṇava by Bālakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa, Chowkh. Series.

[3]) I translate the word Vyāpi-Vaikuṇṭha thus. The Vyāpi-Vaikuṇṭha is above the Vaikuṇṭha of Viṣṇu, the protector of the world. There dwells Puruṣottama, who manifests himself variously to his various devotees. To those in whom Bhakti has risen to the highest pitch and has become a haunting passion he manifests himself as the sportive Kṛṣṇa. In a portion of the Vyāpi-Vaikuṇṭha there is the Goloka with Vṛndāvana in which there are extensive trees, bowers of creepers, and the river Yamunā. The highest Bhaktas are transferred to this Vṛndāvana, and Kṛṣṇa sports with them there.

to that between (2) and (3) above and which will be further explained below.

Śrīkṛṣṇa is the highest Brahman. He has hands and feet not made up of ordinary matter (Aprākṛta), but celestial. His body consists of Sat, existence; Cit, intelligence; Ānanda, joy. He is called Puruṣottama, as the most excellent of all beings, and has all attributes which are not ordinary, but celestial. All his sports are eternal. He, with his four arms or two arms, sports with his various devotees, or Bhaktas, in the extensive Vaikuṇṭha, which contains Vṛndāvana with its large forests. Kṛṣṇa is, therefore, the highest joy (Paramānanda). By his will his Sattva portion overcomes the Ānanda or joy portion and, becoming Akṣara, or unchangeable, he is the cause of all causes and creates the world. Then Akṣarabrahman is of two kinds: (1) that which is recognised by the devotees as the place of Puruṣottama, which has the attributes of the extensive Vaikuṇṭha and others; (2) to the enlightened it appears in the form of existence, intelligence and joy, infinite in time and space, self-manifesting and devoid of all qualities. Therefore, in the form in which the enlightened see it all the positive qualities are hidden or rendered imperceptible by the inscrutable power referred to above, and therefore they are not to be regarded as non-existing. When Brahman is spoken of as devoid of all qualities, what is meant is just this. There are thus three forms of the Supreme Being, Puruṣottama and the two kinds of the Unchangeable here mentioned. To explain the controlling of all by Puruṣottama, that form of his that dwells in the sun, the gods, the earth, etc., is called Antaryāmin (the inward controller). It is this inward controller that becomes incarnate in the various forms usually mentioned. The celestial Sattva quality of Kṛṣṇa becomes Viṣṇu, and in this form he becomes the protector of all. Similarly the qualities of Rajas and Tamas assume the forms of Brahmadeva and Śiva for discharging the functions of creation and destruction.

Puṣṭi is the grace (Anugraha) of God which is to be inferred from its fruit or the results, which are ordinary, or of this world, and extraordinary, or of the next world. Mahāpuṣṭi, or the highest grace, is that which removes great obstacles and conduces to the attainment of God himself. Puṣṭi enables one to attain the four objects of life. Extraordinary, or special Puṣṭi, conduces to Bhakti, which leads to the attainment of God. The Bhakti, or devotion generated by this special grace, is called Puṣṭibhakti. The frame of mind generated by this kind of devotion is the desire of the attainment of God to the exclusion of everything else. This Puṣṭibhakti is of four kinds: (1) Pravāha-Puṣṭibhakti, (2) Maryādā-Puṣṭibhakti, (3) Puṣṭi-Puṣṭibhakti, (4) Śuddha-Puṣṭibhakti. The first is the path of those who, while engaged in a worldly life with its *me* and *mine*, which is compared to a stream (Pravāha), do acts calculated to bring about the attainment of God. The second is of those who, withdrawing their minds from worldly enjoyments, devote themselves to God by hearing discourses about him, singing his name, and such other processes. The third is of those who already enjoying God's grace are made by another grace competent to acquire knowledge useful for adoration; and

thus they come to know all about the ways of God. The followers of this path have to depend on their own efforts for the acquisition of knowledge referred to. The fourth is of those who through mere love devote themselves to the singing and praising of God as if it were a haunting passion. This Bhakti is generated by God himself and does not depend upon man's will as the third, mentioned above, does. First a liking for himself is generated by God in the mind of a man to whom his grace extends. Then a man sets about acquiring knowledge about God, and all this is called Premabhakti (love adoration). Now the stages in the development of this are as follows: (1) love or liking (Preman), (2) attachment or addictedness (Āsakti), (3) a haunting passion, which is the mature condition of the first two (Vyasana). The haunting passion leads to the attainment of the end, that is, the highest bliss. Those in whom Bhakti has attained to this pitch reject with scorn the four kinds of Mukti and choose the eternal service of Hari, as noticed in the section on the Pāñcarātra system. By the haunting passion about Hari he is seen everywhere, and therefore everything becomes an object of love, and the devotee identifies himself with everything. Then the inner and the outer world is, for the devotee, full of Puruṣottama, or the highest soul. The final fruit of this devotion is admission to the eternal sports of Kṛṣṇa. The Bhaktas join in these sports, assuming the forms of cows, beasts, birds, trees, rivers, etc., and enjoy the company of Puruṣottama, which confers boundless joy. These eternal sports are like those which Kṛṣṇa went through when he became incarnate in Vraja and Vṛndāvana. Some of the devotees become in the celestial Vṛndāvana Gopas and Gopīs and join in the sports. The Maryādābhaktas attain Mukti called Sāyujya, which consists in being one with Hari. The Puṣṭibhaktas reject it with scorn and seek for participation in the sports of Hari.

§ 64. These are the doctrines of the school of Vallabha. We will now proceed to give a short description of the practical modes of worship. Vallabha had a son named Viṭṭhaleśa, and they are spoken of respectively as Ācārya and Gosāīṃ or Gosvāmin. The latter had seven sons of the names of Giridhara, Govindarāya, Bālakṛṣṇa, Gokulanātha, Raghunātha, Yadunātha, and Ghanaśyāma. The Gurus of this sect ordinarily called Mahārājas are descendants of these seven. Each Guru has a temple of his own, and there are no public places of worship. The devotee should visit the temple of his Guru at stated intervals, which are eight in number during the day. The mode of worship is as follows. The conductor of the worship should rise early in the morning, utter the name of Bhagavat and rinse his mouth and then drink a little of the washings of the feet [of Bhagavat] and, with his face to the north or the east, should utter the name of the Ācārya and pray to him and make a bow. The same should be done to Viṭṭhaleśa and the names of his seven sons should be uttered, as well as of one's own Guru, and then a bow should be made to Kṛṣṇa after uttering the names Govardhana and others. Then the river Yamunā should be remembered and bowed to, and six stanzas of a poem called Bhramaragītā should be repeated; and then the Gopīs, or cowherdesses, should be adored. After this the worshipper should

answer the call of nature, wash his hands, feet and face, and then drink a portion of the washings of the feet of Kṛṣṇa, and eat the residue of the betel leaves supposed to be eaten by Kṛṣṇa. Then he should besmear his body with oil and bathe. After bathing he should drink in a little water, after repeating the name of Nārāyaṇa. Then he should make a perpendicular mark on his forehead with white earth, the mark of a lotus on the bosom and of a bamboo leaf on the arms, etc., twelve in all, to represent the twelve forms of Viṣṇu, Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Mādhava, etc. He should then print the forms of the various weapons of Viṣṇu on his body, and then, saluting Vallabhācārya, should adore Kṛṣṇa with the Gopīs. He should then open the door of the temple and, going into the sleeping apartments, bring out the wreaths of flowers and all other things used on the previous day, and then sweep and clean the apartments. He should then brush the throne and make all the arrangements necessary for the reception of Kṛṣṇa awakened from sleep. He should then approach the bed-room and sing a song calling upon Kṛṣṇa to rise from sleep, to take the refreshments prepared for him and to go with his companions to the forest for grazing the cows. Kṛṣṇa should be brought out and placed on the throne. Rādhā should be placed to his left hand, and then the worshipper should prostrate himself before her. The refreshments already prepared should then be placed before them, and they should be requested to eat them. Then the bed should be dusted and cleaned and then Kṛṣṇa should be made to wash his mouth. Other refreshments should be then placed before the two. And at the end of all an Āratī, or waving of lamps, should be gone through with a song. Vallabhācārya should then be saluted. Then comes the bath of Kṛṣṇa. After bathing saffron paint should be applied. Then he should be dressed and milk given to him. Afterwards by the churning of milk froth should be prepared and offered to Kṛṣṇa. He should be then told to wash his mouth with water. Then betel leaves should be offered to him. Then a cradle should be adorned and Kṛṣṇa should be told to get into it, and then it should be rocked and toys should be got ready for the divine boy. Afterwards the mid-day dinner should be prepared. A Caukā, or a small four-legged table, should be placed before him and viands of all kinds in cups should be put on the table. The lord should then be told to eat them. A little rice should be placed in a small plate and, mixed with ghee, five or seven mouthfuls should be held before him. Then lamps should be waved about him. Subsequently all the other dishes should be offered. In this manner the ceremonies go on. A meal is again prepared at night and Kṛṣṇa is laid on the sleeping cot and made to sleep again. Thus the order of the ceremonies is as follows: (1) the ringing of the bell, (2) the blowing of the conch-shell, (3) awakening of the Lord (Ṭhākurjī) and offering morning refreshments, (4) waving of lamps, (5) bathing, (6) dressing, (7) Gopīvallabha food, (8) leading the cows out for grazing, (9) the mid-day dinner, (10) waving of lamps, (11) after the last the screen is drawn up and the God cannot be seen; this interval is called Anosara or Anavasara, i. e. no time for seeing him, (12) the finishing up, (13) the evening meal, (14) going to bed.

Besides the ordinary worship detailed above, the followers of this sect hold a number of feasts and festivals, some of which are in honour of Vallabhācārya, his son and seven grandsons. The influence exercised by Vallabha and his successors over their adherents seems to have been immense, and this has come down to their descendants or existing Gurus of the sect also. This is kept up by the fact that the God cannot be worshipped independently in a public place of worship, but in the house and temple of the Guru or the Mahārāja, which therefore has to be regularly visited by the devotees with offerings. The followers of this system consist principally of the trading classes of Gujarāt, Rājputāna and further to the north about Mathurā. The principal doctrine which these latter are taught is that all their belongings should be dedicated to their Guru; and this doctrine is not seldom carried to an extreme. Among the different kinds of Bhakti mentioned above there is only one which contemplates non-attachment to worldly objects. The highest Bhakti as well as the others are generated in the heart of man by the grace of God; and the first even ripens into a haunting passion. This grace of God one may enjoy even while engaged in a worldly life. The Maryādā-Puṣṭi, which is one of the four forms and requires the restraint of passions, does not conduce to the attainment of the highest bliss, which consists in joining in the eternal sports of Hari in the Goloka. The spirit of this system, therefore, seems to be sportive enjoyments and it cannot but be expected to influence the ordinary life of its followers. Moral rigidity culminating in indifference to worldly enjoyments and self-abnegation does not appear to be a characteristic of this school. Vallabhācārya himself was a married man, and so were all his successors and so are all the Gurus of the sect, who are as much men of the world as their followers.

§ 65. From the account we have given it will be seen that the fourth element of Vaiṣṇavism, that we have described in a preceding section, alone constitutes the religion of Vallabha. The sportive boy Kṛṣṇa of the cow-settlement with all his pranks is the highest god of this school; and his mistress Rādhā, who is mentioned only in the later books and dignified into his eternal consort, as will be mentioned further on, is the object of the deepest adoration. This sportive Kṛṣṇa with his Rādhā is transferred to a heaven which is in a region higher than the ordinary Vaikuṇṭha of Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu and is called Goloka. The highest aim of man's life is to get to this place and join in the sports. Thus the doings of Kṛṣṇa in Gokula and his relations with the men and women as well as the inferior animals, trees and even the river Yamunā constitute the basis of Vallabha's system and also its goal when transferred to Goloka.

XXIII. Caitanya.

§ 66. About the same time as Vallabha there flourished in Bengal another propagator of the religion of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, who is known by the name of Caitanya. The prominent distinction between the two appears to be, that while Vallabha and those who followed him

developed the ceremonial side of the religion, Caitanya and his successors devoted themselves to the cultivation of the emotional side. Caitanya endeavoured to win the hearts of man by instituting Kīrtanas or the fervent singing of songs about the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa and other devotional matters. The love of the cowherd god and his mistress had already become the subject of bewitching songs by Jayadeva in Sanskrit and by other poets in the vernacular. Caitanya also was a more courageous reformer in so far as he cried down the mechanical religious ceremonial of the prevalent Hinduism and preached spiritual devotion and at the same time condemned the distinctions of castes and admitted all, including even Mahomedans, as his pupils.

§ 67. Caitanya's original name was Bisambhar (Viśvaṃbhara) Miśra, and his father's name was Jagannātha Miśra and mother's Sacī Debī. The father lived originally in Sylhet in Eastern Bengal, but had emigrated to Nadiya (Nabadvīpa) before the birth of Bisambhar, his youngest son. The eldest son's name was Bisvarūpa, who is called Nityānanda in the history of Caitanya. These were the only two sons of Jagannātha, and between these were eight daughters, who died young. Caitanya was born on the full-moon day of Phālguna in the year 1407 of the Śaka era, corresponding to 1485 A. D. He was afterwards called Kṛṣṇa Caitanya and was considered by his disciples an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa himself. As such he is reported to have played pranks with the women of the village, which, however, cannot be considered as historically true. Caitanya is also known by the name of Gaurāṅga, i. e. possessed of a fair and not a dark body, and Gauracandra, or fair moon. When he was eighteen years of age, he married a wife of the name of Lachmī Debī and began to live the life of a householder, taking pupils and giving them secular instruction. Soon after he took to a wandering life and visited many places in Eastern Bengal. Begging and singing were his occupation, and he is said to have collected a great deal of money. During his peregrinations his wife died, and on his return home he married another. When he was about twenty-three years of age, he went to Gayā to make offerings to his manes and on his return he began the mission of his life. He condemned the ritualistic system of the Brāhmaṇas and preached faith in Hari and the love of him as well as singing his name as the only effectual ways to salvation. He also preached the doctrine of the brotherhood of men, denouncing the system of castes. It is stated that the doctrine of faith and love had been preached before Caitanya by a person of the name of Advaitācārya, whose practice it was, after the performance of the usual Brahmaṇic rites, to go to the banks of the Ganges and call out for the appearance of God to substitute the doctrine of faith and love for that of the performance of various rites. It is also said that this Ācārya was at first the instructor of Caitanya and afterwards became his pupil. Whatever it may have been, the new doctrine was first publicly proclaimed to the exclusion of others by Kṛṣṇa Caitanya. He was assisted by his brother Nityānanda, who was regarded as an incarnation of Balarāma, the brother of the god Kṛṣṇa. Caitanya now began to hold meetings for the singing and glorification of the name of Hari. These were at first private and held

in the house of a pupil named Srībāsa. The doings of these devotees met with scorn and ridicule, especially at the hands of the worshippers of Kālī, one of whom put red flowers and goat's blood on the steps of the door of the house in which the Vaiṣṇava meetings were held. The fervour displayed at these Kīrtanas, or singing of the name of Hari, gradually increased in intensity, until the loud singers and principally Caitanya himself swooned away and dropped senseless on the ground. In the year 1510 Caitanya became a Saṃnyāsin, or an ascetic, and was initiated into the order by Keśab Bhāratī of Katva. After this he first went to Purī to visit the shrine of Jagannātha, and thence wandered about the country for six years preaching his new faith [1]. On one occasion he went to Benares, where he is reported to have held a disputation with Prakāśānanda, a teacher of the monistic Vedānta of Śaṃkarācārya. Caitanya condemned Śaṃkara's commentary on the Vedāntasūtras and said that it mystified the sense of the original. Śaṃkarācārya did not give the plain ordinary sense of the words of Bādarāyaṇa, but forced his own views into them. The doctrine of development (Pariṇāmavāda) was held by the author of the Sūtras, while Śaṃkarācārya rejects it and brings in his doctrine of illusion (Vivartavāda). The former alone is true according to Caitanya. After these wanderings he returned to Purī, where he spent the last eighteen years of his life, and died in Śaka 1455, corresponding to 1533 A. D.

§ 68. Some of the doctrines attributed to Caitanya are as follows. Kṛṣṇa is the highest god and is so beautiful that he excites love for himself even in the heart of the God of love, and is enamoured of himself. His Parabrahmaśakti (power) pervades the universe and assumes a corporeal form by his wonder-creating power (Māyāśakti), though he is the soul of all. He possesses a self-multiplying power (Vilāsaśakti) which is of two kinds. By one of these, in sporting with the cowherdesses, he became as many Kṛṣṇas as were sufficient to give one to every two of them (Prābhavavilāsa). By the other self-multiplying power (Vaibhavavilāsa) he assumes the forms of the four Vyūhas, or forms of Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, etc., Vāsudeva representing intelligence, Saṃkarṣaṇa, consciousness, Pradyumna, the love, and Aniruddha, sportiveness. Here, it will be seen, the functions of the four Vyūhas are changed, and the principle of love is attributed to Pradyumna, instead of that of the mind as in the older system, and that of sportiveness, instead of self-consciousness which is transferred to Saṃkarṣaṇa, is attributed to Aniruddha. This change is in consonance with a system of which love and sport form the distinguishing characteristics. All the usual incarnations spring from one or other of the Vyūhas. According as the quality of Sattva, Rajas, or Tamas predominates, Kṛṣṇa becomes Viṣṇu, Brahmadeva, or Śiva, respectively. The sports of Kṛṣṇa go on always, as the rising and setting of the sun. His eternal sports are carried on in the Goloka. Kṛṣṇa has three powers: the internal which is intelligence, the exter-

[1]) The above is an abstract of the account given by J. Beames in his paper published in Ind. Ant. Vol. II, pp. 1 ff.

nal which generates appearances, and the differentiated which forms the Jīva, or individual soul. His chief power is that which creates dilatation of the heart, or joy. This appears to be the power of love. When this love becomes settled in the heart of the devotee, it constitutes Mahābhāva, or the best feeling. When love attains to the highest pitch, it constitutes itself into Rādhā, who is the most loveable of all and full of all qualities. She was the object of the highest love of Kṛṣṇa and being idealised as love, some of the agreeable feelings of the heart are considered her ornaments. The sports of the cowherdesses were due to simple love (Preman), and this it was that Uddhava and other devotees sought to attain. The Supreme Soul (Paramātman) is boundless and is full intelligence itself. The individual soul is an atom having intelligence. They are necessarily connected together and this connection can never be destroyed. Kṛṣṇa is the support (Āśraya) and Jīva rests on him (Āśrita). The relation between the two is identity as well as difference. Thus the Vedāntic theory of Caitanya's system is the same as that of Nimbārka. As the bee is distinct from the honey and hovers about it and, when it drinks it, is full of it, i. e. is one with it, so the individual soul is at first distinct from the Supreme Soul, seeks the Supreme Soul consistently and continuously and, when through love he is full of the Supreme Soul, he becomes unconscious of his individual existence and becomes, as it were, absorbed in him. Herein is described the ecstatic condition in which the individual soul becomes one with God, though they are really distinct. Kṛṣṇa is the lord of the power of delusion, or ignorance (Māyā), and Jīva is the slave of it. When the latter cuts off its shackles, he distinctly sees his own nature and his true relation to God. Kṛṣṇa is to be approached and attained by Bhakti alone [1]).

§ 69. Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, Nityānanda and Advaitānanda are called the three Prabhus, or masters of the sect. The descendants of Nityānanda live at Nadiya, and those of Advaita at Śāntipur. They are the spiritual heads of the sect. Nityānanda was appointed by Caitanya himself as the superior of the church. His female descendants live at Bālegor and male ones at Khordu near Barrackpur. There are temples belonging to Caitanya's followers at Mathurā, Vṛndāvana, and three principal ones in Bengal: one at Nadiya dedicated to Caitanya, the other at Ambikā, to Nityānanda, and the third at Agradvīpa, to Gopinātha. There is a shrine dedicated to Caitanya in the vicinity of Dhākādakṣiṇa in Northern Sylhet, where his father originally lived. It is visited by pilgrims from all parts of the district and even from Bengal. At Khetur, in the Rajaṣāhi district, a temple is erected in his honour, where a religious fair is held in the month of October, which is attended by about 25,000 persons.

The sectarian marks worn by the followers of Caitanya are two white perpendicular lines on the forehead joined together at the bridge of the nose and a line continued up to the tip of the nose. They also use necklaces of three strings of Tulasī beads and a rosary of the same,

[1]) See Gaurāṅgatattvasaha Gaurāṅgacarita by Prasanna Kumāra Vidyāratna, printed at Calcutta.

as a help in the muttering of Hari's name. The worship of Gurus, or spiritual heads, as gods characterises this system. Most of Advaita's followers observe caste distinctions, but a minority rejects them. This minority consists of Bairāgis, or recluses. In one branch of the sect there are monks as well as nuns. They live in the same convent. And there is only a platonic relation between them. A person of the name of Rām Saram Pāl of the Sadgopa caste founded about two hundred years ago a branch of the sect called Kartābhājas, or worshippers of the Kartā, or headman. It admits of recruits from all castes and observes no distinction. The founder, also called Kartā Bābā, died at Ghoṣapur, and his votaries assemble periodically to do honour to him. The spiritual teachers of Caitanya's sect, whether male or female, are celebates.

The three Prabhus, or masters, did not leave any compositions. But Caitanya's pupils, especially Rūpa and Sanātana, wrote a great deal. A work by the latter entitled Rasāmṛtasindhu contains an analysis of the feeling of love, or Bhakti, explaining the states of mind which lead to it and its various forms. A considerable body of literature has grown up round this system of religion.

XXIV. Debasement of Vaiṣṇavism.

§ 70. The worship of Rādhā, more prominently even than that of Kṛṣṇa, has given rise to a sect, the members of which assume the garb of women with all their ordinary manners and affect to be subject even to their monthly sickness. Their appearance and acts are so disgusting that they do not show themselves very much in public, and their number is small. Their goal is the realisation of the position of female companions and attendants of Rādhā; and hence probably they assume the name of Sakhībhāvas (literally, the condition of companions). They deserve notice here only to show that, when the female element is idolised and made the object of special worship, such disgusting corruptions must ensue. The worship of Durgā in the form of Tripurasundarī has led to the same result.

Though the Vaiṣṇava systems of Nimbārka, Vallabha and Caitanya are based on the fourth element of Vaiṣṇavism that we have pointed out in a preceding section, still that element has undergone an important modification. Before, Kṛṣṇa was a person who had amorous dalliances with the Gopīs generally. But now Kṛṣṇa had a definite consort in Rādhā, who had a large number of female companions, who were probably the original Gopīs. She is indissolubly united with him in the creed of the worshippers. This Rādhā is not mentioned by name in the Harivaṃśa, Viṣṇu-Purāṇa and the Bhāgavata. In the last, however, among the cowherdesses engaged in Kṛṣṇa's amorous sports in Vṛndāvana on an autumnal moonlight night, there was one with whom the youthful god carried on his dalliance further, after he had become invisible to the rest. This woman became proud of Kṛṣṇa's special attachment for her, whereupon the god disappeared from her also. Here was contained a suggestion which probably led to the creation of Rādhā in later times. In the apocryphal Nāradapañcarātra-

Saṃhitā, as mentioned before, the one single lord is represented to have become two, one a woman and the other a man, who was he himself. He then had amorous intercourse with her. The woman was Rādhā. In the Brahmavaivarta-Purāṇa she has been made to spring from the primordial body of Kṛṣṇa, forming its left side, and is eternally associated with him in his amorous sports in this world as well as the world of cows (Goloka). The name of Rukmiṇī occurs in the ordinary forms of Kṛṣṇaism, but in the systems named above it is entirely absent. The introduction of Rādhā's name and her elevation to a higher position even than Kṛṣṇa's operated as a degrading element in Vaiṣṇavism, not only because she was a woman, but also because she was originally a mistress of the cowherd god, and her amorous dealings were of an overt character.

In the Rāma cultus Sītā is a dutiful and loving wife and is benignant towards the devotees of her husband. She holds a position entirely subordinate to Rāma, while Rādhā is often preferred to Kṛṣṇa. There is no amorous suggestion in her story as in that of Rādhā, and consequently the moral influence of Rāmaism is more wholesome. Kabīr does not, so far as I know, mention the name of Sītā at all. He was a strict monotheist and his Rāma was the supreme lord (Sāheb) only. Those other teachers who followed him maintain the same attitude, so that the Rāma cultus represents a saner and purer form of Hindu religious thought than Rādhākṛṣṇaism.

XXV. Nāmdev and Tukārām.

§ 71. The popular Vaiṣṇavism of the Marāṭha country centres itself round the shrine of Viṭhobā at Paṇḍharpur, which is a city situated on the banks of the Bhīmā or Bhīmarathī. The full name of the god is Viṭṭhal, which is not a Sanskrit name, but the etymology is clear enough. It is stated that the corruption of the Sanskrit name Viṣṇu in the Canarese language is Viṭṭhu, and this looks probable, since Kṛṣṇa is corrupted into Kuṣṭa in the Goanese dialect and Kuṭṭa, Kiṭṭi, or Kṛṣṭa in the Canarese, and we have seen that Viṣṇu, the first portion of the name of the Hoysala prince Viṣṇuvardhana, was corrupted to Viṭṭi or Biṭṭi [1]). The terminations *bā* and *la* are appended to the name Viṣṇu or Viṭṭhu to indicate additional sense such as tenderness or reverence. When the shrine was established we have not the means of determining, but we have clear evidence of its being in existence in the middle of the thirteenth century. In a copper-plate inscription of the reign of Kṛṣṇa of the Yādava dynasty of Devagiri it is stated that Mallisetti a general and viceroy of the king made, while engaged on a military expedition, the grant of a village in the Belgaum district at Pauṇḍarīkakṣetra, a holy place situated on the Bhīmarathī, in the vicinity of the god Viṣṇu, in the year 1171 of the Śaka era corresponding to 1249 A. D. [2]) Now if the Pauṇḍarīkakṣetra was situated on the Bhīmarathī or Bhīmā river, it is certainly not unreasonable to suppose that is was the same as Paṇḍharī which

[1]) See above, p. 52.
[2]) Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIV, p. 68 ff.

is the alternative name of Paṇḍharpur; and the god in whose vicinity the grant was made must therefore have been Viṭṭhal, or Viṭhobā, here mentioned by his Sanskrit name and not the popular Canarese corruption. In another inscription on stone existing at Paṇḍharpur itself and dated 1192 Śaka, which corresponds to 1270 A.D., Bhānu, the son of Keśava, is represented to have performed an Aptoryāma sacrifice in Pāṇḍuraṅgapura in consequence of which crowds of people and Viṭṭhala together with the gods were greatly gratified[1]). Here we have another name of Paṇḍharpur and that was probably given to it because it was the city of Pāṇḍuraṅga. Paṇḍaraṅga, or Paṇḍuraṅga, is according to Hemacandra a name of Rudra or Śiva[2]). And we have a temple of Śiva at Paṇḍharpur and pilgrims have to visit it first before going to that of Viṭhobā or Viṭṭhal. Pāṇḍuraṅga, which is the same as the Paṇḍuraṅga of Hemachandra, is however in modern times a popular name for Viṭṭhal. Whether then the city was called Pāṇḍurangapura on account of it containing the temple of Viṣṇu, or Viṭṭhal, or that of Śiva is doubtful. But from the wording of the inscription in which Viṭṭhala and Pāṇḍuraṅgapura are mentioned independently it would appear as if Viṭṭhal had no connection with the name and that it was given to the city on account of its containing a Śiva temple. But when Viṭhobā's importance increased in later times so vastly that Śiva was thrown entirely into the shade, Pāṇḍuraṅga became identical with Viṭṭhala. The name Pauṇḍarīka occuring in the first inscription seems to owe its origin to a man named Puṇḍarīka, the popular legend about whom is to the following effect. The region about Paṇḍharpur was, it is said, a forest of the name of Ḍiṇḍiravana. There lived a man of the name of Puṇḍalīka, who spent all his time in the service of his aged parents, and the god Kṛṣṇa was pleased with his devotion to them. In the meantime, while Kṛṣṇa was living at Dvārakā, he remembered Rādhā, who was the object of his fervent love while he was in Gokula. Rādhā, who had after Kṛṣṇa's leaving Gokula betaken herself to a residence in the Himālaya mountain for the practice of austerities in consequence of her separation from Kṛṣṇa, came to know of this through her innate cognitive power and came at once to Dvārakā and sat on the lap of Kṛṣṇa. Some time after, Rukmiṇī, the wedded wife of Kṛṣṇa, came to the place, and Rādhā did not rise up to honour her as every other woman in similar circumstances did at her approach. Kṛṣṇa even did not take Rādhā to task for this dishonour of Rukmiṇī, and Rukmiṇī got offended, left Dvārakā and wandered about, until she came to Ḍiṇḍiravana and rested there on the site of the modern Paṇḍharpur. Kṛṣṇa was filled with sorrow at the disappearance of Rukmiṇī and went about in quest of her to all parts of the country, until he came to the place where Rukmiṇī was lying. After some explanations she was reconciled to him, and Kṛṣṇa then went to the hut of Puṇḍalīka to reward him for his devotion to his parents by personal manifestation.

[1]) Early History of the Dekkan, Second Ed., p. 115, in which, however, Keśava, the father of Bhānu, is by mistake represented as the sacrificer.

[2]) Deśīnāmamālā VI, 23.

Puṇḍalīka being engaged in attending to the wants of his father and mother was not able to greet him at once and threw back a brick (Marāṭhī: vīṭ) and asked him to stand on it and wait for him until he finished what he was engaged on. Kṛṣṇa stood on the brick and there he was joined by Rukmiṇī, and thus the shrine of Paṇḍharpur grew up.

Puṇḍalīka has been referred to as the originator of the Viṭṭhal cult of devotion both by Nāmdev and Tukārām, and that is the popular belief. The legend points to this fact and we may therefore take him to be the person who promulgated the cult of Viṭhobā, or Viṣṇu, in the Marāṭha country. He established himself at Paṇḍharpur and it must be on that account that the city is called the holy place (Kṣetra) Pauṇḍarīka, which I identify with the modern name Paṇḍharī in the first inscription. The Pāṇḍuraṅgapura of the second may have become the later Paṇḍharpur.

There is another historical significance in this legend, and that appears to be this. At first, no woman was connected with the Kṛṣṇa worship, as we have seen in the case of the pure Pāñcarātra or Bhāgavata system. Then came Rādhā to be associated with him in the north, as we have seen, in the systems of Nimbārka, Vallabha and Caitanya, while Rukmiṇī, the lawful wife, was united with him in the Marāṭha country. The Kṛṣṇa of Paṇḍharpur is almost exclusively known by the name of Viṭṭhala or Viṭhobā, and Rukmiṇī by the name of Rakhamāī or Rakhamābāī. In the religious literature of the country Viṭṭhala, or Kṛṣṇa, is almost exclusively spoken of as Rukmiṇīpati or Rukmiṇīvara, the lord or husband of Rukmiṇī, and not as Rādhāvallabha, or the lover of Rādhā. Thus the Vaiṣṇavism of the Marāṭha country, associated as it is with these two names, is more sober and purer than that of the three systems named above. Rāhī, the Marāṭhī form of Rādhikā, is not unknown, but an insignificant place is assigned to her. The sports of Kṛṣṇa in Gokula are also represented occasionally in the mode of worship, but very little importance is attached to them. This Vaiṣṇavism of the Marāṭha country found a fertile soil among the lower classes, though it has had followers among Brāhmaṇs and other higher classes also. Like the Vaiṣṇavism of the disciples of Rāmānanda, it had no learned or Sanskrit-knowing promulgators, but its prophets were Śūdras, who, however, had the true religious instinct and possessed a clear spiritual insight. Such were Nāmdev and Tukārām.

§ 72. The family of Nāmdev originally lived at a village called Narasi Vāmaṇī, situated near Karhāḍ in the Sātāra district, and now known by the name of Bhayē-Narsingpur or Koleṃ-Narasingpur. It belonged to the tailor caste and followed that occupation or of dealers in cloth. The name of Nāmdev's father was Dāmā Śeṭ, and that of his mother, Goṇābāī. They migrated to Paṇḍharpur, where Nāmdev was born in the Śaka year 1192, corresponding to 1270 A. D. Nāmdev received ordinary education, but showed little capacity for the usual occupation of his family. He became a devoted worshipper of Viṭhobā and had for his Guru a person named Visobā Khecar, who appears to have been a non-idolater. For Nāmdev says of him that he gave him the following instruction: —

No. 191 [1]). "A stone-god never speaks. What possibility then of his removing the disease of mundane existence? A stone image is regarded as God, but the true God is wholly different. If a stone-god fulfils desires, how is it he breaks when struck? Those who adore a god made of stone, lose everything through their folly. Those who say and hear that a god of stone speaks to his devotees, are both of them fools. Those who extol the greatness of such a god and call themselves his devotees, should be regarded as worthless persons and their words should not be heard by the ear. If, by chiselling a stone, a god is made of it and is worshipped with care for many years, will he be of use at any time? Do reflect on this well in your mind. Whether a holy place is small or large, there is no god but stone or water. In the village of Dvādaśī (Bārsī) [2]) instruction was given that there is no place which is devoid of God. That God was shown to Nāma in his heart, and thus Khecar conferred a blessing on him."

The omnipresence of God and his being neither stock nor stone are well brought out here. The omnipotence of God Nāmdev brings out in the following: —

No. 151. "The Veda has to speak by thy might and the sun has to move round; such is the might of thee, the lord of the universe. Knowing this essential truth, I have surrendered myself to thee. By thy might it is that the clouds have to pour down rain, mountains to rest firm and the wind to blow. Nothing moves at all (without thee). Oh lord Pāṇḍurang, thou art the cause of all."

It will thus be seen that, though Nāmdev worshipped the idol at Paṇḍharpur, he had full knowledge of the true nature of God, as given in treatises like the Upaniṣads; and this God it was that he tried to attain.

No. 1029. "Your mind is full of vices. What is the use of the pilgrimages you make? What is the use of austere practices, if there is no repentance? The sins resulting from a mental act cannot be effaced by the highest holy place (literally: the father of the holy places). The essence of the matter is very simple: Sin is effaced by repentance", so says Nāmā.

No. 887. "Vows, fasts, and austerities are not at all necessary; nor is it necessary for you to go on a pilgrimage. Be you watchful in your hearts and always sing the name of Hari. It is not necessary to give up eating food or drinking water; fix your mind on the feet of Hari. Yoga or sacrificial ceremonies or giving up objects of desire is not wanted. Realise a fondness for the feet of Hari. Neither is it necessary for you to contemplate (lit. dwell in) the one without attributes. Hold fast to the love of the name of Hari; says Nāmā, be firm in singing the name and then Pāṇḍurang will render himself manifest to you."

In these two songs Nāmdev urges upon his hearers the total inefficacy of the usual modes of purification and of the attainment of God, such as pilgrimages, vows, fasts, or meditation on the absolute, and sacrifices.

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[1]) Tukārām Tātyā's edition, published in Bombay in 1894.

[2]) Bārsī is a town near Paṇḍharpur.

No. 245. "Recognise him alone to be a righteous man, who sees Vāsudeva in all objects, eradicating all pride or egoism. The rest are entangled in the shackles of delusion. To him all wealth is like earth and the nine species of gems are mere stones. The two, desire and anger, he has thrown out and cherishes in his heart (lit. house) quietude and forgiveness. He constantly repeats the name of Govinda, not desisting even for a moment."

No. 1004. "Firmly grasp the truth which is Nārāyaṇa. Purity of conduct should not be abandoned; one should not be afraid of the censure of people and thus accomplish one's own purpose. Surrender yourself to your loving friend (God), giving up all ostentation and pride. The censure of people should be regarded as praise and their praise not heeded. One should entertain no longing for being respected and honoured, but should nourish in oneself a liking for devotion. This should be rendered firm in the mind and the name of God should not be neglected even for a moment."

In these songs Nāmdev describes the holy condition of him who is a devotee of Vāsudeva and sees him everywhere, and preaches self-surrender to him, regardless of the criticism of the world.

This is a short specimen of the teachings of Nāmdev. Purity of heart, humility, self-surrender, forgiveness, and the love of God form the sum and substance of it. Nāmdev wrote songs in Hindī also and some of these are incorporated in the Grantha-Sāheb, or the bible of the Sikhs. I will here translate two of these [1]: —

No. 2352. "He is one, [but] fills and encompasses many; wherever you look you find him there. There is scarcely one who understands him, all being deluded by the variegated picture drawn by Māyā (delusive power). Everything is Govinda, everything is Govinda, there is nothing without Govinda. Just as there is one thread and on it are woven breadthwise and lengthwise hundreds of thousands of beads, so is everything woven in the lord. The waves, the foam, and the bubbles of water are not different from water. All this extent of the universe is the sport of Parabrahma and, when we think of it, is not different from it. Illusive phantoms and the objects seen in dreams are regarded as real. When by the instruction of my Guru my mind awoke, I accepted the truth. Reflecting in your mind, see this all to be the creation of Hari, says Nāmdev; in the inside of every individual thing there is one Murāri alone without any interstice."

No. 2353. "The pitcher is filled and the water brought to bathe the god. There were forty-two hundreds of thousands of animals in it; there was already Viṭṭhal in them. Whom shall I bathe? Wherever we go there is Viṭṭhal and he ever sports in joy. Flowers have been brought and wreaths woven of them for worshipping God. First of all the flowers were smelt by the bees, there was Viṭṭhal there; what shall I do? Milk has been brought and cooked for the offering of Khīr [2]) to God. The milk was first tasted by the calf, in it was

[1]) Tukārām Tātyā's edition.

[2]) A preparation of milk and rice mixed with sugar.

Viṭṭhal, what shall I do? Here is Viṭṭhal, there is Viṭṭhal, there is no world without Viṭṭhal. This place and that thou hast filled. Thou hast filled the whole world, says Nāmā humbly"[1]).

In these hymns God's omnipresence is described by Nāmdev.

§ 73. The date assigned to the birth of Nāmdev is, as we have seen, Śaka 1192, that is, 1270 A. D. This makes him a contemporary of Jñāndev, the author of the Jñāndevī, which was finished in 1290 A. D. But the Marāṭhī of the latter work is decidedly archaic, while that of Nāmdev's writings has a considerably more modern appearance. Nāmdev's Hindī too looks more modern than that of the thirteenth century, when the poet Canda flourished[2]). What this is due to, it is difficult to say. But it appears probable that the traditional date of Nāmdev's birth, Śaka 1192, has been pushed backwards and that he is represented as a contemporary of Jñāndev. We have seen in a former section that Nābhājī in naming the successors of Viṣṇusvāmin places Jñāndev first and Nāmdev afterwards. If we are to judge from Nāmdev's Marāṭhī and Hindī, his date must be put later by about a century.

Some conception, however, of the time when Nāmdev flourished maybe formed from the strong and definite sentiments as to the futility of idol-worship, which his instructor is represented, in one of the hymns translated, to have expressed. Khecar, or Visoba Khecar as he is usually called, appears to have been an uncompromising opponent of idol-worship from the accounts given of him in the existing biographies. All previous writers, including Rāmānuja, as well as a great many that followed, excused idol-worship in some way or other. If then Khecar's attitude towards it was definitely hostile, he and his pupil Nāmdev must have flourished when the Mahomedan influence had for the first time become very powerful. The Mahomedans established themselves in the Dekkan in the beginning of the fourteenth century of the Christian era, and their hatred of idol-worship must have taken about a hundred years to make its way into the understanding of religious Hindus. But a more direct evidence for the fact that Nāmdev flourished after the Mahomedans had established themselves in the Marāṭha country is afforded by his mention in a song (No. 364) of the destruction of idols by the Turaks, i. e. Turks. The Mahomedans were often called Turaks in early times by the Hindus. Nāmdev, therefore, probably lived about or after the end of the fourteenth century. It will thus be seen that the date of Nāmdev's birth given with such details is quite wrong. Unfortunately the historical spirit has by no means been the distinguishing feature of the intellectual life of us Indians, and we often confuse different persons together and attribute to one what belongs to another. Some such confusion must have taken place in the present case.

§ 74. Tukārām was born and lived at a village called Dehu, which is about fourteen miles to the northeast of Poona. The name of the family to which he belonged was More. It was a family of the Marāṭha

[1]) These two hymns have been translated by Macauliffe in Vol. VI, pp. 41-42 of the Sikh Religion. The readings in the Bombay Ed. have been compared with those in the Grantha-Sāheb, pp. 427—28 of the Lucknow Ed. of 1893.

[2]) See my Report on the Search for Sanskrit Mss., 1887-1891, page LXXX.

caste, which caste may have sprung from the old order of Kṣatriyas, but is considered to belong to the Śūdra order. Nothing specific is known about the date of his birth, but there is no reason for doubting the truth of the date traditionally assigned to his death, which is Śaka 1571, corresponding to 1649 A. D. His biographer, Mahīpati, represents him to have become a bankrupt at the end of the first half of his life, when he was twenty-one years of age. From that it is inferred that he lived for 42 years, and he is thus understood to have been born in 1607-8 A. D.

Seven of Tukārām's ancestors were devoted worshippers of the god Viṭhobā. Of these Viśambhara was the first who made regular pilgrimages to Paṇḍharpur, but after some years he constructed a temple in his own village and, placing the idols of Viṭhobā and Rukmāī in it, dedicated it to their worship. Tukārām's father's name was Bolhojī and he followed the occupation of a petty trader. When he became old, he proposed to entrust the affairs of his family and his business to Sāvjī, his eldest son. But Sāvjī was a man for whom a worldly life had no interest, and he declined to undertake the business. It was, therefore, made over to Tukārām, who was then thirteen years of age. Tukārām managed the affairs somehow, till he became seventeen years old, when his father died. He naturally felt desolate when this occurred and, being a man of simplicity and liable to be imposed upon by designing persons, his affairs got into disorder and he incurred loss in his trade. Tukārām was at first married to a wife who was sickly, and some time later he married another of the name of Jijābāī or Āvalī, the daughter of a well-to-do trader in Poona. When his affairs got into confusion, Āvalī procured a loan for him and set him up again. A short time after, he made a profit in his new trade, and, while coming back from the place to which he had gone for the sale of his goods, he met a man who was being carried about by the agents of his creditor and who was crying out for assistance to relieve him from his debt and the impending imprisonment. To this man Tukārām gave all that he possessed, the capital and the profit that he had made. He returned to Dehu empty-handed, and soon after there was a famine, which made him a thorough bankrupt, and his first wife died of hunger. Tukārām then made up his mind to renounce his business, but his younger brother Kānhyā protested against it. Then, sitting on the banks of the Indrāyaṇī, he told his brother to bring all the documents, deeds and bonds relating to their business, divided them into two parts, gave one to Kānhyā and told him to live separately from him, and his own share he threw into the river. Henceforward he devoted himself to the contemplation of God and singing his praises, spending the day on the top of a hill near Dehu and the night at the temple of Viṭhobā in the village. He read the Marāṭhī works on religious subjects of the saints and sages who had flourished before him. The idea of giving expression to his thoughts and feelings by composing songs in Marāṭhī soon arose in his mind. The metre used by him was that which is known by the name of Abhaṃg, the measure of which is by no means strict or regular, but which is characterised by the use of rhyming words at specific intervals. A single-minded piety

and the desire to be of service to all, even by executing their errands, became settled points in his character. Family matters had to be attended to by his wife, Āvalī, who often found herself in great straits. Tukārām's chief occupation was the performance of Kīrtans, which consist of religious discourses interspersed with the singing of songs. These discourses gradually became very attractive and drew in crowds of people. The songs he sung at these had been often prepared by himself, and some were composed by him extempore while engaged in the discourse. Tukārām's fame spread about not only in his village, but in the surrounding country, and it evoked jealousy, especially in the minds of Brāhmaṇs, who had set themselves up as religious teachers; and he was subjected to persecution. He, however, maintained an evenness of temper throughout, though there were struggles in the mind. His fame reached the ears of the rising prince, Śivājī, the future king of the Marāṭhas. He was eager to hear Tukārām's Kīrtans and on one occasion invited him into his presence, sending him messengers with torches, umbrella and horses, as emblems of high honour. Tukārām, however, declined to go and sent him a letter written in his usual metre. On another occasion Śivājī attended his Kīrtan at Lohagaon, about six miles from Poona, and placed before him a plate full of golden coins. Tukārām, of course, declined to receive them, and they were distributed among the Brāhmaṇs there. When his end approached, he is reported to have gathered together a large body of his followers and to have proceeded to the banks of the Indrāyaṇī, all singing loudly and enthusiastically the praises of God and fully absorbed in it. When they approached the river, Tukārām suddenly disappeared. No further account of his death has been handed down.

§ 75. It has been already stated that Tukārām had acquired a great facility in composing Abhaṃgs. He spoke in Abhaṃgs and wrote in Abhaṃgs. Some of these only could be written and were written, and others were neglected by him or his immediate followers, but retained in the memory of others. The collections, therefore, of his pieces cannot be expected to be of the same size. There are two such printed in Bombay, one containing 4621 pieces and the other 8441. This latter collection is uncritically made and oftentimes one same piece is given a second time with the opening lines omitted. Still, this is a larger collection and contains Abhaṃgs which are not to be found in the first collection, but are quite in the style of Tukārām with the usual fervent devotion and purity of thought. We will now give a few specimens.

First collection, No. 2869. "When the auspicious juncture of Siṃhastha [1]) comes, it brings fortune only to barbers and priests. There are crores of sins in the heart, but externally a man shaves the hair on the head and the beard. What has been shaved off, has disappeared. Tell me what else has changed. The vicious habits are not changed, which might be regarded as a mark of the destruction of

[1]) When Jupiter is in the sign of Leo, the period is considered favourable for the washing away of sins, and Hindus go to holy places, such as Nāsik, shave their heads and mustaches and bathe in the river.

sins; says Tukā, without devotion and faith everything else is useless trouble."

Second coll., No. 4733. "What hast thou done by going to a holy river? Thou hast only outwardly washed thy skin. In what way has the interior been purified? By this thou hast only added a feather to thy cap (lit. prepared a decoration for thyself). Even if the bitter Vṛndāvana fruit is coated with sugar, the settled quality of the interior (bitterness) is in no way lessened. If peace, forgiveness, and sympathy do not come in, why should you take any trouble?"

First coll., No. 90 (1—2). "Sesamum seeds and grains of rice thou hast burnt by throwing into fire, but desire and anger are as mischievous as before. Why hast thou taken trouble in vain, giving up the adoration of Pāṇḍurang?"

Here Tukārām condemns religious practices which concern the body only, and mechanical rites, such as giving oblations, and enforces the necessity of striving for the attainment of spiritual virtue and of the adoration of God.

In No. 2383 (first coll.) Tukārām condemns the worship of goddesses, Jākhāī, Jokhāī, of gods like Bhairava and even Gaṇapati, and of ghosts and goblins, and earnestly recommends the adoration of him whose consort is Rakhamāī. Tukārām was thus a devotee only of Viṭhobā of Paṇḍharpur and a monotheist in this sense. Though he worshipped the idol at the place, still he had always before his mind's eye the great Lord of the universe, as the following will show: —

First coll., No. 4361. "Thy greatness is unsearchable. Even the Vedas became silent and the power of the mind becomes stunted. What possibility is there of my mental power reaching him whose light it is that the sun and the moon display? Even the thousand-tongued (the great serpent) is unable to expound thy greatness. How then shall I be able to do so? Says Tukā, we are thy children, thou art our mother, place us under the shadow (protection) of thy grace."

First coll., No. 4419. "All the world says that there is not a space so minute as a sesamum seed without thee. The old Ṛṣis, sages, pious and holy men said that thou art in the heart of all these things . . . . . Thou hast filled up numberless universes and also a residue still remained. But to me thou hast become inaccessible."

First coll., No. 1870. "God is ours, certainly ours, and is the soul of all souls. God is near to us, certainly near, outside and inside. God is benignant, certainly benignant, and fulfils every longing even of a longing nature. God protects us, certainly protects us, and subdues strife and death. God is merciful, certainly merciful, and protects Tukā."

This great God is to be attained only by devoted love and by no other means: —

First coll., No. 810. "This thy nature is beyond the grasp of the mind or of words; and therefore I have made devoted love a measure. I measure the Endless by the measure of love; he is not to be truly measured by any other means. Thou art not to be found by processes of concentration (Yoga), sacrificial rites, practice of austerities,

and any bodily exertions, nor by knowledge. Oh Keśava, accept the service which we render to thee in the simplicity of our hearts."

There is peace and pure indescribable bliss in seeing God: —

Second coll., No. 1411. "Oh Nārāyaṇa, the peace arising from rest is truly not to be attained without thy feet; even if modes and methods are followed for crores of Kalpas[1]), bliss will not ensue: The bliss of bliss, which is interminable and boundless, which is enjoyed by Hari and Hara, manifest to me, oh thou, the sustainer of my soul, oh omniscient, those feet of thine [which produce it]."

But this God is not to be seen by those whose passions are unrestrained: —

First coll., No. 4420. "The Endless is beyond, and between him and me there are the lofty mountains of desire and anger. I am not able to ascend them, nor do I find any pass. Insurmountable is the ascent of my [mountain-like] enemies. What possibility is there of my attaining Nārāyaṇa, my friend? Pāṇḍurang is lost to me; says Tukā, it is now plain that this valuable life of mine has gone for nothing."

To curb these passions becomes now his great and earnest aim. He examines his heart carefully and on all occasions in life finds them present there in one shape or another; with all his efforts he fails to restrain them; and addresses fervent prayers again and again to God to help him. The number of these is very large: —

Second coll., No. 1430. "With whose support shall I gird up my loins? Oh Pāṇḍuraṅg, I feel depressed. All wicked persons abide in my frame and my mind is subdued by them. All my efforts have proved fruitless. What shall I do? Thou art the only mother of the helpless; says Tukā, those wicked persons will not leave my frame without thy might."

The wicked persons are the passions.

When in the course of years Tukārām became famous and was praised everywhere, he found a glow of satisfaction gathering strength in his heart. This he recognised as pride or conceit, and he was greatly afraid of it and again and again prayed to God to free him from this pride and bestow humility of spirit: —

First coll., No. 1779. "I have become an expert in the unrestricted use of words. The root of the whole matter I have not attained. Therefore, oh king of Paṇḍharī, my mind is afflicted. Who knows what is in my heart? I am respected or worshipped, and this has given rise to conceit; and my further progress (towards perfection) has been arrested; says Tukā, I do not know the true way and find myself in the hands of egotism." Again: —

First coll., No. 1133. "What shall I do with fame and worldly honour and greatness? Do show me thy feet. Do not bring about this (result), that thy servant should go for nothing. If I become great and bear the burden of ostentatious knowledge, I shall go away from thy feet farther and farther. What possibility is there of people knowing the internal condition? A man is judged by his external

[1]) A long fabulous period.

appearances. Even adversity will be sweet to me, if it leads me to thy feet."

He thus goes on cultivating the virtue of humility, until at last he comes to speak of the death of the self in him as in the following: —

First coll., No. 3474. "I have surrendered my soul to thee and then I have abandoned my individuality (dwelling). Now thy might alone prevails here. I being dead, thou hast established thy station here. Now nothing like m e and m i n e remains here."

Here he speaks of his having abandoned the self and God's having come to dwell in his heart instead of the self. And more distinctly: —

First coll., No. 2668. "I have seen my own death with my eyes. The result is incomparable rapture. The three worlds are filled with joy. And I have enjoyed as the soul of all. By my sense of individuality I was confined to one place and by its abandonment I have become all-reaching. The pollution arising from birth and death is at an end and I am free from the littleness resulting from the feeling of m e and m i n e. Nārāyaṇa has now given me a place to dwell in; putting my faith in him I have remained at his feet; Tukā says, the fulfilment of what I undertook I have manifested to the world."

Here he speaks of the dying of the lower man in himself and the coming to life of the higher man. There is a large number of pieces conveying instruction to men seeking spiritual advance. A few specimens will now be given.

First coll., No. 3800. "Therefore one should surrender oneself to God with all one's heart. He will carry one to the opposite bank of the river of life, which is difficult to be crossed. He whose name is Ananta, or Endless, is very merciful; Tukā says, I have experienced this and therefore announce it to all."

Second coll., No. 5383. "Fortunate, indeed, are those persons, in whose heart dwells forgiveness and to whom, when there is occasion, courage and strength do not fail; who do not criticise other people by calling them good or bad and who think nothing of worldly greatness or superiority; who internally and externally are alike pure like the Gaṅgā and whose heart is tender; Tukā says, I will wave my body round them and place my head on their feet."

First coll., No. 2397. "For all beings entertain no hostile feeling. This one alone is the excellent way. Thus alone will Nārāyaṇa accept thee. All talk without this is useless trouble. Relatives as well as the evil-disposed should be regarded as alike and the mind devoted to the doing of good to others; Tukā says, when the mind is pure everything becomes efficacious."

First coll., No. 1368. "Do not give up food; do not betake yourself to a forest-dwelling; in all your sufferings and enjoyments think of Nārāyaṇa. A child sitting on the shoulders of its mother feels no trouble. Put an end to all thoughts different from this. Do not get entangled in worldly enjoyments nor abandon them; dedicate everything you do to God, and have done with it; Tukā says, do not ask me again and again; nothing else is to be taught but this."

Here Tukārām dissuades men from giving up the world and becoming recluses and advises them instead to dedicate their lives

to the service of God and do everything in a manner to propitiate him.

The question has often been discussed among Marāṭhas whether Tukārām followed the Vedāntic theory of Śaṃkarācārya and regarded everything as an illusion except one soul. There are some Abhaṃgs which exhibit the closest possible approach to that theory, such as the following: —

First coll., No. 300. "What means crossing a mirage to reach the yonder bank? Children play with golden coins which are but pot-sherds. Is there any profit or loss by those transactions? Little girls perform marriage (of dolls). Is the relation thus established real? The happiness or misery experienced in a dream is seen not to be true when a man awakes. The expressions, one is born, one is dead, are all false; and the saying that persons are in bondage or are delivered is a mere waste of breath, so says Tukā."

Here the illusive nature of everything is set forth quite in the style of Śaṃkarācārya's world-illusion. Again: —

First coll., No. 1992. "A sugar crystal and sugar powder differ only in the name. There is no difference when sweetness is to be judged. Tell me, oh Pāṇḍuraṅg, how thou and I are distinct. Thou hast moved the world and m e and m i n e are the results. Gold in the form of ornaments is worn on the foot, the hands, nose and the head. When all these are thrown into the crucible, where remains the distinction? Profit and loss are real in a dream when one goes to sleep; both vanish when one is awakened, so says Tukā."

Here there is a mixture of the two opposite theories, that of Pariṇāma, or development, as in the case of gold and ornaments made of it, and that of Vivarta, or illusion, as in the case of things seen in a dream. The latter alone is held by Śaṃkarācārya. Again: —

First coll., No. 2482. "When salt is dissolved in water, what is it that remains distinct? I have thus become one in joy with thee and have lost myself in thee. When fire and camphor are brought together, is there any black remnant? Tukā says, thou and I were one light."

Here the losing of self-consciousness in moments of ecstasy appears to be what is meant, and not quite a perfect identity of God and man. Nāmdev and Tukārām were not learned Paṇḍits like Rāmānuja and Madhva and cannot be expected to formulate a consistent metaphysical theory of the relations between God, man, and the world. On the other hand, Tukārām was such a devout and sincere lover of God that the idea of such a distinctness between the three as would render such a love possible, was constantly present in his mind, and there are a great many Abhaṃgs in which he condemns the theory of spiritual monism as in the following: —

First coll., No. 1471. "His words should not be listened to, who expounds useless (unsubstantial) knowledge without Bhakti, or devotion. When monism is expounded without faith and love, the expounder as well as the hearer are troubled and afflicted. He who calls himself Brahma and goes on in his usual way, should not be spoken to and is a buffoon. The shameless one who speaks heresy

in opposition to the Vedas is an object of scorn among holy men. Even an outcast is superior to him who cuts off the relation between God and his devotee (by asserting them to be identical), so says Tukā."

Here is an uncompromising denunciation of spiritual monism which leaves no scope for Bhakti, or devotion. It is considered as opposed to the Vedas and as a heresy. Again: —

First coll., No. 3753. "For me there is no satisfaction in the doctrine of monism. Sweet to me is the service of thy feet. Confer this gift upon me making it fit (to be given by thee). Thy name and singing of it are dear to me. The relation between God and his devotee is a source of elevated joy. Make me feel this, keeping me distinct from thee. All this belongs to thee. Confer it upon me some day."

Here in his confutation of spiritual monism he takes his stand on the heartfelt charms of the love of God. He sets the innate feelings of his heart against the sophism of the advocates of the Advaita-vedānta.

First coll., No. 1589. "I will make the mouth of the knowers of Brahma to water (in longing) and make the delivered ones to abandon the pristine condition (attained in consequence of deliverance). In singing the whole bodily frame becomes instinct with Brahma and the good fortune (resulting from it) consists in making God a debtor. I will bring indolence on him whose practice it is to repair to holy places and make the enjoyment of a life in heaven bitter. I will make the man who practises austerities give up his pride and put to shame sacrificial rites and charities. I will accomplish the great object of life, viz. love and wealth of devotion, which constitutes the true treasure of Brahma and its substance; and I will make people say that it was by good fortune that they saw Tukā and became blessed."

Here his enthusiasm for the love and devotion for God becomes so great, that he instinctively, as it were, out of the strength of his feelings declares all other ways of reaching God, including the monistic Vedānta, as worthless and inefficacious. Lastly I will here translate the Abhaṃg in which Tukārām sets forth the mission of his life: —

First coll., No. 520. "We lived in the Vaikuṇṭha and have come for this very reason, viz. for bringing into practice truly what the Ṛṣis taught. The world is overgrown with weeds; we will sweep clean the paths trodden by the righteous and accept what has remained. The old truths have disappeared. Mere verbal knowledge has brought about destruction. The mind (of man) is eager for worldly enjoyments and the way to God has been wholly obliterated. We will beat the drum of Bhakti which carries terror to this sinful age; Tukā says, proclaim victory with joy[1])."

The above extracts from a voluminous collection will give some indication of the manner in which Tukārām endeavoured to execute his mission. He denounced the merely mechanical rites and practices, enforced humility and the purification of the heart and a single-minded devotion to God.

[1]) The readings of this piece have been compared with those handed down orally and corrected.

XXVI. Résumé.

§ 76. We have thus completed our survey of Vaiṣṇavism from about the fifth century before Christ to the middle of the seventeenth. It first appeared as a religious reform, like Buddhism and Jainism, but based on theistic principles. Its early name was Ekāntika Dharma, or the religion of a single-minded love and devotion to One. In its back-ground stood the Bhagavadgītā, a discourse professing to be preached by Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. It soon assumed a sectarian form and was called the Pāñcarātra or Bhāgavata religion. It was professed by a tribe of Kṣatriyas of the name of Sātvata and was noticed by Megasthenes about the end of the fourth century before Christ as the religion of such a specific people. This faith mingled itself with the existing one in Nārāyaṇa, the fountain from which all men have sprung, and with that in Viṣṇu, whose traces were visible in this world, and who at the same time had a mysterious nature. In the Bhagavadgītā itself were embodied some of the teachings of the Upaniṣads and a few general doctrines of two kinds of philosophy, the Sāṃkhya and the Yoga, which, however, had not yet assumed the character of definite systems. Soon after the beginning of the Christian era another element was contributed to this system of religion by the Ābhīras, or cowherds, who belonged to a foreign tribe, in the shape of the marvellous deeds of the boy-Kṛṣṇa, who came to be regarded as a god, and of his amorous dalliances with cowherdesses. So constituted, Vaiṣṇavism went on till about the end of the eighth century, when the doctrine of spiritual monism and world-illusion was promulgated and disseminated by Śaṃkarācārya and his followers. This was considered as destructive of the Bhakti, or love, which Vaiṣṇavism enjoined. And the feeling of hostility to spiritual monism gathered to a head in the eleventh century, when Rāmānuja made strenuous endeavours to put it down and spread the religion of Bhakti in a reinvigorated form. He was followed in the north by Nimbārka, who, however, gave prominence to the fourth or cowherdess element of Vaiṣṇavism and enjoined the worship of Kṛṣṇa's mistress Rādhā also, Rāmānuja having passed them over in severe silence. The attacks on spiritual monism and world-illusion were continued in a determined and definite manner in the thirteenth century by Madhva or Ānandatīrtha, who established the doctrine of pluralism and brought into prominence the name of Viṣṇu as that of the supreme God. In the north, Rāmānanda gave a new turn to Vaiṣṇavism by bringing in the name of Rāma, while Rāmānuja, from whom his metaphysical doctrines are derived, laid particular stress on the name Nārāyaṇa. The preachings of Rāmānanda and his disciples were carried on in the vernacular. Rāmānanda's religious activity is to be referred to the fourteenth century. He was followed by Kabīr in the fifteenth century, who preached strict monotheism, the name of his God being Rāma, and condemned idolatry. Vallabha in the sixteenth century preached the worship of the boy-Kṛṣṇa and his mistress Rādhā. Caitanya about the same time promulgated the worship of the grown up Kṛṣṇa, for ever associated with Rādhā, who was idealised into an image of pure love. The increasing ardency in the

love and devotion of God sought for realistic expression and the conception of Rādhā deepened and acquired an exclusive prominence and importance. The devotion of Caitanya and his followers was sincere and fervent, and even bordered on the frantic; but that of Vallabha and his school was more dramatic than real. Ultimately this conception led to the degradation of Vaiṣṇavism. In the Marāṭha country, Nāmdev, whose date is uncertain, but who probably lived about the end of the fourteenth century, and Tukārām, in the first half of the seventeenth century, preached the worship of Viṭhobā of Paṇḍharpur as the supreme God and, discarding Rādhā-Kṛṣṇaism, cultivated a more sober line of devotion. They also resorted to the vernacular for the dissemination of their ideas. They, as well as Kabīr and, to a certain extent, Caitanya also, condemned the formalism which prevailed in the religion of their day and preached pure love of God. The two Marāṭha saints and Kabīr also laid particular stress on the purification of the individual's heart and moral elevation as means to a single-minded and devoted love of God and as necessary for the attainment of eternal bliss.

The points of contact between these various Vaiṣṇava systems are that their spiritual elements are essentially derived from the Bhagavadgītā, that Vāsudeva as the name of the Supreme Being stands in the back-ground of all, and that spiritual monism and world-illusion are denounced by them equally. The differences arise from the varied importance that they attach to the different spiritual doctrines; the prominence that they give to one or other of the three elements that were mingled with Vāsudevism; the metaphysical theory that they set up; and the ceremonial which they impose upon their followers. The Bhagavadgītā was supplemented in later times by the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās and the Purāṇas such as the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata, and other later works of that description. These occasionally elucidated some of the essential doctrines, laid down the ceremonial and brought together a vast mass of legendary matter to magnify the importance of their special teachings and render them attractive.

Part II.

ŚAIVISM AND MINOR RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS.

I. Introductory.

Formation of the Conception of Rudra-Śiva.

§ 77. Some of the phenomena of external nature are pleasing, vivifying and benignant; others are terrible, dispiriting and destructive. In the dawn the old Āryas found the lovely goddess Uṣas, pursued by her lover Sūrya, or the Sun (RV. I, 115, 2). In the rising sun they found Mitra, a friendly god, who roused them from sleep and set them to do the work of the day (RV. III, 59, 1; VII, 36, 2). And in the sun, who visibly at rising stretched forth his rays as if they were his arms, filling the heaven and the earth, vivifying the world at the end of the night and placing it in the course assigned to it by him, they found Savitṛ (RV. IV, 53, 3). The dreadful and destructive phenomena are usually the storms that uproot trees and even demolish houses, accompanied by the thunderbolt which strikes down men and beasts dead in a moment; and the epidemics that rage and carry off numbers of men. In these the old Āryas saw Rudra, who went about howling with the stormy winds (Maruts), who were his sons (Rudriyas). But human beings do not believe in a purely malignant power reigning in the universe. The dreadful phenomena are attributed to the wrath of a god, which, however, can be appeased by prayer, praise and offerings. Then the god becomes Śiva, or the benignant. This appears to be the natural process by which a belief in such a god as Rudra-Śiva became established in India in ancient times. We will now trace the development of the idea of this god until he became the supreme creator, ruler, and pervader of the universe, a knowledge of whom contributed to eternal bliss.

II. The Development of the Idea of Rudra-Śiva.

§ 78. Rudra is represented as discharging brilliant shafts which run about the heaven and the earth (RV. VII, 46, 3) and as possessing weapons which slay cows and men (RV. I, 114, 10). Here the destructive agency of lightning seems to have been clearly in view. He is prayed to by the singers to keep these away from them and to protect the two-footed and four-footed beings belonging to them (RV. I, 114, 1). When, in consequence of the prayers or in the natural course of things, the cattle go unharmed, Rudra is represented to be Paśupa, or protector of the cattle (RV. I, 114, 9). Rudra is prayed to not to afflict children with disease (RV. VII, 46, 2) and to keep all

in the village free from illness (RV. I, 114, 1). Rudra was thus believed to cause diseases, and when men recovered from them or were altogether free from them, that also was attributed to the agency of Rudra; and he is consequently spoken of as possessing healing remedies (RV. I, 43, 4) and as the best physician of physicians (RV. II, 33, 4) and as possessed of a thousand medicines (RV. VII, 46, 3). The singers also pray for the acquisition of those pure and salutary remedies belonging to the Maruts and Rudra, which father Manu desired (RV. II, 33, 13). The general character of the prayers addressed to Rudra is well brought out in the following: "Oh Rudra, do not, out of thy anger, injure our children and descendants, our people, our cattle, our houses, and do not kill our men. We invoke thee always with offerings" (RV. I, 114, 8). By his power he perceives all earthly beings and by his universal sovereignty he perceives divine beings (RV. VII, 46, 2). Here even in the Ṛgveda, Rudra is raised to supreme power.

§ 79. The character of Rudra appears in a much more developed form in the Śatarudriya (TS. IV, 5, 1; VS. chapter 16). His benignant form (śivā tanuḥ) is distinguished from its opposite, the malignant. He is called Giriśa and Giritra, "lying on a mountain", probably because the thunderbolt that he hurls, springs from a cloud, which is often compared to a mountain and in which he was believed to dwell. The cowherds and the female bearers of water see him as he creeps along with his blue neck and red complexion, that is, these simple folk working in the open field see a black cloud tinged red by the soft glow of the lightning. Representing, as Rudra does, the darker powers of nature, he may be expected to dwell away from the habitations of men, and therefore he is called the lord of the paths, of the forests and of those who roam in them, of thieves and highway robbers who frequent and move about in lonely places to prevent being detected, and also of outcasts who live away from the usual dwellings of men.

In his character as a healer he appears here as the lord of medicinal herbs and is called a heavenly physician. Being the lord of the open fields or plains, he is the lord of cattle (paśūnāṃ patiḥ) which roam in them. The name Paśupati became in later times a special appellation of this God. In this manner the range of Rudra became so wide that he came to be called the "lord of the quarters". He is called Kapardin, or the wearer of matted hair, which epithet is probably due to his being regarded as identical with Agni, or fire, the fumes of which look like matted hair. The names Śarva (arrow-wielder), and Bhava also, occur, and when his wrathful nature is thoroughly appeased, he becomes Śaṃbhu or benignant, Śaṃkara or beneficent, and Śiva or auspicious, which names occur at the end of the Śatarudriya. He is also represented as wearing a hide (kṛttiṃ vasānaḥ). How the epithet arose it is difficult to say. But, being represented as roaming in forests and other lonely places, the idea of investing him with the skin-clothing of the savage tribes may have suggested itself to a poet. The Niṣādas, a forest tribe, are compared to Rudras, which fact lends support to this view.

The name Rudra has been generalised and many Rudras are

spoken of, and a wish is expressed that they may be far away from the singer. Here the signification of the common name appears to be an evil spirit. In another place also the name is generalised, but the signification is much better. The Rudras are called Gaṇas or tribes, and Gaṇapatis or leaders of tribes, workmen, potters, cart-makers, carpenters, and Niṣādas or men of the forest-tribes. Thus these followers of handicraft and also the forest-tribe of Niṣādas are brought into close connection with Rudra; probably they were his worshippers, or their own peculiar gods were identified with the Āryan Rudra. This last supposition appears very probable, since the groups of beings, whose Pati, or lord, he is represented to have been, dwelt in or frequented open fields, forests and waste lands, remote from the habitations of civilised men.

§ 80. In AV. the conception of Rudra is further developed, and he is elevated to a higher platform. Several other names, by which he was known in later times, are also given, but the bearers of these are spoken of and addressed as separate gods. Bhava and Śarva are treated as two distinct deities and spoken of as ruling (īśāthe) over two-footed and four-footed beings (IV, 28, 1). They are styled the swiftest of all archers, and to them belongs what is near as well as remote. They are called thousand-eyed. Their range is far and wide (3). Their stroke can not be avoided by any man or god (5). They are invoked to launch their thunderbolt against the Yātudhāna, or evil spirit (6). They are implored to deliver the singers from calamity (7). Śarva is called the archer, and Bhava the king (rājan), and obeisance is made to them, and they are desired to remove their deadly poisons to other places (VI, 93, 2). Obeisance is made to Rudra who is in Agni, who is in the waters, who has entered into the herbs and plants, and who has formed all these beings (VII, 87, 1). This verse occurs in AU. (VI) and also in ŚU. (II, 17), where, however, it appears in a somewhat altered form, the word Deva being used instead of Rudra. In describing a particular ox Mahādeva is spoken of as his two arms (IX, 7, 7). Bhava and Śarva are invoked to launch the lightning against the doer of wickedness (X, 1, 23). They are called Bhūtapati (the lord of spirits) and Paśupati (the lord of beasts) (XI, 2, 1). They are reverenced as being in their domains in the sky and in the middle regions (XI, 2, 4). Five distinct species of animals, kine, horses, men, goats, and sheep, are marked off as belonging to Paśupati (XI, 2, 9). To Ugra, the fierce, belong the four intermediate quarters, the sky, the earth, and the wide atmosphere, and that which has spirit and breathes on the earth (XI, 2, 10). Bhava sees everything on earth. Nothing is far or near to him. He destroys things in the farther ocean, being himself in the preceding ocean (XI, 2, 25). Rudra is implored not to bring on consumption, poison, and celestial fire (XI, 2, 26). Bhava is the lord (īśa) of the heavens, the earth, and fills the whole atmosphere (XI, 2, 27). Bhava is addressed as king (rājan) (XI, 2, 28). A wish is expressed that the arrows of Bhava, Śarva, and Rudra, who is Paśupati (the lord of beasts), may be always propitious (sadāśiva) (XI, 6, 9). Savitṛ is called Aryaman, Varuṇa, Rudra,

and Mahādeva (XIII, 4, 4). All the stars and the moon are under Rudra's control (XIII, 4, 28). The gods made Bhava the archer, the protector of the Vrātyas, or outcasts, in the intermediate space of the eastern region, Śarva of the southern region, Paśupati of the western region, Ugra of the northern region, Rudra of the lower region, Mahādeva of the upper region, and Īśāna of all the intermediate regions (XV, 5, 1—7).

§ 81. In ŚB. (VI, 1, 3, 7) and KB. (6, 1, 9), Rudra is mentioned as the son of Uṣas; and, after he was born, Prajāpati gave him, as he grew up, eight names, seven of which are the same as those given above from the AV. and the eighth is Aśani, or the thunderbolt. It would be seen that the AV. regards the seven as different though allied gods, though once Rudra is identified with Paśupati. As in the case of the sun-god the several ways of looking at him gave rise to the conception of several sun-deities such as Savitṛ, Sūrya, Mitra, Pūṣan, etc., so the same terrible and destructive agency in nature, with its benignant and gracious counterpart, looked at from different points of view, gave rise to the belief in the seven different gods mentioned in the AV. They are all regarded as the names of one god in the ŚB. and KB., and an eighth name is introduced. Of these eight names, four, Rudra, Śarva, Ugra and Aśani, are indicative of the destructive energy, and the other four, viz. Bhava, Paśupati, Mahādeva or Mahān devaḥ, and Īśāna, of its benignant counterpart. It will have been observed that the AV. brings in a new element, that of poisons which the terrific god was believed to send forth and of his shafts being unfailing and unavoidable by gods and men. On the other, or the benignant side, Bhava is represented to be a shining king (rājan). Rudra is the lord of all creatures. His range is far and wide. He controls the stars and the moon. He reigns in the sky and the middle regions. He is in fire and water, in plants and herbs, and in all beings; and he is the protector of Vrātyas in all quarters; and he is pre-eminently the ruler (Īśāna). Thus the terrible and the destructive God became, when he was propitiated by men in a variety of ways, a benignant God and attained to the whole majesty of the godhead by the time of the YV. and AV., and it is on this majestic form of the god that the theosophic speculations of ŚU., which we will notice further on, are based.

§ 82. But the darker side of the nature of this god was never forgotten. A sacrifice called Śūlagava is mentioned in most of the Gṛhyasūtras. A bull is sacrificed to Rudra to appease him (AG. IV, 9). The rite should be performed beyond the limits of a village, and its remains should not be brought into it, which rule sufficiently indicates the inauspicious character of the rite. The Vapā, or omentum, should be sacrificed to Rudra by uttering twelve names, seven of which are the same as the first three in the first group given above and the four in the second group. Aśani is omitted, and we have the following five additional names, Hara, Mṛḍa, Śiva, Bhīma, and Śaṃkara. Or the Vapā may be thrown into the fire by uttering six specific names only or the single name Rudra. This Śūlagava sacrifice should be performed in a cow-shed when a cattle disease has to be averted. In

PG. (III, 8) the names uttered in throwing the oblations are the same eight as those in the two groups above with the addition of Agni. There are also oblations to the wives, Indrāṇī, Rudrāṇī, Śarvāṇī, and Bhavānī. HG. (II, 3, 8) has the same deities as the eight abovementioned, Bhīma being substituted for Aśani; and oblations are given to the wife of each by repeating the formula "bhavasya devasya patnyai svāhā" (to the wife of God Bhava) etc. and not by uttering their proper names.

Directions are given in PG. (III, 15) to render obeisance to Rudra and pray for safe conduct when traversing a path, coming to a place where four roads meet, crossing a river, getting into a ferry-boat, entering a forest, ascending a mountain, passing by a cemetery or by a cow-shed and such other places. Similarly HG. (I, 5, 16) directs that a traveller should adore Rudra by repeating the specific formula given by him, when he comes to the crossing of four roads or to a heap of cattle-dung, when serpents creep, and when he is overtaken by tornado or is entering a river or comes to a variegated scene, sacrificial site or an old large tree.

It will thus be seen that, in the time of the Gṛhyasūtras, Rudra was still a terrible god, who had to be appeased. He was the god that held sway over regions away from home, over fields, wildernesses, cemeteries, mountains, old trees and rivers. Whenever a man came to anything which inspired awe and terror, Rudra was the god thought of and prayed to to protect. Herein lies the reason which rendered him in later times the omnipresent supreme lord of the universe to the exclusion of all other Vedic gods except Viṣṇu. Many are the occasions in the life of man, which excite fear; there are epidemics and other diseases, poisons, serpents, storms, thunderbolts and wild and awful scenes, and consequently the god who brings on these occasions and protects when appeased will be thought of oftener than other gods. The lovableness of the works of God, his greatness and majesty and his mysterious nature are also matters which strike the mind of man; and these appear to have operated in bringing Viṣṇu into prominence. What contributed to the formation of Vaiṣṇavism were the appearances and occurrences which excited love, admiration and a spirit of worship; while in Rudra-Śaivism the sentiment of fear is at the bottom, howsoever concealed it may have become in certain developments of it, and this sentiment it is that has worked itself out in the formation of various Rudra-Śaiva systems of later times. In the monotheistic religions of other countries the same god is feared and loved; in India the god that is loved is Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa-Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, while the god that is feared is Rudra-Śiva.

III. Śvetāśvatara and Atharvaśiras Upaniṣads.

§ 83. Before we proceed to the consideration of the Rudra-Śiva sects, we must devote some time to the consideration of a religio-philosophic treatise which represents the farthest point in the development of the idea of Rudra-Śiva as a god worshipped by the Indian Āryas generally. This is the Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad. It does not appear

to be composed in a sectarian spirit. The elevated notions about the nature of God and his relations to man and the world, which had been reached in the time of the early Upaniṣads, have been disentangled from their connection with the impersonal Brahman and transferred to the God who had at the time when the Upaniṣads were written, acquired a living and active personality in the minds of the people. This god was Rudra-Śiva, who, as we have seen, had by the time of AV. attained to the dignity of the supreme god. After the preliminaries, the doctrinal points that occur in the first chapter are these: that there are three unborn elements in the world; of these the all-knowing and the ignorant, the ruler and the ruled, are two, and there is a third which has in itself materials of enjoyment and suffering (9). Brahman is of three kinds, viz. the sufferer or enjoyer, what is enjoyed or suffered, and the dispenser or mover. There is nothing further to be known (12). Pradhāna is changeable, the immortal is unchangeable; Hara, the one lord, rules over the changeable and the soul. By meditating on him, by devoting oneself to him, by realising him, the whole ignorance is dispelled (10). By making one's body the lower block of wood, the syllable "Oṃ" the upper, and by the act of meditation, which is (like) the rubbing of the two blocks against each other, one should perceive the hidden god (14). One finds that soul in oneself who seeks him by means of truth and exertion, as oil in seeds, butter in curds, or water in a spring (15).

The three elements mentioned in 9 and 12 are adopted by Rāmānuja in his system, and these texts are quoted by writers of that school. What is set forth in the tenth is similar to that which occurs in the sixteenth and seventeenth verses of chap. 15 of the BhG.

In the second chapter there is first of all a short mention of the Yoga processes, which lead to the perception of the supreme soul and the purity of the self. When by the purified nature of the individual self, as by a lamp, is known the nature of Brahman, or the god who is unborn, unchangeable, pure in every way, one is free from all bondage (15). The chapter closes with the verse which we have noticed as occurring in the AV.

In the third chapter we have in the beginning a stanza which sets forth that those become immortal who know him who, possessing a net, rules by his ruling powers, rules over all the worlds by his ruling powers, who alone is the cause of production and growth (1). There is only one Rudra — and they do not recognise another — who rules these worlds by his ruling powers, who is the inmost soul of all men, who contracts everything on the final day, and, creating all beings, protects them (2). He has his eyes everywhere, his face everywhere, as in RV. X, 81, 3 (3). May Rudra, the cause of the production and growth of the gods, the lord of the universe, the great prophet, and who formerly created Hiraṇyagarbha, endow us with a holy will (4). Then follow two verses from the Śatarudriya, praying Rudra to look at the singer with his gracious countenance and not to do harm to men, etc. (5, 6). Knowing the lord (Īśa), who is the highest Brahman and the greatest of all, who dwells in the inside of all beings whatever their form, and who encompasses the whole uni-

verse, men become immortal (7). Then follow similar verses expressive of the attributes of the supreme God and prescribing a knowledge of him as the door to immortality. As formerly remarked, a verse and a half in this chapter occurs word for word in the thirteenth chap. of the BhG. It also deserves remark that the proper names of the supreme being that occur are Īśāna, Īśa, and Śiva; and the epithet Bhagavat, that is used also, deserves notice (11, 12, 15, 17, 20). In verse 20, which occurs also in the MU., there is Īśam for Ātmanaḥ which is indicative of the peculiarity of this Upaniṣad which we have noticed. There are two verses from the Puruṣasūkta (RV. X, 90).

The fourth chapter opens with the expression of the desire that he who, himself being without form, creates many forms with a certain purpose, in whom in the end as well as in the beginning the universe exists, may endow the adorers with a holy will. Then follows the identification of this supreme soul with fire, sun, wind, moon and a variety of other objects (2—4). We have then the metaphor of one male goat lying down with the female goat and another male goat abandoning her after enjoyment, which represents the soul in the worldly and the delivered conditions (5). We have next the verse about two birds, the friends and companions of each other, resting on the same tree, one eating the fruit of that tree and the other simply looking on without eating, which occurs in the RV. (I, 164, 20) and in the MU. (III, 1, 1). The next verse about the weak soul being deluded and in grief and being delivered from his sorrows when he sees the other soul, who is the ruler (Īśa), occurs in the MU. also (III, 1, 2) but not in the RV. After two verses there is another, in which Māyā is called Prakṛti, and he who uses this Māyā is called Maheśvara (10). Maheśvara is a name of Śiva. Having known the boon-giver, Īśāna, who presides over every productive organ and in whom and from whom are all things, one attains eternal peace or serenity (11). Then there is a repetition here of a verse in the previous chapter (III, 4) with an unimportant difference of reading (12). Then occurs the second part of the verse in RV., which represents Hiraṇyagarbha to be the lord of two-footed and four-footed animals (X, 121, 3), the first part of the latter being paraphrased here (13). This verse was probably suggested by the occurrence of the name of Hiraṇyagarbha in the previous verse. Having known Śiva (the auspicious), who is minuter than the minute, the creator of the universe, of many forms, and who alone encompasses the universe in this medley of the world, one attains eternal peace (14). That same lord of the universe concealed in all objects is the protector of the world in time. Devoting themselves to him and knowing him thus, the Brahmarṣis and the deities cut away the nooses of death (15). Knowing Śiva, concealed in all beings, who is as subtle as the essence of milk other than the butter, knowing the god who alone encompasses the universe, one is free from all nooses (16). This god — this great soul — whose work is the universe always dwells in the hearts of men. He is determined by the heart, the intelligence, and internal consciousness; those who know this be-

come immortal (17). When there was simple darkness and no day or light, no entity or nonentity, Śiva alone existed. He was the one unchangeable thing, and he was the bright light of the sun, and from him sprang all intelligence (18). Here appears an idea similar to that expressed in RV. X, 129. No one can seize him above, transversely or in the middle. There is not another like him. Great is his glory (19). His form is invisible. Nobody sees him with the eye. Those who see him, dwelling in the heart, by the heart and the internal consciousness, become immortal (20). This verse is the same as in KU. (VI. 9), excepting in the third line, which there is the same as the third line of v. 17 above. The chapter ends with two verses containing a prayer to Rudra to protect, the latter of which is the same as RV. I, 114, 8.

In the first verse of the fifth chapter are mentioned two indestructible beings, Brahman and the other, who are endless, in whom there lie, unobserved, knowledge and ignorance. Ignorance is destructible, knowledge is indestructible; and there is another who rules over knowledge and ignorance (1). In the next verse is mentioned the birth of Kapila and his being fed with knowledge by him who presides over every productive energy (2). Giving various forms to each group (lit. net), the god resolves everything into the original principle. Creating again the lords of beings, he, the great soul, the ruler, wields sovereignty over all (3). As the sun illuminates all quarters, upper and lower and transversal, so also the god, the Bhagavat, presides over the natures of all productive energies (4). The original cause of the world makes natural powers develop and brings to a mature condition those who are capable of development. He presides over this universe and puts into operation all the qualities (5). That is concealed in Upaniṣads, which contain the secret of the Vedas. That origin of Brahman, Brahmadeva knows. All the ancient gods and Ṛṣis, who knew that, being absorbed in it, became immortal (6). The Upaniṣad then proceeds to mention the individual soul, the lord of the vital airs, who performs actions and enjoys or suffers their fruit, possesses three qualities and follows three ways and goes through a succession of births in consequence of his actions (7). He is as big as the thumb, bright like the sun, is conscious of himself and wills, is as minute as the hundredth part of the hundredth part of the point of a hair and is endless. In himself he is not a female nor a male nor sexless. This depends on the body assumed by him (8, 9, 10). He assumes many gross and subtle forms in accordance with his qualities and the qualities of his actions and of the self. But he who effects their union, is another (12). Then follows a verse similar to IV, 14 and the latter part of 16 (13). In the last verse Śiva, the God, the creator and destroyer, is said to be knowable by Bhāva (faith, love, or the pure heart) (14).

The sixth chapter appears to be a sort of resumé of what precedes. Among other things it is stated that he who promotes virtue and dispells sin, should be known as existing in oneself (6); that the one God is concealed in all beings, is all-pervading, the internal soul of all beings, presiding over all actions, the support of all beings,

the witness of all, the life-giver, absolute and without qualities (11); and that, knowing the cause which is to be understood by means of the Sāṃkhya and the Yoga, a man is free from all nooses (13). After this follows a verse to the effect: "nor the sun nor the moon nor the stars nor lightning illuminate him (i. e. make him known); when he shines, everything shines after him, and by his light all this is rendered visible, or is illuminated" (14). This verse occurs in KU. (V. 15) and in MU. (II, 2, 10). The work ends with an expression of the author's self-surrender to the god, who shines forth in one's own intelligence, who first created Brahmadeva, and who sent forth the Vedas — the god who has no parts, who does not suffer change, who is all peace, has no defects and is unpolluted, the bridge for crossing over to immortality, and who is like fire that has burnt fuel (18, 19).

§ 84. From this short summary it will be seen that this Upaniṣad contains verses from the Saṃhitās of the RV. and YV. and others, which must have been in a floating condition and were appropriated by the Muṇḍaka and Kaṭha Upaniṣads as well as by this; and a great many others, which have not been traced elsewhere, are original. All these contain truths about the nature of God, the individual soul and the inanimate world and the relations between them. The way to redemption is meditation on the supreme soul, which way is characteristic of the Upaniṣad doctrine in general. Certain Yoga processes are prescribed to render this meditation effective, and the final result is a perception of the supreme soul as existing everywhere, and this perception constitutes eternal bliss. This treatise contains the theism of the Upaniṣad period in its most mature form with a God distinctly personal at the centre. The attributes of the supreme soul are often given in very general terms, and he is referred to by the non-sectarian general name Deva, but as often that Deva is identified with Rudra, Śiva, Īśāna and Maheśvara, and his powers are spoken of as Īśanīs; but there is no indication whatever that these names have been given for the purpose of raising Rudra-Śiva to the supreme godhead to the exclusion of another god. Names indicative of Rudra-Śiva appear to have been used, since he was invested with a personality perceived and acknowledged by all. This Upaniṣad, therefore, is not a sectarian treatise like others promulgated in later times, and is often quoted by Śaṃkarācārya, Rāmānuja and other writers of the different schools, and not by those of one school only. It must have been composed before the BhG. since the latter contains, as already stated, a verse and a half from it, and the nature of the religio-philosophic speculations contained in it, though essentially Upaniṣadic, make a nearer approach to the later Bhakti school than those of any of the older treatises of the class. The description of the godhead and of the final pure serenity are instinct with the glow of love and admiration and the treatise ends with an expression of self-surrender to the god, who makes himself manifest in one's own intelligence. The Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad, therefore, stands at the door of the Bhakti school, and pours its loving adoration on Rudra-Śiva instead of on Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa as the BhG. did in later times when the Bhakti doctrine was in full swing. Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa had a historic basis; and the circumstances which led to his

being invested with the supreme godhead, occurred in later times, while in the age, in which the Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad was composed, Rudra-Śiva was alone in the field as the supreme god, and the germs of Bhakti, or love, which manifested themselves at the time, were directed towards him; but when Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa also came into the field, he appealed more to the hearts of men as the god who had come to dwell amongst them; consequently the germs of Bhakti speedily developed, and he became the object of the heightened feelings in preference to the other.

§ 85. Up to the time at which we have arrived we meet with no mention of the wife of Rudra or Śiva, but in the Kena-Upaniṣad, which is certainly one of the earlier Upaniṣads, the name of Umā occurs. She is called Haimavatī, or the daughter of Himavat, but she is not mentioned in the KnU. as the wife of Rudra or Śiva, though in later times she was known to be so. The story is: — Brahman conquered the enemies of the gods for them, but the gods took credit to themselves for the victory and were proud of their achievements. Agni, Vāyu and Indra were sitting together, engaged in joyous conversation, when there appeared at some distance a spirit. Agni first went out to see what it was. The spirit asked him the nature and extent of his power and laid down a blade of grass, which it asked him to burn away. Agni was not able to do this and returned baffled. Then went Vāyu, who also was not able to blow away the blade of grass; afterwards went Indra, and at his approach the spirit disappeared. Indra was disappointed, but he saw a beautiful woman of the name of Umā-Haimavatī and asked her who the spirit was. She said it was Brahman. The story represents that condition of things, in which the old Vedic gods had lost their power or hold over men, and Brahman had come into prominence as the supreme spirit. Since it was Umā that disclosed the nature of the spirit, it may be understood that the Brahman mentioned was Rudra-Śiva and Umā was his wife. It would thus appear that she had come to be so regarded some time before the Upaniṣad was composed.

§ 86. The Atharvaśiras is another Upaniṣad appertaining to Rudra. It is a much later work as is shown even by the very variant texts before me, commented on by Nārāyaṇa and Śaṃkarānanda. The gods, it is said, went to heaven and asked Rudra who he was. He said that he alone was, is, or will be, and nothing else. He is in all the quarters, he is Gāyatrī, man, woman, etc., and thus a number of things are mentioned with which he is identical. Then Rudra was invisible to them, and they raised their arms and praised him saying: "He who is Rudra, is Bhagavat, and who also is Brahmadeva, a bow to him". In the similar sentences that follow, instead of Brahmadeva we have Viṣṇu, Maheśvara, Umā, Skanda, Vināyaka, etc. The sun and the constellation are also included. Then Oṃkāra is mentioned, to which many epithets and epithets of epithets expressive of divine attributes are given, and lastly it is called the one Rudra, who is Īśāna, Bhagavat, Maheśvara and Mahādeva. Then follow the etymologies of the epithets or names. The only Rudra he is called, because he alone creates and absorbs everything. He is called Īśāna,

because he rules by the powers called the Īśanīs. Then follow four or five verses from ŚU. with different readings in some cases. The substance of what follows is thus given by Śaṃkarānanda. For the knowledge of Rudra one should use moderate food, devote himself to reading (Śravaṇa), thinking (Manana), etc., become a Paramahaṃsa, or a single-minded devotee, and spend his time thus. One should undertake the Pāśupata vow (Vrata), which is of the following nature. Greed and anger should be given up. Forgiveness should be realised. The muttering of Oṃ should be practised, and meditation resulting in Avagati, or perception, should be resorted to. The text, of which this is the explanation, may be generally rendered thus: — "In the inside of the heart exists the subtle body, in which there are anger, greed and forgiveness. Destroying greed, which is at the bottom of human motives, and concentrating the mind on Rudra, who is one and eternal, one should be moderate in eating and drinking". Then follows a precept to besmear the body with ashes by repeating the words: "The ash is fire, the ash is water, the ash is earth, everything is ash, the ether is ash, the mind, the eyes and other senses are ash." This is the Pāśupata vow (Vrata), enjoined for the removal of the noose with which the Paśu, or the individual soul, is tied."

Here the besmearing of the body with ashes after repeating a formula, or Mantra, is prescribed as a vow for the devotees of Paśupati, or Rudra-Śiva, calculated to effect a deliverance from the trammels of life. The expression "Paśupāśavimokṣaṇa", which means the loosening of the noose tied round the necks of beings, is a characteristic of the Pāśupata sect. This Upaniṣad therefore belongs to that sect. Before, however, we pass on to the consideration of this sect, we must cast a glance at the position which Rudra-Śiva holds in the Mahābhārata.

IV. Rudra-Śiva in the Mahābhārata and Liṅga Worship.

§ 87. At the beginning of the Bhīṣmaparvan Kṛṣṇa advises Arjuna to make an obeisance to Durgā before the commencement of the battle and pray for success. Arjuna does so after repeating a hymn in honour of Durgā, containing the names of Umā, mother of Skanda, Kātyāyanī, Karālī, and a number of others. In the Vanaparvan Arjuna is represented to have gone to the Himālaya and practised austerities there. Some time after, Śiva appears dressed like a Kirāta, and a severe fight ensues between them. Arjuna is overpowered in the end and lies on the ground exhausted. He then praises Śiva, and, having made an altar of earth, puts flowers on it in the name of Śaṃkara. These, however, appear as placed on the head of the Kirāta, whereupon Arjuna makes him out as Śiva the object of his adoration, and surrenders himself to him. Śiva becomes pleased and offers him whatever he wishes. Arjuna asks for the weapon presided over by Paśupati (Pāśupatāstra), which possesses the power of destroying all formidable enemies (chaps. 38—40). In the Droṇaparvan again (chaps. 80, 81) the attainment of the Pāśupatāstra, which appears to be of another kind, consisting of a bow and arrow, by Arjuna, is mentioned.

Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa are spoken of as having gone to the Himālaya in a vision and seen Śaṃkara at his dwelling. They bow their heads before him, sing a hymn in his praise, in which they call him the unborn, the creator of the universe, the unchangeable and utter the names which we have given as occurring in earlier works, and thus propitiating him ask for the Pāśupata weapon. They are directed to a lake where the Astra had been thrown. There they saw two venomous serpents, which, however, assumed at the time the forms of a bow and an arrow, and these Arjuna took away. In the Sauptikaparvan (chap. 7) Aśvatthāman is mentioned to have propitiated Śaṃkara and obtained a sword from him. Śiva himself enters into his body, and Aśvatthāman carries havoc and destruction with the terrible sword in the camp of the Pāṇḍus, killing all their progeny, and even Dhṛṣṭadyumna, who had cut off the head of his father Droṇa. Yudhiṣṭhira asks Kṛṣṇa how he was able to effect all this. Kṛṣṇa says that he did it through the power of Śaṃkara and relates another story about him. Brahmadeva once told Śaṃkara not to create. Whereupon Śaṃkara concealed himself under water for a long time. When, therefore, there was no creation for such a long period, Brahmadeva created another Prajāpati, who brought into existence a large number of beings. These beings, being afflicted with hunger, went to Prajāpati to devour him. He, being afraid, went to Hiraṇyagarbha, who created two kinds of food for those beings and then they were quieted. After some time Mahādeva rose out of the water, and seeing that new beings had been created and were in a flourishing condition, he cut off his organ of generation as no more necessary, and it stuck into the ground. He then went away to perform austerities at the foot of the Muñjavat mountain. There is a similar story about Mahādeva's having ceased to create and become a Yogin in the Vāyu-Purāṇa (chap. 10). Brahmadeva told Nīlalohita (Mahādeva) to create, and bringing to mind his wife Satī, he created thousands of beings exactly like himself, who were immortal. Thereupon he stopped and rendered himself incapable of procreation. He then resorted to all those processes of the Yoga which in the Purāṇa is called the Pāśupata-Yoga. In the Sauptikaparvan Kṛṣṇa continues the story of Mahādeva and tells Yudhiṣṭhira that when the gods created the rite of sacrifice and assigned no oblation to Rudra, he was full of wrath and destroyed the sacrifice; whereupon they assigned him a portion and the god was pleased. In the Anuśāsanaparvan (chap. 14) Kṛṣṇa is introduced as recounting the glories of Mahādeva. He says, Jāmbavatī, one of his wives, expressed a desire for as good a son as Rukmiṇī, his chief consort, had. To procure such a son he had recourse to Mahādeva, through whose favour only his wishes could be fulfilled. He then went to the Himālaya, on which Śiva lived. On the way he saw the hermitage of Upamanyu. Upamanyu enters into a long discourse on the beneficent deeds of Mahādeva. A list is given of persons, including many Daityas, who obtained their desired objects, such as sons, weapons, powers, etc., through the favour of Mahādeva, whom they had propitiated by rigid austere practices and other ways. One of these was Śākalya, to whom was granted the boon that he would be an author and would

obtain immortal glory and his son would be the composer of Sūtras. The persons alluded to here must be the compiler of the RVS. and the author of the Pada text. Upamanyu began to practise austerities to propitiate Śiva at the instance of his mother, who, in describing the god's power and beneficence, spoke of him as dancing nakedly and of his having the quarters for his clothing (Digvāsas). In the course of his austerities, Mahādeva, to test Upamanyu's devotion, appears before him in the form of Indra and offers him many magnificent boons, which Upamanyu refuses and declares that he would have boons from Śaṃkara alone, and that he would become a worm or a butterfly at the command of Śaṃkara, but did not desire even the sovereignty of the three worlds given by Indra. In the course of his narrative Upamanyu says that Mahādeva was the only god, whose organ of generation (Liṅga) is worshipped by men. He and Umā were the real creators of animals, as these bear the marks of the two, and not the discus or the conch-shell or marks of any other god. Eventually Śiva and Umā appeared before Upamanyu, seated on a strong towering ox, attended on the one side by Brahmadeva seated on the swan, his vehicle, and on the other by Nārāyaṇa on Garuḍa with the conch-shell, lotus, etc., and conferred on him all the blessings he desired. At his instance Kṛṣṇa also entered on a long course of austerities, at the end of which Mahādeva with Umā appeared before him in the same manner as they did to Upamanyu. The god conferred eight boons upon him, and his consort eight more; besides she promised him sixteen thousand wives, and altogether the number of boons he obtained was twenty-four inclusive of the birth of such a son as he wanted.

§ 88. The characteristics of Śiva, or Mahādeva, as brought out by these accounts appear to be these. He was a powerful, wrathful and impetuous god, but generous and bountiful, and spared nothing when he was propitiated. Whenever a man conceived a desire for anything, he was the god to be appealed to for its fulfilment. He lived on the Himālaya with his wife Umā, Pārvatī, or Durgā, who had a number of other names such as Kālī, Karālī, etc., and was attended by a number of beings called his Gaṇas, or hosts. His vehicle was an ox. He had, of course, all the attributes of the supreme godhead. He is represented as having betaken himself to the processes of Yoga, or contemplation, when he had ceased to be creative. It will be seen that the object of worship in Śaivism is the Liṅga, or phallus. We have found no trace of this characteristic in the earlier literature, so far as we have examined it[1]), and the first time we meet with it is in this passage from the Anuśāsanaparvan. We have had occasion in a previous section to remark that Rudra-Śiva had a close connection with stragglers in the forest, with Vrātyas, or those who were not included in the Āryan community, and with the wild tribe of the Niṣādas, and also observed

[1]) I do not, however, deny the possibility that when the ŚU. in IV, 11 speaks of the god Īśāna as presiding over every Yoni and in V, 2 of the lord as presiding over all forms and Yonis, an allusion to the physical fact of the Liṅga and Yoni connected together may have been meant as typifying the philosophical doctrine of gods presiding over every creative cause.

that the gods of these last were amalgamated with Rudra. Rudra's partiality for serpents and his being the lord of spirits, or Bhūtas, were probably due to the influence of the serpent-worship and the devilry of the savage tribes. There are two places in the RV., in one of which Indra is prayed to not to allow those whose god is Siśna to disturb the rites of the singers (VII, 21, 5); and in another he is represented to have conquered the riches of a city after killing those whose god is Śiśna. Here evidently those whose god was Śiśna, or phallus, are meant as the enemies of the Vedic Āryas, who disturbed their holy rites. Notwithstanding all that is said about the matter, my own belief is that the persons here referred to were really some tribe of the aborigines of the country, who worshipped the phallus. Just then as the Rudra-Śiva cult borrowed several elements from the dwellers in forests and stragglers in places out of the way, so it may have borrowed this element of phallic worship from the barbarian tribes with whom the Āryas came in contact. This element, however, does not appear to have come in all at once, especially among the learned classes, whose beliefs are represented in the literature which we have examined. The Liṅga worship had, it appears, not come into use at the time of Patañjali, for the instance he gives under P. V, 3, 99 is that of an image or likeness (pratikṛti) of Śiva as an object of worship, and not of any emblem of that god. It seems to have been unknown even in the time of Wema-Kadphises, for on the reverse of his coins there is a human figure of Śiva with a trident in the hand; and there is also an emblem, but it is Nandin, or the bull, and not a Liṅga, or phallus. But this element must have crept in early enough among ordinary people who were in closer communication with the uncivilised tribes, and gradually made its way to the higher clasess, of whose creed it subsequently became an article. And it is this final stage of its adoption by the higher classes that is represented in Upamanyu's discourse in the Mahābhārata. From all that we have brought forward from the post-Saṃhitā literature it will appear that Rudra-Śiva was a deity whose worship was common to all the Āryas, and who was not at first a sectarian god. As above remarked, he was in charge of the field before the Vaiṣṇava or Vāsudevic deities came in to contest his supremacy. The Gṛhyasūtras, which, as we have seen, give directions as to the adoration of Rudra under various circumstances, can not be considered as belonging to any Śaiva sect. In the time of Patañjali, images of Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha, made sometimes of precious metals, were kept for common worship by certain religious persons who derived an income from them [1]). The images of Śiva here alluded to cannot have been meant for the use of a particular sect.

V. Origin and Diffusion of the Śaiva Sects and the Several Classes of Śiva Worshippers.

§ 89. A Śaiva sect is, however, mentioned even by Patañjali. The members of it were known as Śivabhāgavatas, or devotees of

[1]) See his comment on P. V, 3, 99.

Śiva, the Bhagavat. Śiva, we have seen, is called Bhagavat in AU. A Śivabhāgavata carried in his hand an iron lance as an emblem of the deity he worshipped (under P. V, 2, 76).

In the Nārāyaṇīya section of MBh., the Pāśupata is mentioned as one of five schools of religious doctrines (Śāntiparvan, chap. 349, v. 64). Śiva-Śrīkaṇṭha, the consort of Umā, the lord of spirits and the son of Brahmadeva, is represented to have revealed the tenets of that school (verse 67). Whether this statement is to be understood in the sense that its founder was a human being afterwards recognised as an incarnation of Śiva, or whether it is a mere general statement like that contained in the BU. (II, 4, 10) that the Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, etc. are the breath of this great being, meaning nothing more historically than that the system gradually came into existence without any special individual being concerned with it, is a question somewhat difficult to answer definitely; but there is evidence in the Purāṇas and inscriptions of the existence of a belief in favour of the first supposition. The Vāyu-Purāṇa (chap. 23) and the Liṅga-Purāṇa (chap. 24) represent Maheśvara to have told Brahmadeva that when, at the time of Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana during the twenty-eighth repetition of the Yugas, Vāsudeva, the best of Yadus, would be born of Vasudeva, he would incarnate himself as a Brahmacārin by the name of Lakulin after entering a dead body thrown into a cemetery; the place where this would occur, would be called Kāyāvatāra or Kāyāvarohaṇa, and he would have four pupils of the names of Kuśika, Garga, Mitra and Kauruṣya. These Pāśupatas, with their bodies sprinkled with ashes, resorting to the Yoga of Maheśvara, would in the end go to the world of Rudra. Now in an inscription in the temple of Nātha near that of Ekalingji, 14 miles to the north of Udaipur, Rājputāna, it is stated that Śiva became incarnate as a man with a club (lakula) in his hand in the country of Bhṛgukaccha, being propitiated by Bhṛgu. Sages, Kuśika and others, conversant with the Pāśupata Yoga and using ashes and wearing bark-dress and matted hair, are mentioned. There is another inscription, usually called the Cintra Praśasti, which states that Śiva became incarnate in the form of Bhaṭṭāraka Śrī-Lakulīśa and dwelt at Kārohaṇa in the Lāṭa country. There appeared in bodily form four pupils of his of the names of Kuśika, Gārgya, Kauruṣa and Maitreya for the strict performance of the Pāśupata vows, and they became the originators of four branches. The date of the first inscription is Vikrama 1028, or 971 A. D., and the second was composed between A. D. 1274 and 1296. In another inscription dated 943 A. D. found at Hemāvatī in the Sira Tāluka, Mysore, Lakulīśa is represented to have been born again as Muninātha Chilluka to preserve the memory of his name and doctrines [1]).

Mādhava calls the Pāśupata system that he explains in his Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha, Nakulīśa-Pāśupata, and quotes a few words from what appears to be a work attributed to him. From all this it appears that there lived a certain person of the name of Lakulin (the holder of a lakuṭa, or laguḍa, or lakula, i. e. a club) who founded a Pāśupata system. Four schools sprang out of it, and their reputed founders,

[1]) See Jour. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XXII, pp. 151—153.

whether historical or legendary, were considered his pupils. Lakulin is the same as Nakulin, and the fact that his rise has been represented by the Purāṇas to be contemporaneous with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa points to the inference that traditionally the system was intended to take the same place in the Rudra-Śiva cult that the Pāñcarātra did in the Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa cult. We may, therefore, place the rise of the Pāśupata school mentioned in the Nārāyaṇīya about a century after that of the Pāñcarātra system, i. e. about the second century B. C.

§ 90. Before we proceed further we will notice the extent of the diffusion of the creed. At the end of the commentary on the Vaiśeṣika-sūtras, the author Praśastapāda makes his obeisance to Kaṇāda, the author of the Sūtras, and characterises him as having composed the Vaiśeṣikaśāstra after propitiating Maheśvara by the greatness of his Yoga (meditation or concentration) and Ācāra (practice). These two ways are common to both the Pāśupata and Śaiva systems, as will be seen hereafter, and Kaṇāda, therefore, may have been a follower of the Pāśupata or Śaiva system. Bhāradvāja, the author of the Uddyota, or a gloss on Vātsyāyana's Nyāyabhāṣya, is called Pāśupatācārya, or a teacher belonging to the Pāśupata school, at the end of his work. Wema-Kadphises, a powerful prince of the Kuṣana race, who ruled over a large part of northern and northwestern India about the middle of the third century A. D., styles himself on the reverse of his coins a devotee of Maheśvara, or a member of the Māheśvara sect, and an image of Nandin and another of Śiva with a trident in his hand occur on the obverse. Varāhamihira in the latter part of the sixth century lays down the rule that the priests to be employed for the installation of an image of Śambhu should be Brāhmaṇas besmearing their bodies with ashes. By these he means members of a Śaiva sect, since, in the case of other gods, the names mentioned are those of the sects founded in the names of those gods.

Haribhadra, an old Jaina author, speaks in his Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya of the schools of Gotama and Kaṇāda as professing the Śaiva faith. But his commentator Guṇaratna, who flourished in the latter part of the fourteenth century [1]), calls the Vaiśeṣikas Pāśupatas and the other school Śaivas. This last must be a mistake, since Bhāradvāja of the Nyāya school is specifically spoken of as a Pāśupatācarya, as we have seen. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang in the middle of the seventh century mentions the Pāśupatas twelve times in his book. In some places he says that there were temples of Maheśvara at which the Pāśupatas worshipped; in one or two temples, he says that they resided. And at Benares he found about ten thousand sectaries who honoured Maheśvara, besmeared their bodies with ashes, went naked and tied their hair in knots. These and those who lived in temples must have been like the Bairāgis, or ascetics, of modern times, who had given up the world; but probably the others mentioned by him were the followers of the Pāśupata faith who lived the ordinary life of householders. In the copper-plate charter of Nāgavardhana, nephew of Pulakeśin II of Mahārāṣṭra, who ascended the throne in 610 A. D.

[1]) Ind. Ant. Vol. XI, pp. 255—256.

and was living in 639 A. D., a grant is recorded of a village near Igatpuri in the Nāsik district for the worship of the god Kāpāleśvara, i. e. the lord of the wearers of garlands of skulls, and for the maintenance of the Mahāvratins residing in the temple. It will hereafter be shown that the name Mahāvratin, or observer of the great vow, designated the Kāpālikas or Kālāmukhas. Thus there is evidence of the existence in the middle of the seventh century of the sect of Kāpālikas in Mahārāṣṭra[1]). In the Karhāḍ grant of Kṛṣṇa III of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty, the king mentions his having granted in Śaka 880 (= 958 A. D.) a village to Gagaṅaśiva, the practiser of great austerities, who was fully versed in all the Śivasiddhāntas and was the pupil of Īśānaśiva, who was an Ācārya, or preceptor, and the head of the establishment at Valkaleśvara in Karahāṭa. These holy men and their establishment seem to have belonged to the Śaiva sect and not to the Pāśupata. The evidence for the existence of the Kālāmukha and Śaiva sects in Mysore in the latter part of the twelfth century will be given in the next section.

Here it seems necessary to make another distinction. Bāṇa in the Kādambarī represents Pāśupatas with red clothing to have been among those who waited to see Tārāpīḍa's minister Śukanāsa at the door of his house for some private purposes of their own; but in another place he represents Vilāsavatī, the queen of Tārāpīḍa, to have gone to the temple of Mahākāla on the fourteenth (of the dark half of the month) to worship the god. Bhavabhūti in the Mālatīmādhava (Act III) represents Mālatī to have gone with her mother to the temple of Śaṃkara on the fourteenth of the dark half of the month. This fourteenth day still continues to be sacred to Śiva when special worship is performed. Now Vilāsavatī and Mālatī and her mother can hardly have been meant to be members of that sect, some followers of which, with a red clothing, were waiting at Śukanāsa's door. It, therefore, appears to be clear that all worshippers of Śiva were not members of any of those sects the names of which have come down to us, as observed in a previous section. Rudra-Śiva had gradually from the earliest times grown to be a god commonly worshipped by the Indians, and he has continued to be their ordinary god to this day. The sects that subsequently arose were based upon specific methods of redemption, when religious and philosophic thought was advancing or perhaps declining, but the old god was resorted to by ordinary people without reference to them. And it must be remarked that those sects must have had a clerical or ascetic class as well as a class of lay followers or householders — and probably in some cases at least Hiuen Tsiang means these last by his Pāśupatas — and a class of Śaiva religious men, as distinct from lay followers, existed in Karahāṭa as we have noticed. There were thus three classes of Śiva worshippers: — (1) clericals or ascetics, (2) their lay followers, and (3) ordinary people who had no particular connection with any sect. The poets Kālidāsa, Subandhu, Bāṇa, Śrī-Harṣa, Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa, Bhavabhūti and several others adore Śiva at the beginning of their works. They may have been the lay followers of any of the sects, but, in all likelihood, they belong

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[1]) Jour. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XIV, p. 26.

to the third class. For of these Subandhu, Bāṇa and Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa invoke Hari or another form of Viṣṇu at the same time, thus showing that they were not exclusive adherents of one of the two gods. The many temples of Śiva constructed by the early Cālukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Kailāsa and other cave temples at Ellora excavated by the latter contain no indication of their being intended for a specific Śaiva sect, and therefore they may be regarded as pointing to the diffusion of the general worship of Śiva in Mahārāṣṭra from the seventh to the tenth century.

VI. Names and Doctrines of the Śaiva Sects.

§ 91. The older Śaiva sects had and have a literature of their own, the so-called Āgamas attributed to Śiva himself and a number of works by human authors. But the literature has not yet been published nor even discovered. I have, therefore, necessarily to resort to the stray notices about the sects and their doctrines, contained in works not written by the followers of the systems except in one case. With the more modern sects the case is different, their literature having recently become available.

Śaṃkara says that the Māheśvaras maintain that Paśupati has revealed five topics (Br. S. II, 2, 37). Thus the sects were known by the general name of Māheśvara, and Paśupati, or the god Śiva, was believed to be their founder. Rāmānuja under the same Sūtra, which, however, is numbered 35, speaks of the systems as the tenets of Paśupati. Keśava Kāśmīrin calls the sects the followers of the "tenets of Paśupati". Śrīkaṇṭha-Śivācārya calls them the "believers in the Āgamas revealed by Parameśvara, or the great god". The name Māheśvara is the old name as is evident from the fact that Wema-Kadphises, as noticed above, and several later princes, especially of the Valabhī dynasty, called themselves Māheśvaras. Hiuen Tsiang, too, as we have seen, mentions temples of Maheśvara, at which the Pāśupatas worshipped. It also follows that all these sects were at the same time known by the name of Pāśupata sects; and the founder of them all was believed to be the god Paśupati.

The same conclusion is to be deduced from the Mysore inscriptions that have been published, the only difference being that the original teacher is called Lakulin or Lakulīśa. In one inscription dated 943 A. D., referred to above, it is stated that Lakulīśa, being afraid that his name and doctrines would be forgotten, became incarnate as Muninātha-Cilluka [1]). This appears to be a general name applicable to all systems. In another dated 1078 A. D. one ascetic is called an ornament to the Lākula school and another is spoken of as "a hand to Lākula" [2]). This appears to be the general name and does not point to a specific sect. In a third dated 1103 A. D. Someśvara-Sūri is spoken of as having caused the Lākula doctrine (Siddhānta) to bloom. He is called a Naiyāyika and Vaiśeṣika [3]). This shows that he belonged to the specific

1) Ep. Carn. Vol. XII, p. 92 (Translation).
2) Ep. Carn. Vol. VII, Śikarpur Taluq No. 107.
3) Ep. Carn. Vol. VII, Pt. I, p. 64 (Translation).

Pāśupata sect. In a fourth dated 1177 A. D. certain ascetics are called upholders of the Lākulāgamasamaya, i. e. the system based upon a work of Lakulin, and adherents of Kālāmukhas[1]). Here evidently the Kālāmukhas are called Lākulas, which is the same as Pāśupatas. The names of the ascetics mentioned in this inscription end in the word śakti and jīya, which appear to be characteristic of the Kālāmukha sect. In a fifth dated 1183 A. D. is noticed a grant to Nāgaśiva-Paṇḍita, who is called an upholder of the Lākula system, and the names of his preceptors in the two preceding generations end in the suffix śiva. Nāgaśiva is praised for eminence in Āgama and in Śivatattva[2]). From the ending suffix śiva in these names and the mention of a proficiency in Āgama and in Śivatattva, it appears that Nāgaśiva was a follower of the Śaiva school and at the same time he was a Lākula, or Pāśupata. A sixth dated 1199 A. D. notices a grant of land to Bammadeva, son of Nāgarāśi, the promoter of the system based upon the work of Lakulin[3]). The suffix rāśi is found in a great many names of the devotees of Śiva. Whether it is a characteristic of a specific sect is not clear, but it appears that the bearers of it belong to the Pāśupata, or the Kālāmukha school. In a seventh dated 1213 A. D. a certain religious man is represented as the upholder of the system known by the name of Vāgi-Lākula, i. e. the system of the learned Lakulin[4]). In an eighth dated 1285 A. D. the grantor is called a supporter of the new system of Lakulin[5]). This perhaps refers to the later school of Liṅgāyats. Thus it will be seen that Lākula was the general name by which the Śaiva sects were called, and the specific name Kālāmukha is associated with the general name in one case. This general name has for its basis the historical fact, noticed above that a person of the name of Lakulin or Lakulīśa founded a Śaiva system corresponding to the Pāñcarātra system, which the Vāyu- and Liṅga-Purāṇas consider to be contemporaneous with it. The other general name Pāśupata arose by dropping the name of the human individual Lakulin and substituting that of the god Paśupati, whose incarnation he was believed to be, as is done in the texts of the MBh. quoted above. But that the Śaiva system had a human founder is confirmed by the fact that the name of his work, the Pañcādhyāyī, or Pañcārthavidyā, has been handed down, as will be shown immediately below, and probably the work is extant, even if it has not yet been discovered, as Mādhava

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[1]) Ep. Carn. Vol. V, Pt. I, p. 135 (Translation).

[2]) Ep. Carn. Vol. V, Arsikere Taluq No. 89. Another holy person of the name of Nāga with the suffix rāśi instead of śiva is mentioned in inscr. No. 69 Arsikere Taluq (Ep. Carn. Vol. V, p. 137). A grant is therein recorded to Mādhajīya, a disciple of Nāgarāśi, who belonged to the Kālāmukhas and was himself the disciple of Padmaśiva-Paṇḍita. Another Nāgarāśi is mentioned in inscr. No. 48 (Ibid.). The grantee in this case is Kalyāṇaśakti, disciple of Śivaśaktideva, who was himself the disciple of Nāgarāśi, "bound to the Kālāmukhas". This Nāgarāśi, or these two Nāgarāśis, appear to me to be different from the Nāgaśiva mentioned in the text. And the use of the termination rāśi in his case, he being a Kālāmukha, and of the word śakti in the case of two of the pupils, strengthens my supposition that these were characteristic of the Kālāmukha sect, the former being applicable to the Pāśupata also.

[3]) Ep. Carn. Vol. V, Arsikere Taluq No. 103.

[4]) Ep. Carn. Vol. V, Arsikere Taluq No. 46.

[5]) Ep. Carn. Vol. XII, p. 45 (Translation).

mentions a gloss on the perpetual commentary (Bhāṣya) on it, which also will be noticed below. The conclusion therefore appears to be that a certain historical person was the founder of the main Śaiva system which was the same as that explained by Mādhava as Nakulīśa-Pāśupata, and that three other systems arose out of it in later times.

The commentators of Śaṃkara state that there were four of these schools bearing the names of Śaiva, Pāśupata, Kārukasiddhāntin and Kāpālika. Vācaspati, however, calls the third Kāruṇikasiddhāntin. Rāmānuja and Keśava Kāśmīrin mention the same four schools, but call Kārukasiddhāntin by the name of Kālāmukha. The word Kāruka is probably a corruption of Kauruṣya, the name of the third of the four (according to the Purāṇas) pupils of Lakulīśa, or this last name may be the Sanskritised form of the original Kāruka [1]). A work of the name of Pañcādhyāyī, dealing with the five topics alluded to above and attributed to Paśupati, is mentioned by Keśava Kāśmīrin and is quoted by Rāmānanda on Kāśīkhaṇḍa [2]). This must be the same work as that which is quoted from by Mādhava in the section on Nakulīśa-Pāśupata and attributed by him to Nakulīśa, or Lakulīśa.

VII. The Pāśupata System.

§ 92. The five topics mentioned by Śaṃkara and explained by his commentators are these (1) Kārya, or effect, which is Mahat and the rest produced from Pradhāna; (2) Kāraṇa, or the cause, which is Īśvara or Maheśvara and also Pradhāna; (3) Yoga, which is absorption in meditation or the muttering of the syllable Oṃ, contemplation, concentration, etc.; (4) Vidhi, bathing (in ashes) at the three points of time, i. e. the beginning, the middle and the end of the day, and the rest up to Gūḍhacaryā, i. e. incognito movement; (5) Duḥkhānta, which is final deliverance. This is amplified by Mādhava in the section on the Pāśupata sect.

I. Effect (Kārya) is that which is not independent. It is of three kinds: (1) cognition (Vidyā), (2) organs (Kalā), and (3) individual soul (Paśu). Of these cognition is the property of the individual and is of two kinds: (1) external, and (2) internal. External cognition is

[1]) These four schools are mentioned in the Vāyavīyasaṃhitā of the Śiva-Purāṇa (II, 24, 177). The Śaiva school, however, is called Siddhāntamārga, and the Kālāmukhas are called Mahāvratadharas.

[2]) See Aufrecht's Cat. Cat. The Vāyavīyasaṃhitā (II, 24, 169) also mentions this work, which it characterises as the highest theosophy (Vidyā) of Śiva and gives Pañcārtha as its name, i. e. Pañcārthavidyā. This Pañcārtha appears to be alluded to by Mādhava when he refers his reader to the Pañcārthabhāṣyadīpikā in his section on Nakulīśa-Pāśupata. In an inscription in the temple of Harṣanāth, which exists in the Sīkar principality of the Jaipur state, a person of the name of Viśvarūpa is mentioned as the teacher of the Pañcārtha-Lākulāmnāya, i. e. the sacred book of Lakulin, called Pañcārtha. The inscription is dated V. E. 1013 = A. D. 957, so that there can be no question that the Pāśupata system was attributed to a human author named Lakulin, the work composed by him being called Pañcārtha (Ep. Ind. Vol. II, p. 122).

The occurrence of the names of the schools and of this book in the Purāṇa shows that its composition was later than the foundation of the schools, which, therefore, must be considered as owing nothing to it.

of two kinds: (1) distinct, and (2) indistinct. Distinct external cognition, which is educed by the instruments of knowledge, is called conceptual operation (Citta). For by the conceptual operation every man reduces to definiteness the thing that has been apprehended definitely or indefinitely by the aid of the light in the shape of the external object. The internal cognition is of the nature of virtue or vice, which forms the objective of the individual and determines for him the body of precepts he has to follow. Organs are dependent on the cognitive individual and are themselves insensate. They are of two kinds: (1) effects, and (2) causes. The effected organs are of ten kinds: the five elements, earth and others, and the five qualities, colour and others. The organs, which are causes, are of thirteen kinds: the five senses, and the five organs of action, and the three internal organs, viz. intelligence, egoism and mind, the functions of which are the determination of the will, the consciousness of the self, and the formation of a plan respectively. The individual (Paśu) is that which has individualism (Paśutva). It is of two kinds: (1) impure, and (2) pure. The impure individual is that which is connected with the body and the organs, while the pure one is unconnected with them. The details should be seen in the Pañcārthabhāṣyadīpikā and other works.

II. The cause (Kāraṇa) is that which effects the destruction of the whole creation and its prosperity or promotion. Though it is one, still on account of its various properties and functions it has many forms, such as lord (Pati), naturally powerful (Sādya), etc. To be the lord means to have the unbounded power of knowing and acting. He is, therefore, the eternal ruler. To be a Sādya is to be possessed of supreme sovereignty, which is not incidental, but natural.

III. Yoga is the connecting of the individual soul with god through the conceptual faculty (Citta). It is of two kinds, consisting in (1) action, and (2) cessation from action. The first consists in muttering syllables and formulas, meditation, etc. The second, or cessation from action, consists in mere feeling (Saṃvid).

IV. Vidhi, or process, is an operation which effects or brings about righteousness. It is of two kinds: (1) primary, and (2) secondary. The first, or primary, is conduct (Caryā) which induces righteousness directly. That conduct is of two kinds: (1) vows, and (2) means or doors. The vows consist in besmearing the body with ashes and lying down in ashes, definite practices (Upahāra), muttering and circumambulation. Thus has Nakulīśa said: "One should besprinkle one's body at the three points of the day and lie down in ashes". The definite practices are six. These have been stated by the author of the Sūtras to be laughing, singing, dancing, Huḍukkāra, prostration, and inaudible repetition. With these he says one should worship. Laughing is the making of the sound 'hā! hā! hā!' by the forcible stretch of the throat and the lips. Singing is the contemplation of the attributes of Maheśvara in accordance with the rules of the science of music. Dancing should be resorted to by contracting and stretching forth hands, feet, etc. and all other principal and subsidiary limbs accompanied by the representation of feeling in accordance with the science of dancing and gesticulation. Huḍukkāra is a holy sound resembling that of an

ox made by striking the tongue on the palate. Ḥuḍuk is an inimitative sound like the sacrificial Vaṣaṭ. When there is a crowd of people, all this should be done so as not to be observed.

The means, or doors, are these: (1) Krāthana, i. e. affecting to be asleep when one is awake; (2) Spandana, which is the moving or the shaking of the limbs as if they were paralysed; (3) Mandaṇa, or the walking as if one's legs and other limbs were disabled; (4) Śṛṅgāraṇa, which is showing oneself to be in love by means of amorous gestures as if on seeing a beautiful young woman; (5) Avitatkaraṇa, which is doing a thing condemned by all as if one were devoid of the sense of discrimination between what should be done and what should be avoided; (6) Avitadbhāṣaṇa, which is speaking nonsensical and absurd things.

Secondary processes are those which are intended to help the conduct (Caryā), such as besmearing with ashes after worship, and to remove the sense of indecency or impropriety attaching itself to begging and eating the remnant of what others have eaten. For this purpose the author of the Sūtras has laid down that one should besmear his body after the worship and wear the faded flowers and leaves which had been removed from the god and a Liṅga (the image of the phallus).

V. Duḥkhānta, or final deliverance, is of two kinds: (1) total destruction of misery, and (2) an elevated condition consisting in the possession of the power of knowing and acting. The power of knowing is of five kinds: (1) Darśana, or seeing all objects which are atomic, concealed or are at a distance, and touching them; (2) Śravaṇa, or the miraculous hearing of all sounds; (3) Manana, or the miraculous knowing of all objects of thought; (4) Vijñāna, or the miraculous knowledge of all the sciences with that of the treatises on them and the matter contained in these last; and (5) Sarvajñatva, or the miraculous knowledge of the principles (of a science), whether mentioned or unmentioned, succinct and detailed, with their divisions and peculiarities. The peculiarities of the present system are such as these: In other systems the destruction of misery is final deliverance; in this system the attainment of the highest powers is also to be added. With others, that which comes into existence from non-existence is an effect; here the effect is eternal such as Paśu, or the individual soul. In other systems the cause depends for its operation on a subordinate cause; here the great lord acts independently. With others, the fruit of the Yoga, or concentration, is the attainment of an absolute condition; here it is the attainment of the highest powers. With others, Vidhi, or process, has for its fruit heaven and other places, from which there is a return to mortal life; in this system the fruit is proximity etc. (to god), from which there is no return.

The power of acting, though one, is regarded as threefold: (1) Manojavitva, or the power of doing anything instantly; (2) Kāmarūpitva, or the power of assuming variety of shapes and forms or bodies and senses without an effort; (3) Vikramaṇadharmitva, or the possession of great power, even when the operation of the senses is suspended. Thus then a man acquires these miraculous powers of knowledge and action at

the end of a long course of conduct and discipline prescribed by the Pāśupata system.

It will be seen how fantastic and wild the processes prescribed in this system for the attainment of the highest condition are. Rudra-Śiva was the god of the open fields and wild and awful regions away from the habitations of men and worshipped by aberrant or irregular people. This character did impress itself on the mode of worship for his propitiation, which was developed in lat ertimes. The ŚU. endeavoured to humanise Rudra-Śiva; but the wild and outlandish character of the god prevailed. We will now proceed to the consideration of the Śaiva system which seems to have been established in later times. Here also Mādhava will be our main guide, since the many works that he quotes from are not available.

VIII. The Śaiva System.

§ 93. There are three principles: (1) the lord (Pati), (2) the individual soul (Paśu), and (3) fetters (Pāśa); and the whole system has four Pādas, or parts, which are knowledge (Vidyā), action (Kriyā), meditation (Yoga), and conduct, or discipline (Caryā). The first part contains an explanation of the nature of the individual soul (Paśu), fetters (Pāśa), and god (Īśvara), and determines the importance of formulas (Mantra) and the lord presiding over the formulas (Mantreśvara). This leads to initiation (Dīkṣā), which is necessary for the acquisition of the highest object of life. The second part contains an explanation of the process of initiation (Dīkṣāvidhi), which is of many forms and has many parts. The third part explains meditation, or concentration, along with its subsidiary processes. The fourth teaches discipline, or conduct, consisting in doing what is prescribed and avoiding what is proscribed. Without this Yoga is not possible.

I. Now the lord (Pati) is Śiva. Śiva acts, being impelled thereto by the deeds (Karman) of souls, and produces things to be enjoyed or suffered and their means. The exercise of his creative power thus depends on the Karman of man. He does everything; therefore, he is omniscient. God has not a body like that of an individual soul which has the fetters of taint and Karman, etc.; but he has a body made up of powers, certain specific five formulas (Mantras) [1] being imagined to be the different parts of his body. These five are his powers and are also considered his different forms, and by these he does the five actions, which are creation, existence or protection, destruction, concealment, and benefaction. The following four partake of the nature

[1]) These five formulas, or Mantras, are contained in the TA. (X, 43—47) and in the Mahānārāyaṇīya Up. 17. The commentator considers these to refer to the five faces of Śiva, respectively. They are Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora, Tatpuruṣa and Īśāna. They are also called forms of Śiva. One of the Dānas, or charitable gifts, mentioned by Hemādri (Dānakhaṇḍa Vol. I, pp. 789—792 Bibl. Ind.) consists of five images made of gold or other metal fashioned in a particular manner of these five forms of Śiva. In giving each a certain verse has to be repeated. These five forms are identified in a Śaiva treatise with the earth, water, fire, wind and ether, respectively, and they are considered as the creators of these elements in another, viz. Vīra-Śaiva-Cintāmaṇi, Sholapur 1908 A. D.

of Śiva: (1) formulas (Mantras), (2) the deity presiding over the formulas (Mantreśvara), (3) the great god (Maheśvara), and (4) delivered souls (Mukta).

II. The Paśu is the individual soul, who is atomic and known by the name of Kṣetrajña (self-conscious) and others. It is eternal and all-pervading. It is not incapable of action nor is it one only, as is maintained by other schools of philosophy. When the fetters are removed, he becomes Śiva, possessing eternal and boundless knowledge and power of action. The Muktas, or delivered ones, are Śivas, who have so become by the favour of him who is eternally Mukta, and is a person with five formulas (Mantras) for his body, i. e. he is identified with the god Śiva himself. Though they become Śivas, they are not independent, but depend upon the eternal god, Śiva. Paśu is of three kinds: (1) Vijñānākala, who has shaken off his connection with all the organs (Kalāḥ) [1] in consequence of the destruction of the impression of deeds done, by means of knowledge, meditation, asceticism, or by the enjoyment or suffering of the fruit (Bhoga), and has simple taint (Mala). The second is Pralayākala, whose organs are destroyed by the dissolution of the world. He has both impression of deeds (Karman) and taints (Mala). The third is Sakala, who has all the three fetters, taint (Mala), impression of deeds (Karman), and material cause (Māyā). Vijñānākala is of two kinds: (1) one whose taint (Kaluṣa) has ended, and (2) another whose taint (Kaluṣa) has not ended. The first are those, whose taint (Kaluṣa) having ended, are elevated to the position of Vidyeśvaras. The Vidyeśvaras are eight and are as follows: (1) Ananta, or endless, (2) atomic, (3) the most excellent Śiva, (4) the one-eyed, (5) the one Rudra, (6) he with the three forms, (7) Śrīkaṇṭha, and (8) Śikhaṇḍin. Another author says that Śiva invests the Samāptakaluṣa (one whose taint has ended) with Vidyeśatva, which is of eight kinds, and the Asamāptakaluṣa (one whose taint has not ended) he raises to the dignity of formulas (Mantras) which are seven crores. Pralayākala is also of two kinds. The first is one whose two fetters have matured (and about to be shaken off), and the second is different from him. The first attains Mokṣa, and the second, entangled with Puryaṣṭaka, undergoes many births in accordance with his impression of deeds (Karman). The Puryaṣṭaka is a subtle body, which is composed of elements which are variously enumerated. Of those who have the Puryaṣṭaka, some, who are virtuous, are raised to Bhuvanapatitva by Maheśvara Ananta. Sakala is also of two kinds: (1) one whose taint (Kaluṣa) is matured, and (2) one whose taint (Kaluṣa) is not matured. The first is raised to the dignity of Mantreśvara of 118 Mantras, i. e. of so many kinds. Parameśvara, assuming the form of his preceptor by the process of initiation and the use of power calculated to counteract the matured taint, confers Mokṣa. Those Aṇus, or atomic souls, whose taint has not ripened (i. e. is not in a condition to be wiped away) are made to suffer or enjoy in accordance with their Karman.

III. Pāśa (fetter) is of four kinds: (1) Mala, or taint, (2) Karman, or the impression of deeds, (3) Māyā, or material cause, and (4) Rodhaśakti,

[1] See previous section.

or obstructive power. Mala, or taint, is that which conceals the knowing and acting power of the soul and is like the husk enveloping a grain of rice. Karman is the impression of deeds done for the attainment of fruit. It is righteous or unrighteous. It is unbeginning, ever continuing in succesion in the manner of seed and its sprout. Māyā is that into which the whole creation resolves itself at the time of dissolution and from which it springs out at the time of recreation. The obstructive power is the power of Śiva, which, because it regulates the three other fetters and conceals the true nature of the soul, is itself called a fetter. It performs its function, because it is the principle of speech by means of which names are given to things and thus their nature is determined [1]).

§ 94. This constitutes the first part of the system (Vidyāpāda), the nature of the other three parts has been succinctly given above. A few details are these [2]): The second part (Kriyāpāda) treats of the accomplishment of Mantra, the twilight adorations, worship, muttering of formulas (Japa), throwing oblations into the fire, occasional ceremonies for the attainment of eternal bliss, anointing of the preceptor and of the person entering on a course of action for final emancipation (Sādhaka), and one's own initiatory ceremonies necessary to fit one for a wordly and for an eternal life. In the third, or the Yoga part are mentioned the thirty-six principles; the deities presiding over them; the lords of the different worlds; the individual soul; the all-ruling soul; the power (Śakti); the direct perception of Māyā and Mahāmāyā, which are the causes of the world; the attainment of the miraculous powers, minuteness, lightness, etc. for those who concern themselves with the worldly element; the methods of the restraint of the breath, abstraction, meditation, concentration, and absorption in thought (Samādhi); and the positions of the circles in the body beginning with the root-circle (Mūlādhāra, or navel). The fourth part treats of penances, a purificatory ceremony (Pavitrāropaṇa), the foundation, and the natures of Śivaliṅga, of the visible Liṅga of Umā and Maheśvara, and of the lord of Gaṇas, or groups, such as Skanda and Nandin, of the rosary used for the muttering of formulas, and the funeral Śrāddhas. This last part appears to contain matters subsidiary to, and explanatory of, the actions enjoined in the second part. The proscribed actions mentioned above are: (1) the eating of the residue of what is offered to another deity; (2) the vilification of (a) Śiva, (b) of the devotees of Śiva, (c) of the system of Śiva, (d) of the practices enjoined in the Śaiva system; (3) the enjoyment of things belonging to God; (4) the killing of animals.

§ 95. The doctrines of the Śaiva school are more moderate and rational than those of the Pāśupata school. This last, as well as the two extreme schools to be mentioned next, are called Atimārgika, or schools that are away from the path or go astray, and are spoken of by Śaṃbhudeva, quoted in the above paragraph, as revealed by Rudra. The Śaiva school he calls the Siddhāntaśāstra, or the true Śāstra

[1]) Śaṃbhudeva's Śaivasiddhāntadīpikā, Sholapur 1909.
[2]) From the same work.

based upon the Mantras, and says that it was revealed by Śiva. The Vāyavīyasaṃhitā also calls it the Siddhānta school. It will have been seen that both this and the Pāśupata school are dualistic or pluralistic and maintain that the supreme and individual souls are distinct entities and the Pradhāna the constituent cause of the material world. In the delivered condition the individual soul shakes off its ignorance and weakness and attains boundless knowledge and power of action according to the Pāśupata doctrine, while the Śaivas hold that he becomes Śiva himself, i. e. attains perfect resemblance with the god Śiva without, however, the power of creation.

The Śaiva school that developed itself in later times and is represented by Śaṃbhudeva, and Śrīkaṇṭhaśivācārya to be noticed hereafter and supported also by texts in the Vāyavīyasaṃhitā holds that Śiva possesses or develops in himself a Śakti, or power, consisting of the rudiments of the individual soul and the material world, and from this power the whole world is developed. This doctrine may, therefore, be called qualified spiritual monism like that of Rāmānuja, in as much as Śiva characterised by the Śakti creates. This last is a tenet of the Liṅgāyat school also.

IX. The Kāpāla and Kālāmukha Sects.

§ 96. Rāmānuja tells us under II, 2, 35 or 36 that the Kāpālikas maintain that a man who knows the essence of the six marks (Mudrikā) and who is skilful in their use, attains the highest bliss by concentrating his mind on the soul seated on the female organ. The six marks are (1) a necklace, (2) an ornament, (3) an ear-ornament, (4) a crest jewel, (5) ashes, and (6) the sacred thread (Yajñopavīta). He whose body bears these marks, is free from transmigration. The Kālāmukhas hold that the following are the means for the attainment of desires concerning this world and the next: — (1) eating food in a skull; (2) besmearing the body with the ashes of a dead body; (3) eating the ashes; (4) holding a club; (5) keeping a pot of wine; and (6) worshipping the god as seated therein. A bracelet of Rudrākṣa, one string of matted hair on the head, a skull, besmearing the body with ashes, and such other things are mentioned in the Śaiva sacred books. They also maintain that people of other castes become Brāhmaṇas and attain to the highest order by the performance of certain rites. For it is said "One becomes a Brāhmaṇa immediately after the process of simple initiation, and a man becomes a holy saint by undertaking the vow of a Kāpāla".

In the Śaṃkaradigvijaya (chap. XV, vv. 1—28) Mādhava brings Śaṃkara into contact with the Kāpālikas at a place which, according to the commentator, was Ujjayinī. The preceptor of the sect came forward to meet Śaṃkara. His body was besmeared with the ashes taken from a burning-ground. He had a skull in his hand and also an iron lance. He said to Śaṃkara: "The ashes on your body are all right [1]).

[1]) Lines of ashes are borne on the body by ordinary Śaivas also and Śaṃkara's body was marked with them.

But why dost thou carry an unholy potsherd instead of the holy skull? Why dost thou not worship Kapālin who is Bhairava? How will Bhairava become pleased unless he is worshipped by the skulls red with the blood of men and with wine?" Then ensues a fight between Sudhanvan, the king, who accompanied Śaṃkara in his wanderings and the Kāpālikas. Śaṃkara also pronounced a curse on them, and they were all killed. Then Krakaca, the leader of the Kāpālikas, coming up to Śaṃkara, filled the skull in his hand with wine, drank half of it and left the other half and invoked Bhairava. Bhairava came up and Krakaca prayed to him to destroy his enemy; but as Śaṃkara was his own incarnation, he destroyed Krakaca himself and not Śaṃkara. In Ānandagiri's book the Kāpālikas, whom Śaṃkara meets at Ujjayinī, speak of Bhairava being the great god, who creates, destroys, etc. They profess to have their knowing power sharpened by drinking wine and eating a certain kind of food (probably a disgusting substance) and always being embraced by the power (Śakti) of Kapālin, i. e. Bhairava. Bhavabhūti in his Mālatīmādhava gives Śrīśaila as the principal seat of the Kāpālikas. Miraculous powers of speedy movement attained by the practice of Yoga are attributed to them. The woman Kapālakuṇḍalā wears a garland of human skulls. She carries away Mālatī, the heroine of the play, from the place where she was sleeping in her father's palace in the dead of night and places her before the image of Karālā-Cāmuṇḍā near the cemetery to be killed and sacrificed to the goddess by her preceptor Aghoraghaṇṭa.

It will be seen how horrible and demoniacal this sect was. The fear which some of the phenomena of external nature inspire in the mind of man led to the Vedic conception of Rudra, and this has now culminated into the ideal image of the horrid god Bhairava with his wife Caṇḍikā wearing a garland of human skulls and requiring human sacrifices and offerings of wine for his propitiation. In the account just given there appears to be a confusion between the sects of Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas. From Rāmānuja's account the Kālāmukhas appear to be the most extreme sect; and they are called Mahāvratadharas in the Śiva-Purāṇa as noticed above. Mahāvrata means the great vow, and the greatness of the vow consists in its extraordinary nature, such as eating food placed in a human skull, besmearing the body with the ashes of human carcasses and others which are attributed to the Kālāmukhas by Rāmānuja. Jagaddhara, the commentator on the Mālatīmādhava, however, explains Kāpālikavrata by Mahāvrata[1]), and this explanation appears to be correct, since the ascetics dwelling in the temple of Kāpāleśvara in the Nāsik district are, as we have seen, called in the grant Mahāvratins, or the observers of the great vow. The account of Kāpālikas given above from other authorities looks like those of the most extreme sect. Ordinarily, therefore, people do not seem to have made a sharp distinction between the Kāpālikas and the Kālāmukhas.

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[1]) Act I, p. 33, on l. 127 of my second edition of the play.

X. Kaśmīr Śaivism.

§ 97. It is a relief now to turn away from this ghastly picture of the wild aberrations of the human intellect and spirit to a system of Śaivism more humane and rational. The Kaśmīr Śaivism has two branches, the Spandaśāstra and the Pratyabhijñāśāstra. The authorship of the first is attributed to Vasugupta and his pupil Kallaṭa. The two principal works of the system are the Śivasūtram or Śivasūtrāṇi and the Spandakārikās, which are fifty-one verses only. The first are said to have been revealed to Vasugupta by Śiva himself or by a Siddha, or perfected human being. They were inscribed on a rock on the Mahādeva hill, and Vasugupta was directed to the rock by Śiva. Another account is that they were revealed by the god in a dream, and another account still further confers the credit of the revelation on the perfected human being. These two last occurrences are said to have taken place on the Mahādeva hill. As to the second work, there are also varying traditions, one ascribing the authorship of the verses to Vasugupta and another to Kallaṭa. A third tradition, however, that Kallaṭa obtained the knowledge of the system from Vasugupta and composed the Spandakārikas for the instruction of his pupils seems to contain the truth[1]). What the meaning of the roundabout tradition about the Śivasūtras which do not ascribe their authorship to Vasugupta directly is, it is difficult to say; perhaps the original work was the Spandakārikās and the prose Śivasūtras were composed in later times in the older or more orthodox form, and as Vasugupta was probably too near the time when they were composed and what he did was known to all, a miraculous origin was given to the new Sūtras and Vasugupta was represented to have received them from others and not composed them himself.

§ 98. Kallaṭa lived in the reign of Avantivarman[2]), 854 A. D., wherefore his Guru's literary activity must be referred to the beginning of the ninth century. The followers of this school boldly deny the necessity of God's having a prompting cause, such as Karman, or a material cause, like the Pradhāna, for the creation of the world. Neither do they admit that he is himself the material cause, as the Vedāntasūtras maintain, nor do they think some principle of illusion, such as Māyā, generates appearances which are false. God is according to them independent and creates merely by the force of his will all that comes into existence. He makes the world appear in himself, as if it were distinct from himself, though not so really, as houses or even towns appear in a mirror, and is as unaffected by it as the mirror is by the images reflected in it. Neither does he exist only as realised in the world, which is the conclusion that follows from the doctrine that he is the material cause. In a verse attributed to Vasugupta an obeisance is made to Śūlin, or Śiva, who is represented as por-

[1]) For these various traditions see my Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts during 1883—84, p. 77 f.

[2]) Bühler, Report of a Tour made in Kaśmīr, p. 78.

traying a picture of the world without a canvass and a collection of materials [1]).

Another illustration that they give of creation without any material or prompting cause is that of a Yogin who creates objects by his mere will without any materials. God himself by his own wonder-working power appears in the form of the many individual souls and by means of another power brings into existence the state of things which goes to form what we call the wakeful and dreamy condition of our life [2]). Thus according to this system the individual soul is identical with the supreme soul. But the former does not perceive this identity on account of his impurity. This impurity, or Mala, is of three kinds. When a soul forgets his own free and universal nature through ignorance and believes himself to be imperfect and regards things, such as the body, which are not himself, to be himself, and thus reduces himself to finiteness or subjects himself to limitations, the impurity is called Āṇava (littleness). Then his remaining in the body, which is prepared by the originator of things, called Māyā, is another species of impurity known as Māyīya, or effected by Māyā. And when under the influence of the internal organ, or the heart, the organs of action are set in motion, the impurity arising from it is called Kārma, or resulting from action, such as that consisting in a man's consciousness of having done a good or evil deed which is to lead to happiness or misery in the end [3]). These several kinds of impurity are brought into action by Nāda, which is the female element constituting a primeval power (Śakti) of Śiva and from which rises speech. Without speech the ideas which render a worldly life possible can not stand or assume a shape or form, and therefore the principle of speech is believed to be the origin of the Mala, or impurity, which leads to a worldly life. This power is associated with others which are personalised as Ambā, Jyeṣṭhā, Raudrī, Vāmā [4]). The impurity vanishes when by means of intense contemplation the vision of the highest being breaks in upon the mind of the devotee and absorbs all finite thought. When this condition becomes stable, the individual soul is free and becomes the supreme soul. The breaking in of the vision is called Bhairava, because it is his and is caused by him [5]).

§ 99. The founder of the Pratyabhijñā school of Kāśmīra Śaivism was Somānanda, the work written by whom is called Śivadṛṣṭi. But the principal treatise of the school was composed by his pupil Udayākara, and contains verses which are called Sūtras. On these Sūtras there are glosses and detailed explanations by Abhinavagupta, the pupil of

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[1]) See Mādhava's Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha, Pratyabhijñādarśana. This verse is quoted in the Kāvyaprakāśa, chap. IV, and by other writers on Alaṃkāras.

[2]) See the first note on p. 80 of my Report for 1883—84.

[3]) Śivasūtravimarśinī by Kṣemarāja under Sūtras I, 2 and 3, published by the Kāśmīra Government.

[4]) Ibid. Sūtra 4, and Spandapradīpikā, v. 42. These several kinds of Mala and Nāda correspond to Pāśas, or fetters, viz. Mala, Karman, Māyā and Rodhaśakti given by Mādhava in the Śaivadarśana. The word Mala stands here for the Pāśa of that system and Āṇava for its Mala. It is also called Āṇava by Śaṃbhudeva.

[5]) Śivasūtravimarśinī, I. 5.

the pupil of Somānanda [1]). Abhinavagupta wrote between 993 and 1015 A. D. [2]), wherefore Somānanda must be taken to have lived in the first quarter of the tenth century.

The doctrines of the creation of the world and of the relations between the individual and supreme souls set forth by this school are the same as those maintained by the preceding one. But the way of the perception of the identity is recognition according to this system. There is an Upaniṣad text [3]), from which it follows that every thing shines when He shines and everything becomes perceptible by His light, and thus our knowing power is the same as God's and everything outside of us becomes an object of knowledge by his illumining power. Capable of knowledge and action as we are, we partake of the nature of God; but there is no reason to place a limit to this participation, and it must be understood that we are God himself. But the joy and elevation characteristic of God we are unconscious of in our present condition, and that is due to the fact that we do not recognise that we are God, though we are really so. Just as a maiden, stricken with love for a youth whose excellences have been described to her, is not filled with raptures when she is carried to him and looks upon him as an ordinary individual, but is overjoyed and devotes her whole soul to him when she is told that he is the man whose excellences had so fascinated her, so is it with the individual soul. The serene bliss of godly nature he does not feel, though he is himself God, because he is not aware that those high attributes which belong to the divine nature exist in him. But when he is led to believe by his preceptor that he possesses them, i. e. when by his instructions he is enabled to recognise God in himself, then it is that the serene bliss dawns upon him. The Spanda school mentions the dawning of the form or vision of Bhairava, or God, on the mind in the course of meditation and thereby the clearing away of the impurities as the way to the realisation of the identity with God, while this maintains that recognition of oneself as God is the way.

According to Mādhava these two systems do not enjoin restraint of the breath, concentration, and all that course of fantastic external and internal conduct or discipline which the other schools prescribe as essential. These two schools appearently cut themselves off from the old traditional Śaivism, which gradually developed itself into the ghastly Kāpālism or Kālāmukhism, and hence the epithet Pāśupata or Lākula cannot be applied to them in any sense. A fresh revelation, therefore, was claimed for Vasugupta, though some of the doctrines of the more sober Śaiva school were preserved in the Spanda system.

XI. The Vīraśaiva or Liṅgāyat Sect.

§ 100. The foundation of this sect is generally attributed to Basava, who was the son of Mādirāja, a Brāhmaṇa supposed to be of the

[1]) Bühler, Report of a Tour made in Kaśmir; extract from Nos. 465—66, p. CLX.
[2]) Ibid. pp. 81—82.
[3]) KU. 5, 15; ŚU. 6, 14; MU. 2, 2, 10.

Ārādhya sect. His story is given in the Basavapurāṇa [1]) published in 1905, at Poona. From this story it by no means follows that he founded the sect by settling its doctrines and founding what may be called a church. He, however, appears to be a strenuous supporter of the sect. In the beginning of the Basavapurāṇa Nārada is represented to have gone to Śiva and told him that on earth there were devotees of Viṣṇu, followers of the sacrificial religion, Jainas and Buddhists, but there were no devotees of his. He mentions Viśveśvarārādhya, Paṇḍitārādhya, Ekorāma, the great Yogin, and others as having flourished from time to time and established Śivabhakti, but there is none now. Śiva thereupon told his Nandin to become incarnate on earth for the promotion of his religion and the furtherance of the cause of Vīraśaivas. From all this it does not appear that Basava was the originator of the sect. He had predecessors, three of whom have just been named. His was a life of political turmoil. From his native place Bāgevāḍi he went to Kalyāṇa, when Vijjala, or Vijjaṇa, was reigning (1157—1167 A. D.). His maternal uncle Baladeva was the minister of the king, and he himself was raised to the position after his death. Basava's sister, a beautiful woman, was married by the king. He was in charge of the king's treasury and spent large amounts in supporting and entertaining members of Liṅgāyat mendicants, called Jaṅgamas. The matter came to the notice of the king Vijjaṇa, who gradually became completely alienated from him and endeavoured to apprehend him. Basava fled away, and the king sent a few men in pursuit. These were easily defeated by Basava, whereupon the king himself advanced with troops to punish him; but Basava had collected a large number of followers and succeeded in defeating him. The king was reconciled to Basava and brought him back to Kalyāṇa, but there could be no true reconcilement, and after a time Basava caused the king to be assassinated.

§ 101. There is a work entitled Vijjalarāyacarita by a Jaina, which also gives an account of Basava and his relations with Vijjaṇa. It is written from the point of view of an enemy of Basava and mentions Basava's sister as having been given to the king as a mistress, which was perhaps true. But since the Liṅgāyat account and the Jaina account, agree in the main particulars, they may be accepted as historical [2]). Basava thus was a scheming politician and could hardly have been the propounder of a new system of doctrines or the organiser of a new sect. Besides, in the many Liṅgāyat works now available, his name is not mentioned as the name of a teacher of any articles of faith. What he did, therefore, appears to have been that he used his political influence to raise the fortunes of the Vīraśaiva sect, to bring it into prominence, and to disseminate the creed. There is another man who has been brought forward by Dr. Fleet, on the strength

[1]) This book and a good many others appertaining to the Liṅgāyat sect have been published under the patronage of an influential and enlightened member of the sect, the late Mr. Mallāppā Vārada of Sholapur.

[2]) For the Liṅgāyat account see the translation of the Basavapurāṇa, Journ. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. VIII, or the Basavapurāṇa itself, printed at Poona, and for the latter see Wilson's Mackenzie Mss.

of certain inscriptions, as the founder of the Liṅgāyat sect, and that is Ekānta, or Ekāntada, Rāmayya. An account of this person is also given in the second part of the Basavapurāṇa, and this and that in the inscriptions come to this that he was an enemy of the Jainas and wished to destroy their gods and shrines. He laid a wager with them that he would cut off his head and lay it at the feet of Śiva, and if it should be restored to him and replaced on his shoulders as it was before, the Jainas should consent to throw down their idols and profess a belief in Śaivism. According to the inscription, this was first done at Ablūr at the place where it exists, and when Rāmayya compelled the Jainas to destroy their idols, they went to Kalyāṇa and complained to king Vijjaṇa, who thereupon summoned Rāmayya into his presence and required him to explain why he did so. He offered to repeat the feat of cutting off his head and getting it back again in the presence of the king. The Basavapurāṇa represents Basava himself to have been present when Rāmayya laid this wager. So that beyond undermining the Jaina sect there is no evidence of Rāmayya's having built up the Vīraśaiva creed.

§ 102. In connection with Dīkṣās, or initiatory ceremonies, as, for instance, that which one has to go through when one has to choose a Guru, or preceptor, it is necessary to place four metallic vessels full of water at the four cardinal points and one in the middle. This last belongs to the person to be consecrated as Guru, or preceptor, who is supposed to represent an old Ācārya, or teacher, of the name of Viśvārādhya, and the other four to four other priests chosen as having been brought up in the schools of Revaṇasiddha, Marulasiddha, Ekorāma and Paṇḍitārādhya and connected with certain Maṭhas, or establishments [1]). The same list is given in another treatise [2]). These five vessels are consecrated to the five faces or forms of Śiva, Sadyojāta, etc., mentioned in a former section [3]). The Ācāryas, or teachers, named above are believed to have sprung from the five forms of Śiva in this Kali age [4]). Others bearing other names, born in other ages of the world, are also mentioned, but with these we have nothing to do. Of these five teachers three at least are mentioned as having preceded Basava in the passage quoted at the beginning of this section. It will thus appear that the Vīraśaiva, or Liṅgāyat, system came into existence before Basava. It is affiliated to the moderate or sober school of Śaivas known by the name of Śaivadarśana, or Siddhāntadarśana as it is called by its followers; and especially to the later form of it alluded to before [5]). But its technical terms, Sthala, Aṅga, Liṅga, etc., and its ideas are entirely different from those of that school as explained by Mādhava and others. And these terms we do not meet with elsewhere, so that this was a modern school. When it originated, it is difficult to say. But it was clearly in a militant condition in the

[1]) Vivekacintāmaṇi, Pūrvabhāga, Sholapur 1909 A. D., pp. 230 ff.
[2]) Vīraśaivācārapradīpikā, Poona 1905 A. D., pp. 33—37.
[3]) P. 124, note 1.
[4]) Pañcācāryapañcamotpattiprakaraṇa, Bombay 1903 A. D., p. 1.
[5]) § 95.

time of Basava. It must, therefore, have originated about a hundred years before. The names of two at least of the five teachers as given above end in the word ārādhya, while in other books all the five have that epithet attached to their names[1]). This was the name of a sect allied to the Liṅgāyats.

Of the five Ācāryas represented by the five metallic vessels, Mr. Brown[2]) does not mention the middle one and calls all the other four Ārādhyas, so that all the five preceptors honoured at the time of initiation and other ceremonies belong to the Ārādhya sect, which, according to Mr. Brown, was a sect of the Vīraśaiva creed. There has been a good deal of ill feeling between the Ārādhyas and the ordinary Liṅgāyats, and that appears to be due to the retention by the former of some Brāhmaṇic rites, such as repeating the holy Gāyatrīmantra and wearing the sacred thread. But the very name Ārādhya, which means one to be adored or worshipped, shows that, before the contention between the two sects arose, the Ārādhyas enjoyed very great respect. Taking all these circumstances into consideration, what appears to be the truth is that the Vīraśaiva creed was reduced to a shape by the Ārādhyas, who must have been men of learning and holy living and the subsequent reformers, such as Basava, gave it a decidedly uncompromising and anti-Brāhmaṇical character. And thus these two sects of the Vīraśaiva faith came into existence. We will now give a short account of the doctrines of this school.

§ 103. The One, Highest, Brahman, characterised by existence (Sat), intelligence (Cit), and joy (Ānanda), is the essence of Śiva (Śivatattva) and is called Sthala. Then are given explanations as to why it is called Sthala, two of them based upon an artificial etymology. In the supreme Brahman, or the essence of Śiva, Mahat and other principles exist and are eventually resolved into it. In it first exists the universe, arising from Prakṛti and Puruṣa, and to it it returns at the end; therefore it is called Sthala. (The first part stha signifies sthāna, or standing, and the second part la signifies laya, or resolution.) That name is given to it also because it is the support of the whole moveable and immoveable world and holds all powers, all luminaries, and all souls. It is the resting place of all beings, of all worlds, and of all possessions. It is the highest place to be attained by those who seek the highest happiness, and therefore it is called the One only and non-dualistic Sthala (position). By the agitation of its innate power (Śakti) that Sthala becomes divided into two: (1) Liṅgasthala, (2) Aṅgasthala. Liṅgasthala is Śiva or Rudra and is to be worshipped or adored, while the Aṅgasthala is the individual soul, the worshipper or adorer. In the same manner, the Śakti, or power, divides herself into two by her own will, one of the parts resorting to Śiva and being called Kalā, and the other resorting to the individual soul and being called Bhakti, or devotion. Śakti, or power, has got a certain susceptibility, which leads it to action and entanglement with the world, while Bhakti is free from that susceptibility and turns

[1]) Pañcācāryapañcamotpattiprakaraṇa, p. 35.
[2]) Madras Journal of Literature and Science, Vol. XI.

away from action and from the world and leads to final deliverance. The Śakti, or power, makes one an object of worship, while Bhakti makes one a worshipper; therefore, the former exists in the Liṅga or Śiva, and the latter in the Aṅga or individual soul. Eventually, by this Bhakti, there is a union between the soul and Śiva.

The Liṅga is Śiva himself, and not a mere external emblem of him. The Liṅgasthala is divided into three: (1) Bhāvaliṅga, (2) Prāṇalinga, and (3) Iṣṭaliṅga. The first is without any parts (Kalā) and is to be perceived by faith. It is simple Sat (existence), not conditioned by space or time, and is higher than the highest. The second is to be apprehended by the mind and has parts and is without parts. The third has parts and is apprehensible by the eye. This confers all desired (iṣṭa) objects and removes afflictions; or it receives its name because it is worshipped (iṣṭa) with care. The Prāṇaliṅga is the intelligence (Cit) of the Supreme Soul, and Iṣṭaliṅga, the joy. The first is the highest principle, the second is the subtle form, and the third, the gross form. These three Liṅgas, corresponding to the soul, the life and the gross form, and being characterised by use (Prayoga), formulas (Mantra) and action (Kriyā), form what are called Kalā, Nāda and Bindu. Each of these three is divided into two; the first into Mahāliṅga and Prasādaliṅga, the second into Caraliṅga and Śivaliṅga, and the third into Guruliṅga and Ācāraliṅga. These six operated on by six kinds of Śakti, or power, give rise to the following six forms. (1) When the Śiva essence is operated on by the power of intelligence (Cit), it forms the Mahāliṅga, the attributes of which are the absence of birth and death, freedom from taint, perfection, unity, subtleness, being higher than the highest, incorruptibility, unfathomableness, capability of being apprehended by faith and love, and idealistic (Caitanyarūpa). (2) When the Śiva essence gets permeated with its highest power (Parāśakti), then is produced a principle called Sādākhya[1]) which is light, eternal, indivisible, imperceptible to the senses, apprehensible by reason, indestructible, and the rudiment that develops; and that principle is called Prasādaliṅga. (3) When the Śiva essence is operated on by its primeval power (Ādiśakti), Caraliṅga is produced, which is infinite and pervades the internal and external world, which is full of light, is a Puruṣa (a person), and is higher than the Pradhāna or Prakṛti, and capable of being contemplated by the mind alone. (4) When permeated by the will power (Icchāśakti), it forms Śivaliṅga, which is a finite principle with a sense of egoism, possessed of knowledge and power (Kalā), having a celestial refulgenee, with one face, and serene. (5) When permeated with the power of knowledge (Jñānaśakti), it forms a Guruliṅga, which possesses agency, presides over every system or science that instructs, is full of light, a boundless ocean of joy, and dwells in human intelligence. (6) When influenced by the

[1]) The Sādākhya is the product of the combination of the principle, the Śiva essence, with the two of the five powers, Parā and Ādi. The Sādākhyas are five: (1) Śivasādākhya, which develops into Sadāśiva; (2) Amūrta, or not finite, which becomes Īśa; (3) Samūrta, or finite, which results in Brahmeśa; (4) Kartṛ, or agent, which becomes Īśvara; (5) Karman, or action, which develops into Īśāna. The Sādākhya alluded to in the text must be Sadāśiva.

power of action (Kriyāśakti), it is called Ācāraliṅga, which in the shape of action serves as the support for the existence of all things, which is conceivable by the mind, and leads to a life of renunciation.

It will be seen that the original entity becomes divided into God and individual soul by its innate power, and the six forms of the first, that are mentioned, are the various ways of looking at God. The first form is the infinite Being considered independently. The second is the form in which we conceive of him as developing or creating by its highest power. The third is the form in which he is conceived as distinct from the material world. The fourth is a bodily form, the body, however, not being made up of ordinary matter, but celestial like the body attributed to Nārāyaṇa, or Kṛṣṇa, by the Vaiṣṇavas. The fifth is the form in which he instructs mankind. And the sixth involves the idea of his guiding the individual soul in his actions until he is delivered. In this form Śiva is the Redeemer.

Bhakti is the characteristic of the individual souls. It consists in a tendency towards God, and there are three stages in the progress of this tendency and, corresponding to these, there are three divisions of the Aṅgasthala, or the subject of the individual soul. The first or highest division is called Yogāṅga, the second Bhogāṅga, and the third Tyāgāṅga. By the first, a man obtains happiness by his union with Śiva; by the second, he enjoys along with Śiva; and the last involves the abandonment of the world as transient or illusory. The first corresponds to the resolution into the cause and to the condition of sound sleep, the second to the subtle body and to dreamy sleep, and the third to the gross body and to the wakeful condition. Two varieties of each of these are distinguished. Of the first, or Yogāṅga, we have the two, Aikya and Śaraṇa. The first consists in sharing the joys of Śiva after one is convinced of the unreality of the whole world. This is called Samarasā Bhakti, in which God and the soul are united in blissful experience. The second is called Śaraṇabhakti, in which one sees Liṅga, or God, in himself and everything else. It is a condition of joy for oneself. The second is also of two kinds: (1) Prāṇaliṅgin and (2) Prasādin. The first consists in abandoning all regard for life, renunciation of egoism, and concentration of the whole mind upon the Liṅga, or God. The second is realised, when one resigns all the objects of one's enjoyment to the Liṅga, or God, and serenity (Prasāda) is acquired. The divisions of the last are Māheśvara and Bhakta. The first is one who has a firm belief in the existence of God, who goes through the whole discipline consisting in the observance of vows and restraints, which have Śiva for their object, and truth, morality, cleanliness, etc. and a heroically rigid vow based upon a firm belief in the unity of the Liṅga, or God. A Bhakta is one, who, turning his mind away from all objects by which it is attracted and practising devotion and rites, lives a life of indifference to the world[1]).

This represents the progress of the soul from indifference to the world, which is the first step, through the intermediate stages, in a reverse order,

[1]) The above is an abstract of the matter contained in the Anubhavasūtra of Mayideva, Sholapur, 1909.

to Sāmarasya, or union in blissful experience with Śiva, which is the highest conditon. The goal thus pointed out does not involve a perfect identity between the supreme and individual souls or the shaking off of individuality and becoming a simple soul unconscious of itself, which is the doctrine of the great non-dualistic school of Śaṃkara. The belief of the Vīraśaiva school that the original essence of Śiva divided itself by its own innate power into Liṅga, or God, and Aṅga, or the individual soul, and under the influence of other powers the essence became the creator of the world, shows that the doctrine of that school is that the rudiment of the creation exists in God himself in the shape of his power, but this power is not unreal. This doctrine, therefore, resembles that of Rāmānuja, but with the latter there is a real rudiment of the soul and of the external world characterising God which afterwards develops, but with the Vīraśaivas there exists a power only in God which leads to creation; so that it is the power that characterises God according to the latter, while the rudiment is his characteristic according to the former. The Liṅgāyat school, therefore, is a school of qualified spiritual monism (Viśiṣṭādvaita). It will also have been seen that the method of redemption taught by this school is that of Bhakti or love of God, and a course of moral and spiritual discipline up to the attainment of Sāmarasya with Śiva. In this respect also it resembles Rāmānuja's system.

Śrīkaṇṭhaśivācārya, whose Bhāṣya on the Vedāntasūtras has long been before the public, holds the same view. Under I, 4, 22, he states that the word Ātman in the sense of the individual soul is used to express the supreme soul in BU. (IV, 5, 6), because the latter is the internal controller of the former and is spoken of as identical with everything in this sense. Under II, 2, 38, he states that Śiva as possessed of powers is the material cause of the world; and in his comment on IV, 4, 3—4 he represents the delivered soul as similar to the Supreme Soul, that is, as having the attributes of the latter. And under IV, 4, 2, he speaks of the delivered soul as Samarasa, or united in blissful experience with the Supreme Soul. Thus Śrīkaṇṭha's view appears to be identical with that of the Vīraśaivas. Therefore unlike the four older schools, Pāśupata and others, which are dualistic, these three Śaiva schools hold a doctrine of qualified spiritual monism.

§ 104. The highest class of Liṅgāyats is composed of those who call themselves Liṅgi-Brāhmaṇas, the other castes or classes who wear the Liṅga being simply their followers. The Liṅgi-Brāhmaṇas consist of two main classes, the Ācāryas and the Pañcamas. The legendary account given of these is as follows. The Ācāryas were originally five in number and sprang from the five faces, Sadyojāta, etc., of Śiva spoken of in a former section. They are the same as those mentioned above as having a metallic vessel placed in their names on the occasion of any holy ceremony. From these five have sprung up all the priestly classes now existing. These five had five Gotras, viz. Vīra, Nandin, Vṛṣabha, Bhṛṅgin, and Skanda, who were originally persons almost as high as Śiva himself. From the Īśāna face of Śiva sprang a Gaṇeśvara (leader of a group), who had five faces. From these five faces sprang five Pañcamas, known by the

names of Makhāri, Kālāri, Purāri, Smarāri, and Vedāri, which, the reader will remember, were the names of Śiva himself given to him on account of certain deeds done by him. From these arose others who are called Upapañcamas. Each Pañcama has to connect himself with one of the five Ācāryas as his Guru. The Gotra of the Guru is his Gotra, and there can be no marriage relation between the members of the same Gotra. These Pañcamas have got Gotra, Pravara and Śākhā of their own, and the Liṅgāyats thus seem to have copied the Brāhmaṇic system. The Pañcamas are spoken of as the true devotees of Śiva [1]). According to the ordinary account the true Liṅgāyats are divided into four classes: (1) Jaṅgamas, or priests, (2) Śīlavants, or pious, (3) Banjigs, or traders, and (4) Pañcamsālis. The second and the third classes are based on the occupation or mode of life followed; so that even here, there are only the two classes mentioned in the work referred to above. The members of the first or Ācārya class are popularly called Jaṅgamas. Of these there are some who are called Viraktas (passionless) and who devote themselves to contemplation and other religious exercises and live a life of celebacy and asceticism. They maintain a convent (Maṭha) and are adored by all people. One such convent, which might be called the chief convent, is that which exists at Chitaldrug in the Mysore territory about a hundred miles from Dharwar. The head monk is held in deep reverence and exercises great influence over the followers of the sect. The second division of the class comprises those who follow a priestly occupation and conduct all ceremonies. They are married men and lead the life of householders. They exercise religious control over the Pañcamas and the followers of their sect. These priestly Jaṅgamas are the representatives of one or other of the five principal establishments located in different parts of the country from the Himālaya to the Mysore province. Any knotty question concerning the sect is decided by the final orders issued at one of these establishments. Besides the true Liṅgāyats there is an affiliated class and another composed of half Liṅgāyats. The Liṅgāyats abstain from meat and drink. Their widows are allowed to marry. And women are not considered polluted and untouchable during the days of monthly sickness, as is the case among Brāhmaṇic Hindus.

§ 105. There is a Dīkṣā ceremony among the Vīraśaivas corresponding to Upanayana among the Brāhmaṇas. Instead of the Gāyatrī-mantra of the latter, they have the Mantra 'Om namaś Śivāya', and have to wear the Liṅga, or emblem of Śiva, in the place of Yajñopavīta. On the occasion of the Dīkṣā, the Guru holds a Liṅga in his left hand, worships it in the usual sixteen ways, and shows it to the disciple. Then placing it in the left hand of the disciple and enjoining him to look upon it as his own soul and as the highest existing thing and so forth, he ties it round the neck of the disciple with a silken cloth by repeating a Mantra used by the Brāhmaṇas in putting on the Yajñopavīta. This is called the Liṅgasvāyattadīkṣā. This ceremony is performed in the case of girls also, and the women too have to wear the Liṅga like men.

[1]) Pañcācāryapañcamotpattiprakaraṇa.

The Liṅga is generally put into a box made of silver and suspended round the neck. The Vīraśaivas have to go through daily ceremonies similar to the twilight adorations of the Brāhmaṇas, and the Mantra repeated on the occasion is that given above, as also the Śiva-Gāyatrī, the first two lines of which are the same as the Brāhmaṇic Gāyatrī, and the last is 'Tan naḥ Śivaḥ pracodayāt'. In the marriage ceremony the Mantra to be repeated on the occasion of the taking hold of the hand of the bride is the same as among the Brāhmaṇas, and in the ceremony of walking the seven steps together with the bride, the formulas repeated are the same as those used by Ṛgvedin Brāhmaṇas. But in their marriage ceremony, they do not perform the rite of throwing parched rice into the fire as the Brāhmaṇas do. The worship of the Liṅga, called Iṣṭa-Liṅga, worn on the body, is their chief divine worship; and attendance at temples and worship of the Liṅga therein are by no means necessary for them. They do not concern themselves directly with the public temples of Śiva.

§ 106. There is a traditional legend among the Liṅgāyats that, when Śiva brought Brahmadeva into existence, he told him to create the world. But Brahmadeva said that he did not know how to do it. Whereupon Śiva created it himself in order that it might serve him as a model. And the Ācāryas and Pañcamas, as detailed above with their Gotras and Śākhās, are that creation of Śiva. The true import of this legend is that the Liṅgāyats set up a system for themselves as a rival to the Brāhmaṇic system and the close resemblance between the two confirms this view. But a mere copy was not their object, and they introduced several reforms, especially in the condition of women, as will have been seen from the above notice. In this respect, this system differs from all other schools, Vaiṣṇava or Śaiva or even Buddhist or Jaina, who did not set up for themselves a special system of social relations and domestic rites, though, as shown above, that framed by the Liṅgāyats for themselves is a copy of that of the Brāhmaṇas, which, however, is a reformed copy.

The impression that this whole account creates in one is that Liṅgāyatism owes its origin to a spirit of jealousy of the power exercised by Brāhmaṇism and of rivalry with the system. Such a spirit of jealousy and rivalry cannot be expected to have arisen in thoroughly depressed minds. The system therefore must have come into existence among the spirited members of the upper classes of non-Brāhmaṇic Hindus under the leadership of a body of men composed of Brāhmaṇas known by the name of Ārādhyas. Some of the members of this body did not go far enough in the desired reform, as mentioned before, and formed a distinct sect [1]. It will thus be seen that all the

[1] An Ārādhya sect is mentioned by Anantānandagiri as having come into conflict with Saṃkarācārya (See Śaṅkaravijaya, Bibl. Ind., p. 37.). In the corresponding portion of Dhanapati's Ḍiṇḍima which accompanies Mādhava's Śaṃkaravijaya the name of the sect does not occur; so that it is questionable whether the Ārādhya sect came into existence before Śaṃkara even if we suppose that the sect mentioned by Anantānandagiri was the same as the one we have noticed as affiliated to the Liṅgāyats. Or, on the evidence of Anantānandagiri the Ārādhya sect may be considered to have come into existence about the time of Śaṃkarācārya, that is, before the ninth century A. D., and the

Liṅgāyats have not sprung up from the Śūdra caste, but there is a mixture of the three higher orders among them. The claim that the two main classes of the sect put forward of their being Liṅgi-Brāhmaṇas, i. e., Brāhmaṇas wearing the Liṅga, seems to be founded on truth. The Ācārya or Jaṅgama class is said to have sprung from the five holy persons, adored on the occasion of a religious ceremony, whose names end in the suffix ārādhya significative of their being Brāhmaṇas. We might therefore safely take them to be of a Brāhmaṇic descent [1]). As to the Pañcamas, they probably represent the Vaiśya order of the Brāhmaṇic system which followed the occupation of traders and cultivators, and as the Vaiśyas belong to the class of the twice-born, so also do the Pañcamas and hence they are included in the Liṅgi-Brāhmaṇa group.

XII. Śaivism in the Draviḍa Country

§ 107. Śaivism prevails in the Draviḍa or Tamil country, and possesses an extensive literature of its own. It consists of eleven collections. The first three contain the hymns composed by a saint held in great reverence, of the name Tiruñānasambandha. They are three hundred and eighty-four in number, each being called a Padigam which consists of ten stanzas with an eleventh containing the author's name usually added. The next three were composed by Appar who was an older contemporary of Sambandha, who had renounced Buddhism or rather Jainism, and become a Śaiva. The seventh collection belongs to Sundara who was a Brāhmaṇa devotee of a later generation. These seven books are called Devāram and are compared to the Brāhmaṇic Veda. In certain processions, while on the one side the hymns of the Brāhmaṇic Veda are repeated, on the other are sung those contained in the Devāram which are addressed to the deity. The Tiruvāśagam forms the eighth book, and it resembles the Upaniṣads. The author of this book is Mānikkavāśagar. The ninth group is made up of hymns composed in imitation of the Devāram hymns. One of the writers is Kandarāditya, a Cola king, from whom Rājarāja Cola, who came to the throne in 984-85 A. D., was fifth in descent. The tenth contains mystic songs of a Yogin called Tirumūlar. The eleventh collection is composed of miscellaneous pieces, the last ten of which were written by Nambi Āndār Nambi. The third of these ten forms the basis of

theory advanced that the Liṅgāyat reform was carried out within its limits and a portion of the Ārādhya sect adopted the new creed and developed it, while another remained orthodox and staunch to some of the Brāhmaṇic practices. To this portion is to be traced the Ārādhya sect of the present day.

[1]) There are Jaṅgamas who know Sanskrit, and I have been in communication with one such of the name of Mallikārjunaśāstrin, who directed me to some of the books of the sect wich I have followed in this section, and also gave oral information on some points. He claims to be a Brāhmaṇa authorised to study the Vedas, his own Veda being the White Yajurveda. The head monk of the Chitaldrug convent alluded to above was on a visitation to Poona about two months ago with all the state of a spiritual potentate, having four elephants with him and a number of followers. He was a good, courteous and kindly person, had studied Sanskrit grammar and was able to converse fluently in pure Sanskrit. Some of the books of the sect are written in Sanskrit.

the Tamil Purāṇa called Periyapurāṇa. These eleven collections together with the Periyapurāṇa, which are all written in the Tamil language, form the sacred literature of the Tamil Śaivas. Besides these there are the works of what are called Santāna-Ācāryas, which are fourteen in number and called Siddhāntaśāstras. Their contents are of a philosophical nature. The most highly honoured of all these writers is Tiruñānasambandha. He was a Brāhmaṇa by birth, and the poetic faculty was developed in him very early in life. His hymns are full of the purest devotional feeling and are melodious. The tunes in which they were originally sung were Dravidian, but in later times northern melodies with northern names came to be used. Sambandha's image is set up for worship in every Śaiva temple, and he is adored by Tamil poets and philosophers in the beginning of their works. He was a great enemy of Buddhists and Jainas; and every tenth stanza of his Padigams, or hymns, contains an imprecation against them. On one occasion, he was invited by the queen of Kuni Pāṇḍya of Madhurā, where he held a disputation with the Buddhists or Jainas, which ended in the conversion of the king to the Śaiva faith [1]).

In an inscription in the Rājarājeśvara temple at Tanjore the king Rājarājadeva, after whom the temple was named, makes a daily allowance for the support of the reciters or singers of the Tiruppadiyam or the Padigams of Tiruñānasambandha, before the twenty-ninth year of his reign [2]). The date of Rājarāja's accession to the throne has been determined by the mention of a lunar eclipse in one of his inscriptions to be 984-5 A. D. [3]) This is consistent with the fact mentioned in another inscription [4]) that he conquered Satyāśraya, who was the immediate successor of Tailapa, the founder of the later Cālukya dynasty of Mahārāṣṭra, and died in Śaka 930, or 1008 A. D. Thus before the twenty-ninth year of Rājarāja, i. e. before 1013 A. D., the Padigams of Sambandha had come to be looked upon as so sacred that the recitation or singing of them was considered an act of religious merit like the repetition of the Śatarudriya by the followers of the Brāhmaṇic Veda. This character the hymns of Sambandha could not have acquired unless they had come into existence about four hundred years before the beginning of the eleventh century. This is consistent with the conclusion arrived at by Mr. Pillai that Sambandha flourished in the seventh century.

The inscriptions in the temples at Kāñcipura contain evidence of Śaivism being in a flourishing condition in the sixth century. The Pallava king Rājasiṃha constructed a temple, and the god inside was named after him Rājasiṃheśvara. Rājasiṃha appears from some of the inscriptions to have been a contemporary of the early Calukya prince Pulakeśin I. [5]), who may be referred to about the year 550 A. D.,

[1]) The above account is mostly taken from the able paper of P. Sundaram Pillai published in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XXV, pp. 113 ff. It is to be regretted that Mr. Pillai does not give us precise information as to whether it was the Buddhists against whom Sambandha directs his attacks or the Jainas.

[2]) South-Indian Inscriptions ed. by E. Hultzsch, Vol. II, p. 252, No. 65.

[3]) Ind. Ant. Vol. XXIII, p. 297.

[4]) South-Ind. Inscrs., Vol. II, p. 2.

[5]) South-Ind. Inscrs., Vol. I, p. 11.

as his son Kīrtivarman I came to the throne about the year 567 A. D.[1])

The Śaivism that prevailed in the Tamil country seems to have been generally of the ordinary kind, since the hymns in the Devāram sing the praises of Śiva and exhibit fervent devotional feeling, but there must have been some Darśana or system of philosophy also, since in an inscription in the Rājasiṃheśvara temple at Kāñci Atyantakāma, which was another name of Rājasiṃha, is represented as proficient in the system of the Śaivasiddhāntas. And the last species of the Śaiva literature detailed above is, it will have been seen, called Siddhāntaśāstra composed by Santāna-Ācāryas. These must be philosophical works on Śaivism. And the system therein taught appears in all likelihood to be the same or similar to the Śaivadarśana, which has already been explained. But what exactly the system taught by the Siddhāntas was, we have not the means of finding out, as none of the works is available for examination. The Periyapurāṇa gives an account of sixty-three Bhaktas or devotees of Śiva, and these correspond to the Āḷvārs of the Vaiṣṇavas. The enemies that both these classes of devotees had to contend with were Jainas, and it appears to me that both Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism penetrated to the extreme south of India after the revival of Brāhmaṇism in the north during the fourth and fifth centuries. Buddhism and Jainism had been introduced earlier and were in possession of the field when the two later systems of theistic belief were introduced into the southern country. Hence arose the necessity of controversies and contests which these systems carried on with their earlier predecessors. Whether Śaivism extended itself to the Tamil country before the revival, we have not the means of determining.

XIII. The Śāktas or Śakti Worshippers.

§ 108. In the Vedic literature down to the Gṛhyasūtras which we have examined for tracing the development of the idea of Rudra-Śiva, no female devotee of predominant power is mentioned. We have such names as Rudrāṇī and Bhavānī, which are simply derivatives and do not show a belief in the existence of an independent powerful goddess. Umā, too, is the wife of a god and does not overshadow her male consort. In the MBh. (Bhīṣmaparvan, chap. 23), however, there is a hymn addressed to Durgā by Arjuna under the advice of Kṛṣṇa in which she is prayed to for granting victory in the forthcoming battle. This hymn itself shows that at the time when it was composed and inserted in the poem, Durgā had already acquired such an importance that she was adored by men as a powerful goddess, able to fulfil their desires. Among the names by which she is addressed occur the following: Kumārī (maiden), Kālī (black or female time as destroyer), Kāpālī (wearer of skulls), Mahākālī (the great destroyer), Caṇḍī (angry), Kātyāyanī (of the Kātya family), Karālā (frightful), Vijayā (Victory), Kauśikī (of the Kuśika family), Umā, Kāntāravāsinī (dwel-

[1]) Early History of the Dekkan, Second Ed., p. 61.

ling in the forest). There is another hymn in the Virāṭaparvan (chap. 6) sung by Yudhiṣṭhira. It does not exist in the principal southern Mss., and is probably an interpolation, as it contains almost the same matter as in a similar passage in the Harivaṁśa. The points and epithets in this hymn which deserve notice are these. She is called Mahiṣāsuranāśinī (or the destroyer of the demon in the shape of a buffalo, and she is fond of wine, flesh and beasts. She was born to Yaśodā and dashed against a stone, whereupon she went to heaven. She is called the most beloved of Nārāyaṇa and the sister of Vāsudeva. She resides permanently on the Vindhya mountain. It is related in the Harivaṁśa (vv. 3236 ff.) that Viṣṇu descended into the Pātāla, and asked sleep in the form of destroying time (Nidrā Kālarūpiṇī) to become the daughter of Yaśodā. She is told that she would become Kauśikī and would have a permanent residence on the Vindhya mountain. There she was told that she would kill Śumbha and Niśumbha and would be worshipped by animal sacrifices. There is given a hymn to Āpyā (Durgā) in which she is represented as the goddess of Śabaras, Pulindas, Barbaras and other wild tribes, and as fond of wine and flesh. The goddess that killed the buffalo-demon, was, according to the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa (ch. 82) made up of the fierce radiance of Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmadeva, and all the other gods contributed to the formation of her limbs as well as her ornaments. She is called Caṇḍī and Ambikā. The formation of the goddess that killed Śumbha and Niśumbha, according to the account which follows, is thus explained. The gods being oppressed by the demons Śumbha and Niśumbha went to the Himālayas and praised the goddess, whereupon Pārvatī came out to bathe in the Ganges. Then Śivā, also called Ambikā, came out of the body of Pārvatī, and said that it was she whom the gods were praising to induce her to kill Śumbha and Niśumbha. She was called Kauśikī, because she sprang out from Kośa or frame of Pārvatī's body. When Ambikā came out of her body, Pārvatī's complexion became dark, and hence she rceived the name of Kālikā (dark one). In the course of the fight, when Śumbha and Niśumbha pounced upon her, her forehead became dark with anger, and from it came Kālī with a frightful face wearing a garland of skulls and a tiger-skin and with an infernal weapon (Khaṭvāṅga) in her hand. She killed the demons Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa, and went back to Ambikā, who thereupon, since she had killed those demons, gave her the name Cāmuṇḍā. The seven Śaktis, Brāhmī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Nārasiṃhī and Aindrī, which are the powers or spirits of the gods from whom their names are derived, are called her excellent forms (Vibhūtis). At the end, the goddess says that she would, in the Vaivasvata Manu, destroy Śumbha and Niśumbha again by assuming the form of the goddess residing on the Vindhya mountain, and proceeds to give the other forms that she would assume on other occasions such as the daughter of Nanda, Śākambharī, Bhīmā, Bhrāmarī, etc.

§ 109. In the account here given, it will be seen that there is one goddess with a number of different names. But the critical eye will see that they are not merely names, but indicate different goddesses who owed their conception to different historical conditions, but who were

afterwards identified with the one goddess by the usual mental habit of the Hindus. First we have Umā, the protectress, the consort of Śiva. Then we have Haimavatī and Pārvatī, which are the epithets of Umā, since Śiva, her consort, was Giriśa, or dweller on the mountain, and she was a woman born on the mountain. Then there are goddesses, dwelling in forests and on the Vindhya mountain, to whom animals and even human beings were sacrificed and oblations of wine were given and who were also the goddesses worshipped by the wild tribes, such as Pulindas, Śabaras and Barbaras. These were fierce goddesses and have the names of Karālā, Kālī, Caṇḍī, Cāmuṇḍā, and others. It must be admitted, however, that the first two names came into use when in an early age Rudra was identified with Agni, whose flames, which were considered his tongues, have those two names and five others. Probably the ferocity of the later goddesses of those names was due to this identification and not to their being the objects of worship to the ferocious barbarous tribes. In all likelihood, however, both the elements contributed to give that character to Kālī, Karālā and Cāmuṇḍā. That an aboriginal element should have contributed to the formation of Rudra's consort in later times as it did in earlier times towards the formation of Rudra himself as he is represented in the Śatarudriya, is a matter that might be expected. A third and powerful element in the conception of these goddesses is that of Śakti, or power. The powers of willing, acting, creating, illuding, etc. were conceived of as goddesses as the noun Śakti is of the feminine gender. The seven goddesses named above, Brāhmī, Māheśvarī, etc. owe their origin to this conception of Śakti and the powers of the seven gods. In later times some of the Brāhmaṇic families came to have tutelary goddesses, and thus we have Kātyāyanī, or the goddess of the Kātyas, and Kauśikī, the goddess of the Kauśikas. A further development went on especially under the influence of the idea of Śakti, or power, and thus we have three forms in which the goddess was worshipped. First we have the ordinary bland form, in which the goddess is worshipped. Then we have the fierce form, in which she is associated with the schools of Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas, and animals and human beings are sacrificed. And the third is the sensual form, in which she is the object of worship with the school of the Śāktas, who are so called because they are worshippers of Śakti.

§ 110. The Tantras inculcating the worship of the goddess in these various forms, constitute a considerable body of literature. We will here notice the formation, doctrines and practices of a school based on one of these forms, that which we have called sensual. The goddess here is called Ānandabhairavī, Tripurasundarī, and Lalitā. Her dwelling is thus described. There is an ocean of nectar, in which there are five celestial trees. Then there is a row or enclosure of Nīpa or Kadamba trees, in the midst of which is a pavilion made of jewel stones. In that pavilion is situated a palace made of the wish-giving stone, where lies the great Īśānī, the great Tripurasundarī, on a couch, which is Śiva, with Maheśāna for its coverlet and Sadāśiva for its pillow. The legs of the couch are Brahmadeva, Hari, Rudra and Īśvara. These are spirits discharging certain functions contained in

the essence of Maheśvara [1]). This is a mythological explanation of certain figures in the mystic cirles and of technical terms. The goddess is thus elevated to the highest position. Ānandabhairava or Mahābhairava, which is the name given to Śiva, is the soul of, or is composed of, the nine collections of things of which the world is made up, such as time and its various forms (Kālavyūha), existing things like the blue substance (Kulavyūha), names (Nāmavyūha), perception (Jñānavyūha), the five faculties, viz. consciousness, heart, will, intelligence, and mind (Cittavyūha). Mahābhairava is the soul of the goddess; therefore she also is the soul of, or composed of, the nine collections. Both, therefore, constitute one entity. When there is Sāmarasya, or community of joy or intense love between them, creation follows. The female element, or Mahābhairavī, however, is predominant in the process of creation and the male element, or Mahābhairava, in the work of destruction [2]).

The metaphysical doctrines of what is called Śāmbhavadarśana, on which the usual practices and rites of the Śāktas profess to be based, are these [3]). Śiva and Śakti are the primordial substances. Śiva in the form of Prakāśa (light) enters into Śakti in the form of Vimarśa or Sphūrti (feeling or appearance), and assumes the form of a Bindu (drop); and Śakti similarly enters into Śiva, whereupon the Bindu develops, and there arises out of it the female element called Nāda (sound). These two, the Bindu and the Nāda, becoming united, form one compound Bindu, and that substance represents the intense affinity between the female and male energies and is called Kāma (love). Again, there are two drops, one of which is white and represents the male element, and the other, red, which represents the female element. These form the Kalā; these three again, the compound Bindu, and the white and red drops form one substance called Kāmakalā. Thus there are four powers united here: (1) the original Bindu representing the material of which the world is made; (2) Nāda, or sound, upon which depends the naming of the substances, arising from the development of the Bindu. Between these two there is intense love, but no creation follows simply from it. They only contain the materials of things and speech. Therefore a productive energy is associated with them by (3) the white male drop which, however, by itself cannot produce, and by (4) the female red drop which is fecundated by the male drop. When all these four principles unite into one substance, Kāmakalā, the whole creation of words and the things expressed by them (Vāgarthau), proceeds. Another substance called the Hārdhakalā is also developed, according to some, along with the Nāda, when the female element first enters into the simple Bindu. In a certain text the highest deity, or Kāmakalā, is spoken of as having the sun (compound Bindu) for her face, fire and moon (the red and white Bindus) for her breasts, and the Hārdhakalā for her organ of

[1]) Saundaryalaharī with Lakṣmīdhara's commentary, Maisur Ed., comment. on vv. 8 and 92.

[2]) Ibid. v. 34.

[3]) The following contains in a recast form the matter given in pp. 89—91 of my Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts during 1883—84.

generation. This view provides a womb from which creation springs out. The creative agent, therefore, is a goddess thus constituted, and she is the highest deity and is called Parā, Lalitā, Bhaṭṭārikā and Tripurasundarī. Śiva is symbolically identified with the letter *a* and Śakti with *h*, the last letter of the Sanskrit alphabet. This *h* is called Ardhakalā, or half part, and hence the female element, or womb, mentioned above is called the half part in the shape of the letter *h*. This *h*, or the half part, together with *a* which stands for Śiva is a symbolic representation of Kāmakalā or Tripurasundarī, who is the result of the combination of Śiva and Śakti. She is thus called Aham, the ego, and is invested with egoism or individuality, and hence it is that all her developments (i. e. the whole creation) have egoism or individuality; and all souls are but forms of Tripurasundarī and become Tripurasundarī when they study and practise the Kāmakalāvidyā with its series of Devīcakras, or mystic circles. *A* and *h*, being the first and last letters of the alphabet, contain between them all letters and through them all words, i. e. the whole speech; and just as all things are produced from Tripurasundarī, so are all words which express the things. She is thus called Parā, the first of the four kinds of speech. Creation is Pariṇāma, or development, and not Vivarta, or the generation of false appearances. This is the philosophy of the Śāṃbhavadarśana, and it will be seen that, though it admits a male element in the beginning, still it is thoroughly subdued by the female element which becomes predominant; and the highest deity is a goddess, viz. Tripurasundarī. The ambition of every pious follower of the system is to become identical with Tripurasundarī, and one of his religious exercises is to habituate himself to think that he is a woman. Thus the followers of the Śakti school justify their appellation by the belief that God is a woman and it ought to be the aim of all to become a woman.

Tripurasundarī is propitiated and eventually attained by assuming the vow (Dīkṣā) of a devoted worship of her. This vow is of three kinds. The first consists in fully concentrating the mind on the Devī as sitting on the lap of Śiva in the Mahāpadmavana (a garden of lotuses), as possessed of a body which is pure joy and is the original cause of all, and as identical with one's own self. The second is the Cakrapūjā, the worship by means of the mystic circles, which is a Bāhyayāga, or material worship; and the third consists in studying and knowing the true doctrine. The second is the proper Śakti ceremonial. It consists in the worship of a picture of the female organ drawn in the centre of another consisting of a representation of nine such organs, the whole of which forms the Śrīcakra. The pictures are drawn on a Bhūrja leaf or a piece of silken cloth or on a gold leaf[1]). With reference to this worship it must be observed that there are two classes of Śāktas: (1) Kaulika and (2) Samayin. The former worship the gross material object, while the latter have a recourse to imagery. The worship of the pictures just mentioned is resorted to by ancient (Pūrva) Kaulas, while the modern

[1]) Saundaryalaharī v. 41, commentary.

(Uttara) Kaulas worship the organ of a living beautiful woman. The Kaulas worship their goddess by offering to her, and themselves using, wine, flesh, honey (Madhu), fish and such other things. The Samayins, of course, abstain from such practices. There are even Brāhmaṇas, who secretly profess the doctrines of the Śākta school and worship the goddess Tripurasundarī in accordance with the Pūrva-Kaula or Uttara-Kaula way. There are no distinctions of caste when the worship of the Bhairavīcakra is going on. Men of all castes become Brāhmaṇas, but they resume their own castes when the worship is over [1]. There are several more innocent and decorous modes of worshipping the goddess under the names of Lalitā and Upāṅgalalitā mentioned in the ordinary religious books. The worship of the latter comes off on the fifth lunar day of Āśvina and of the former for the first ten days. The latter, when so worshipped by women, wards off widowhood [2].

XIV. The Sect of Gāṇapatyas.

§ 111. Rudra had his hosts of Maruts, who were called his Gaṇas, and the leader of these Gaṇas was Gaṇapati. The name Rudra, as we have seen, was generalised and signified a number of spirits partaking of the character of the original Rudra; and so was the name Gaṇapati generalised and meant many leaders of the Gaṇas, or groups. Another name, Vināyaka, denoting a spirit also came into use. In the AU. Rudra is identified with many gods or spirits, and among these there is one called Vināyaka. In the MBh. (Anuśāsanaparvan 151, v. 26) Gaṇeśvaras and Vināyakas are mentioned amongst the gods, who observe the actions of men and are present everywhere; and again (57) Vināyakas are said to remove all evil from men when praised. Gaṇeśvaras, or Gaṇapatis, and Vināyakas are here represented, as the former are in the Śatarudriya, many in number and present everywhere. In the Mānavagṛhyasūtra (2, 14) is given an account of Vināyakas. They are four in number. And their names are (1) Śālakaṭaṅkaṭa, (2) Kūṣmāṇḍarājaputra, (3) Usmita, and (4) Devayajana. When possessed by these a person pounds sods of earth, cuts grass, and writes on his body, and sees in dreams waters, men with shaved heads, camels, pigs, asses, etc., and feels he is moving in the air, and when walking, sees somebody pursuing him from behind. Again, when possessed by these, Princes Royal do not obtain the kingdom, though qualified to govern. Girls do not obtain bridegrooms, though possessed of the necessary qualities. Women do not get children, even if otherwise qualified. The children of other women die. A learned teacher qualified to teach does not obtain pupils, and there are many interruptions and breaks in the course of a student. Trade and agriculture are unsuccessful. A person, who shows such signs of being possessed by Vināyaka, is made to go through the ceremony of bathing in waters brought from four places and with a little earth from four different quarters thrown into them. After bathing oblations of mustard oil

[1]) Aufrecht's Oxf. Cat. p. 92, n.
[2]) See Hemādri, Vratakhaṇḍa.

extracted afresh should be offered to the four Vināyakas in a ladle made of the wood of the Udumbara tree and poured over the head of the individual. Then food of many sorts, rice, husked and unhusked, flesh, and fish, cooked as well as raw, pulse of various kinds, etc. should be put into a basket and the basket placed on the ground where four roads meet, the ground first being covered with Kuśa grass. Then certain deities including evil spirits are invoked, and a wish expressed that they may be satisfied, and, becoming so, satisfy the worshipper, etc. This is the ceremony which frees the persons haunted by the Vināyakas.

Yājñavalkya in his Smṛti (I, 271 ff.) gives the same ceremony and frequently in the same words. But the ceremony appears in a somewhat more developed or complicated form. He begins by stating that Rudra and Brahmadeva appointed Vināyaka to the leadership of the Gaṇas, (i. e. made him Gaṇapati) and assigned to him the functions of raising difficulties and obstructions in the actions of men. In the Smṛti one Vināyaka is only addressed, but instead of the four names occurring in the Sūtra six are given, viz. (1) Mita, (2) Sammita, (3) Śāla, (4) Kaṭaṅkaṭa, (5) Kūṣmāṇḍa, and (6) Rājaputra, and these are said to be six different names of the one Vināyaka. After the basket with various kinds of food has been prepared, directions are given to make an obeisance to Ambikā, the mother of Vināyaka.

The form of the ceremony contained in the Sūtra is unquestionably more ancient than that contained in the other work. But the difference between the two shows that during the period that had elapsed between the composition of the Sūtra and that of the Smṛti, the four Vināyakas had become one Gaṇapati-Vināyaka, having Ambikā for his mother. It will thus be seen that, in his own nature, this last god is an unfriendly or malignant spirit, but capable of being made friendly and benignant by propitiatory rites. In this respect, he resembles Rudra himself. That the Vināyakas had come to be objects of faith before the Christian era, may be taken to follow from the occurrence of the ceremony mentioned above in a Gṛhyasūtra. But the one Gaṇapati-Vināyaka, the son of Ambikā, was introduced into the Hindu pantheon much later. None of the Gupta inscriptions which I subjected to an examination on a former occasion [1]) contains any mention of his name or announces any gift or benefaction in his honour. But in two of the caves at Ellorā, there are groups of images of Kāla, Kālī, the Seven Mothers or Śaktis, and Gaṇapati [2]). These caves are to be referred to the latter part of the eighth century. So that between the end of the fifth and the end of the eighth century the Gaṇapati cult must have come into practice, and the Smṛti of Yājñavalkya must have been written not earlier than the sixth century. Another inscription and an old relic which indicate the prevalence of the worship of Gaṇapati are found at a place called Ghaṭiyālā, 22 miles north-west of Jodhpur. There is a column there, on the top of which there are four images of Gaṇapati facing the four quarters. In the opening sentence of the inscription

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[1]) See my 'Peep into the Early History of India'; Journ. Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc. Vol. XX, pp. 356 ff.

[2]) In Rāvaṇa-ki-khāī, in the circumambulatory passage and Rāmeśvara temples See Cave-Temples by Fergusson and Burgess.

engraved on it an obeisance is made to Vināyaka. The date of the inscription is Vikrama-Saṃvat 918 = A. D. 862 [1]).

When and how the god came to have the elephant's head, it is difficult to determine. The images in the cave-temples at Ellorā have that head, and Bhavabhūti also in the beginning of the eighth century describes him, in the opening stanza of the Mālatīmādhava, as possessed of such a head. Rudra-Śiva and the gods allied with him were connected closely with forests and wild places, in which elephants also were found. The hide worn by Rudra and by his consort also in one of her forms was the hide of an elephant, and it perhaps suited the fancy of some men to place the head of that animal over the body of a god originally mischievous. Gaṇapati's reputation for wisdom is, I believe, to be attributed to the confusion between him and Bṛhaspati, who in RV. II, 23, 1 is called Gaṇapati. Bṛhaspati, of course, is the Vedic god of wisdom, and is called the sage of sages.

§ 112. Six varieties of the Gāṇapatya sect are mentioned by Ānandagiri, or Anantānandagiri as he is sometimes called, in his Śaṃkaradigvijaya as well as by Dhanapati in his commentary on the corresponding work of Mādhava. The first consists of those who adore Mahāgaṇapati. Mahāgaṇapati is, according to them, the creator, and he alone remains when Brahmadeva and others have been destroyed at the time of the dissolution. He should be meditated upon as possessed of his peculiar face with one tooth and as embraced by the Śakti. By his own wonderful power, he creates Brahmadeva and others. One, who repeats the original Mantra and meditates on this Gaṇapati, attains supreme bliss. The name of the person who expounds these doctrines to the Ācārya is given as Girijāsuta.

Another interlocutor follows. His name is Gaṇapatikumāra, and he adores Haridrāgaṇapati. He takes his stand on RV. II, 23, 1, and makes out this text to mean "We meditate on thee who art the leader of the group of Rudra, Viṣṇu, Brahman, Indra and others, and art the instructor of sages, Bhṛgu, Guru, Śeṣa and others, the highest of all who know the sciences, the greatest lord of the Brahmans engaged in the creation of the world, i. e. adored by Brahman and others in the work of creation and others". He should be worshipped and meditated on as being dressed in a yellow silken garment, bearing a yellow sacred thread, having four arms, three eyes and his face suffused over by turmeric ointment, and holding a noose and an elephant-goad and a staff in his hand. He who worships the god in this form, obtains emancipation. Gaṇapati is the cause of the whole world, and Brahmā and others are his parts. The worshipper of this Gaṇapati should bear, on both of his arms, the marks of Gaṇapati's face and one tooth impressed upon them by a heated iron stamp.

Then came Herambasuta, who was the worshipper of Ucchiṣṭagaṇapati. The followers of this variety resort to the left handed path (Vāmamārga), which probably was set up in imitation of the Kaula worship of Śakti. The form of Gaṇapati meditated on is very obscene. There is no distinction of caste among the followers of this sect.

[1]) Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 277 ff.

No restriction is to be observed, such as marriage imposes, and promiscuous intercourse is allowed and also the use of wine. The follower should have a red mark on his forehead. All the ordinary ceremonies, such as twilight adorations (Saṃdhyāvandana), are left to a man's own will.

The followers of the other three Gaṇapatis, Navanīta, Svarṇa, and Saṃtāna, worship their god, they say, according to the Śruti. But since Gaṇapati is adored in the beginning of every religious act, he is the chief god and all the other gods are parts of him and should be worshipped as such. They regard the whole world as Gaṇapati and adore him as such.

Since the god Gaṇapati-Vināyaka was introduced about the sixth century, it is questionable whether these several sects existed at the time of Śaṃkarācārya. The imprinting of the face and the tooth of the God on the arms was a custom common to them with the Mādhva Vaiṣṇavas, though it is hardly indicative of the period in which the sect arose. But the worship of Gaṇapati without reference to any particular sect is practised by nearly all Hindus at the beginning of any religious ceremony and on special occasions. His image made of clay is worshipped with great pomp in the Marāṭha country on the fourth lunar day of the month of Bhādrapada (September), and at Chinchwaḍ near Poona there is a special establishment for the exclusive worship of that god.

XV. Skanda or Kārttikeya.

§ 113. Another god whose worship was extensively practised in ancient times, but is now rare, is Skanda or Kārttikeya. The general belief is that he was the son of Śiva and Pārvatī. But in the Rāmāyaṇa he is represented as the son of the god of fire and Gaṅgā (I, chap. 37). The foetus was thrown by Gaṅgā on the Himavat mountain, and it was nourished by the six stars constituting the constellation of Kṛttikā (Pleiades) and was thus called the son of the Kṛttikās or Kārttikeya. In the MBh. (Vanaparvan, chap. 229) also he is represented as the son of Fire, but the mother was Agni's true wife Svāhā, who had assumed the forms of the wives of six Ṛṣis, whom Agni loved. But here he is called the son of Śiva also, as Agni is a form of that god. There are other stories connecting him with Śiva and Pārvatī as his parents. But whatever the legend may have been, there is no question that he was connected with Śiva, and was the leader of one of his Gaṇas. There is a Liṅgāyat tradition reported in the section on that sect that he was a founder of a Gotra, and was a form of Śiva himself. His having the peacock for his vehicle is also consistent with his connection with Śiva, as peacocks are found in forests of which Rudra and his attendants were gods. His being the leader of the army of the gods was an idea probably suggested by his being the leader of a Gaṇa of Rudra. And in historical times he has been associated with Śiva. Under P. V, 3, 99, Patañjali mentions the images of Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha as being worshipped in his time. On the reverse of the coins of the Kuṣana prince Kaniṣka, there are figures with their names

in Greek letters of Skando, Mahaseno, Komaro and Bizago [1]). The first is Skanda, and because he was the commander of the army of the gods, he was also called Mahāsena, which is the second name on the coin. The third is Kumāra, which is also a name of Skanda, and the fourth is the Skr. Viśākha. If the first three were the names of one deity only, there was no necessity for giving three names and three figures. These, therefore, must have been regarded as three different gods as Viśākha undoubtedly was from his being mentioned separately from Skanda by Patañjali. In the story in the MBh. referred to above Viśākha is mentioned as having arisen from the right side of Skanda when it was struck by Indra's thunderbolt. This is indicative of the tendency to make the two as one person; and they appear to have been so made in later times. Or, looking to the fact that there are two names of Buddha on the coins, the above three may have been the names of one single deity. There are also other indications of the prevalence of the worship of Skanda or Mahāsena in the early centuries. In the year 414 A. D. was built a Pratolī, or gallery, in the temple of Svāmi-Mahāsena by one Dhruvaśarman at Bilsāḍ [2]). Several holy observances and vows in the name of Kumāra and Kārttikeya are mentioned in Hemādri's Vratakhaṇḍa, and the worship of that god has not become obsolete even at the present day.

XVI. The Sect of Sauras and the Northern Sun-Worship.

§ 114. Sūrya, or the sun as the orb that is seen in the sky and not as an imaginary god of light, was a Vedic deity. It is but reasonable to expect that the worship of such a deity should not become obsolete in later times, since the orb of the sun is daily seen in the sky. In two passages in RV. (VII, 60,1; 62, 2) the singer wishes the rising sun to declare him sinless to Mitra, Varuṇa, and other gods. This idea probably arose from the fact that the rising sun by his bright light discloses everything that has been done in the darkness of the previous night, and thence it developed into a belief that the sun destroys sins. Kauṣītaki is represented to have adored the sun in the morning, at midday, and in the evening, and having made offerings of water with flowers, sandal, etc. or without (Arghya), prayed for the removal of his sins (KBU. II, 7). And this is what we do or are expected to do in our twilight and midday adorations. Water is sipped by repeating a formula expressive of a wish that the Sun, Manyu and Manyupati may protect the adorer from sins (ĀG. Pariśiṣṭa I, 3 and TĀ. X, 25, 1). After that three offerings of water with or without the other ingredients are made to the sun after repeating the Gāyatrī, and then the water is whirled round his head by the adorer by repeating the Mantra "That Āditya is Brahman" [3]). Āśvalāyana directs that, while adoring the morning twilight, one facing the east should repeat the Gāyatrī-Mantra till the whole disc of the sun has risen, and in the evening with his face towards the west till the whole

[1]) See Journ. Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc. Vol. XX, p. 385.
[2]) Ib. p. 393.
[3]) Asāv āditvo Brahma.

has gone down and the stars have begun to appear (ĀG. III, 7, 4—6). In the Upanayana ceremony, when the boy is invested with the sacred thread and other badges of a student's life, he is made to look at the orb of the sun, when the preceptor, addressing that deity, prays "Oh god Savitar, this is thy student, protect him. May he not die" (ĀG. I, 20, 6). Khādira prescribes the adoration of the sun for the enjoyment of riches and for the attainment of fame (Khādiragṛhyasūtra IV, 1, 14 and 23). The hymn addressed by Yudhiṣṭhira to the sun after he entered his forest-residence, and his having obtained a vessel from him for the production of all the food wanted by him, his family and followers, are well-known. In the seventh century Mayūra, who lived at the court of Harṣavardhana, composed a hundred stanzas to obtain relief from the white leprosy from which he suffered About the beginning of the eighth century Bhavabhūti makes the Sūtradhāra, or the manager, of the Mālatīmādhava offer prayers to the rising sun to remove all his sins and bestow holy blessings on him. Thus the sun has been adored since the Vedic times for the removal of sins, and the bestowal of riches, food, fame, health, and other blessings. At the present day twelve prostrations are made to Sūrya by repeating twelve of his names, all of which have a Sanskrit etymology, and there is no foreign look about them. There is also a more elaborate set of such prostrations.

§ 115. It cannot but be expected, therefore, that a school should come into existence for the exclusive worship of the sun. And such a school is that of the Sauras. Ānandagiri brings Śaṃkara into contact with the followers of this sect at a place in the south called Subrahmaṇya situated at the distance of fourteen days' journey from Anantaśayana or Trivendram. The name of their leader was Divākara, and they wore a circular spot of red sandal on the forehead and bore red flowers. The substance of the account of this school given by Divākara is as follows. The Supreme Soul, the Sun, is the author of the world. He is the tutelary deity of the Sauras and is adored by them. The Śrutis themselves speak of him as the cause of the world, such as "The sun is the soul of moveable and immoveable things" (RV. I, 115, 1) and "That Āditya is Brahman". Brahman with which the the sun has thus been identified is the cause of the whole world, according to the text, from which all these beings originate, etc. (TU. III, 1, 1). There is also a Smṛti text in favour of this doctrine. There are six classes of devotees of the sun all bearing a mark made by red sandal, wearing a garland of red flowers, and repeating the formula of eight syllables. Some worship the orb of the sun who has just risen as Brahmadeva, the creator, others, the sun on the meridian as Īśvara, the destroyer. He is also regarded as the originator. Some regard the setting sun as Viṣṇu, the protector, and, considering him as the cause of the creation and destruction also and as the highest entity, worship him. There are some who resort to all the three suns as a triple form. Others, observing the vow of regularly seeing the orb, adore the Supreme Soul as existing in it with golden whiskers and golden hair. One section of this class is devoted simply to the vow of the observation of the disc, and they see the orb, worship it in the

sixteen ways, dedicate all their actions to the god, and do not eat without seeing the orb. The devotees of the sixth class imprint the orb on their forehead, arms and bosom with a heated iron piece and meditate on the god in their minds continuously. All these six classes have to repeat the same Mantra, or formula, of eight syllables. The followers of this creed like other sectarians interpret various Vedic texts as setting forth the greatness and the supremacy of their own god. The Puruṣasūkta (RV. X, 90) and the Śatarudriya are so expounded, and the conclusion is that all who desire emancipation should adore the sun, should bear his marks on the body, and mutter the Mantra.

§ 116. So far there is no trace of foreign influence in the development of the Saura system. But such an influence undoubtedly contributed to the growth of the sun-worship prevalent in Northern India from the early centuries of the Christian era. Varāhamihira in the stanza twice quoted before (Bṛhatsaṃhitā, chap. 60, 19) tells us that the installation and consecration of the images and temples of the sun should be caused to be made by the Magas, and generally those who worship a certain deity according to their special ritual should be made to perform the ceremony concerning that deity. This shows that the Magas were, according to Varāhamihira, the special priests of the sun-god. There is a legend concerning this matter in the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa (chap. 139). Sāmba, the son of Kṛṣṇa by Jāmbavatī, constructed a temple of the sun on the banks of the Candrabhāgā, the modern Chenāb in the Panjāb, and no local Brāhmaṇa would accept the office of a regular priest of the temple. He thereupon asked Gauramukha, the priest of Ugrasena. He told him to get Magas, who were special sun-worshippers, from Śākadvīpa. Then is given the history of the Magas. Sujihva was a Brāhmaṇa of the Mihira Gotra. He had a daughter of the name of Nikṣubhā, with whom the sun fell in love. The son of these two was called Jaraśabda or Jaraśasta, and from him sprang all Magas. They wore a girdle round their waist, which was called Avyaṅga. Thereupon Sāmba went on the back of Garuḍa, his father's vehicle, to Śākadvīpa, brought some Magas from it and installed them into the office of priests of the temple he had constructed. The Magas have long been known in the literary history of India. There is an inscription at Govindapur in the Gayā District dated Śaka 1059, corresponding to 1137-38 A. D., in the opening stanza of which the Magas, who sprang from the sun, are represented to have been brought into the country by Sāmba. Six great poets, the works of some of whom are extant, are also mentioned. There are traces of the Magas elsewhere, and there are Brāhmaṇas of that name in Rājputāna and some other provinces of Northern India. Now these Magas are the Magi of ancient Persia, and the name Jaraśasta mentioned above as occurring in the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa connects them with the Avesta prophet Zarathushtra. The Avyaṅga, which according to the Purāṇa they wore round their waist, was the same as the Aivyāonghen of the Avesta language, which last signifies the Kusti worn by the Parsees at the present day. Albērūnī, speaking of the Persian priests Magians, says that they existed in India and were

called Magas [1]). The idea of locating them on a continent called Śāka-dvīpa must have arisen from the fact that they were foreigners like the Śakas with whom the Indians had been familiar since the second or third century before the Christian era. Evidently then the worship of the sun or Mihira-worship was brought into India by the old Persian priests Magi, but at whose instance and under what circumstances they came it is difficult to say. The legendary tradition of their having been brought by Sāmba was current in the first half of the twelfth century, as we have seen from the inscription. The temple on the Candrabhāgā referred to above was that which existed at Multān and a glowing description of which is given by the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang. Four centuries later it was seen by Alberūnī [2]). It existed till the seventeenth century, when it was finally destroyed by Aurangzeb. Multān is the same as the Sanskrit Mūlasthāna, and this name may have been given to the place, because the new worship of the sun was first organised there and it was its original seat. On the coins of Kaniṣka there occurs a figure with the name Miiro = Mihira by its side. Mihira is the Sanskritised form of the Persian Mihr, which is a corruption of Mithra, the Avestic form of the Vedic Mitra. The cult of Mihr had originated in Persia, and it extended itself up to Asia Minor and even Rome, and the proselytising energy which characterised its first adherents must have led to its extension towards the east also, and of this extension the figure of Mihira on Kaniṣka's coin is an evidence. The cult, therefore, must have penetrated to India about the time of that Kuṣana prince, and the Multān temple, which was its original seat, must have been constructed about the same time.

An inscription at Mandasaur records the construction of a temple to the sun in the year 437 A. D. by a guild of weavers, and its repair in the year 473 A. D. Another on a copperplate found at Indor in the Bulandshahar District in the United Provinces mentions an endowment of Devaviṣṇu in 464 A. D. for lighting a lamp in a temple of the sun. And in a third is recorded a grant in 511 A. D. to a temple of Āditya, or the sun. A great many more sun temples have been discovered especially in Western India from Multān down to Cutch and northern Gujarāt [3]). The ruins of one exist at Moḍherā, eighteen miles to the south of Pāṭaṇ in the last-named province, and they contain the date Vikrama 1083 corresponding to 1027 A. D. There was another at Gwalior constructed in the time of Mihirakula, the Hūṇa Prince, in the beginning of the sixth century.

The form of the idol of the sun worshipped in such temples is described by Varāhamihira (Bṛhatsaṃhitā, chap. 58), but the features mentioned by him which have a significance for our present purpose are that his feet and legs should be enclosed or covered up to the knees and he should be dressed in the fashion prevalent in the north (v. 46), and that he should be encircled by an Avyaṅga (v. 47). Accordingly the images of the sun that are found in the temples mentioned above have boots reaching up to the knees and a girdle round the waist

[1]) Sachau's Translation, Vol. I, p. 21.
[2]) Ibid. vol. I, p. 116.
[3]) Burgess, Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujrat, London 1903.

with one end hanging downwards[1]). This last is a Persian feature, as we have already seen, and the other also must have the same or similar origin. It certainly is not Indian. The features of the idol of the sun and the fact of Magas, who were descended from the Persian Magi, being its priests point unmistakably to the conclusion that the cult was introduced into India from Persia, and I believe that the construction of so many temples was also due to the foreign influence. For, in the account of the Saura systems we have given above, there is not the remotest allusion to a temple of the sun. According to all appearances, therefore, the cult prevalent in Northern India was entirely distinct from those systems. It does not appear to have allied itself with any one of these latter. But it was accepted by the mass of the Hindus as a general worship of the sun, and the feelings which it evoked could not have been different from those wh.ch the indigenous worship gave rise to. And the manner in which devotion to the sun is expressed in the inscriptions which we find in some of the temples, has nothing special or foreign in it. The Magas themselves, the priests of the new cult, were gradually thoroughly Hinduised until they became undistinguishable from the other Hindus and formed only a separate caste. In the copper-plate grant of Harṣavardhana, who lived in the middle of the seventh century, his father Prabhākarvardhana, his grandfather Ādityavardhana and his great-grandfather Rājyavardhana are all styled great devotees of the sun (Paramādityabhakta)[2]). This is an evidence to show that the sun cult, probably made up of a mixture of the indigenous and foreign forms, prevailed in the beginning of the sixth century and was professed by great princes.

XVII. Résumé.

§ 117. The fearful and destructive phenomena of nature led to the conception of, and belief in, the god Rudra, the terrible howler, accompanied by his groups, or Gaṇas, called sometimes Rudras or Rudriyas, who were minor howlers. This god, when propitiated, became the auspicious Śiva, the beneficent Śaṃkara and the benignant Śambhu. The conception gradually developed further, until Rudra became the god of wild and awful scenes, such as cemeteries, mountains and forests. Of the beasts and savages that dwelt in these last and of the thieves and outcasts that resorted to them, he became the lord. Subsequently he developed into the god who pervades the universe, dwells in fire and water, in all beings and in herbs and trees and was the supreme ruler of all. When he rose to this position, he became the subject of Upaniṣad speculation, by meditating on whom and seeing whom everywhere in the universe a man attained blissful serenity.

But the awful and wild side of his nature was not effaced, but went on developing; and when religious schools such as that of the Pāñcarātras came to be established, one with Rudra or Paśupati as the god to be adored was set up some time after. Its founder was a human

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[1]) Ibid. Plate LVI.

[2]) Epigraphia Indica, Vol. I, pp. 72—73.

being, who came to be known as Lakuṭin or Lakulin, the holder of a club, and Lakulīśa or Nakulīśa, the lord, the holder of the club. Pañcārtha was the title of the work attributed to him, and his system came to be known by the name of Pāśupata. Two extreme schools were developed out of this, and also one which was more moderate known by the name of the Śaiva. Traces of these schools have been found from about the second century of the Christian era to about the twelfth. But the repulsive nature of the two extreme schools and the wild and fantastic character of the other two led to a reaction, and in the beginning of the ninth century we have the first Kaśmīr school; and about a hundred years afterwards was founded another. These are very sober in their doctrines and practices, and may be considered to have been influenced by the school of Śaṃkara, though an escape from his severe spiritual monism has been provided for, so as to allow of an individual existence to the delivered soul. A further reform was effected about the middle of the eleventh century by the Liṅgāyat school. The philosophical doctrines of this school amount to this: that God is infinite intelligence and joy, is the creator of the world and the instructor and redeemer of mankind, and that the individual soul attains to a unity of blissful experience with him by gradually estranging himself from the world, pursuing a course of devotional worship, abandoning himself to God and seeing him in everything. This philosophy seems to have been influenced by the tenets of the school of Rāmānuja. The spirit of the Liṅgāyats was, however, combative, and they set up for themselves a community distinct from that which owes its origin to the Brāhmaṇic system. All the while, however, during the existence of these schools the general worship of Rudra-Śiva has prevailed among ordinary people regardless of the doctrines of these schools.

Śiva was associated with his consort Pārvatī or Umā. She too had a beneficent and majestic character as alluded to in the KnU. But just as an aboriginal element contributed to the formation of the character of Rudra-Siva, so an aboriginal element of a more distinct nature came to be combined with his consort, and she became a terrible goddess that had to be appeased by animal and even human sacrifices. But since the lustful nature of man is very strong in him, that goddess under the name of Tripurasundarī (the beauty of the three cities) or Lalitā (sportively graceful) became the creator of the world, and was also worshipped with debasing and sensual rites; and thus came in the school of the Śāktas, who looked forward to an identity with Tripurasundarī as the goal of their existence. Gaṇapati as the leader of a host was, of course, connected with Rudra-Śiva. That idea became mingled with the idea of Vināyaka, an evil spirit that possessed men, and thus the combined god Gaṇapati-Vināyaka became an object of worship on the principle that an obstructive and evil spirit should be first propitiated before beginning an action. Thereafter he became the special god of six minor sects, one of these, holding doctrines as debasing as those of the Śākta cult. Skanda was more closely connected with Śiva as the lord of one of his Gaṇas or groups; and afterwards came to be believed to be his son; and his worship prevailed for several centuries

from the time of Patañjali downwards and has not become obsolete even at the present day. The sun was a god worshipped in early times and his cult did not disappear, as his orb was daily visible. But he became the object of sectarian worship some time later. About the third century, however, of the Christian era, another cult of the sun was introduced from Persia. It took root on Indian soil and prevailed for a long time in North-Western India, a good many splendid temples having been erected from time to time for his worship. A special caste of priests of the name of Magas was associated with the cult, and the masses of the Hindu population adopted it as if it had been indigenous to the country.

XVIII. Hindu Theism and Pantheism.

§ 118. As the theoretic or philosophic portion of the doctrines taught by the founders of most of the various systems we have examined are based on certain fundamental ideas contained in the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavadgītā, I deem it necessary to devote this last section to a consideration of the question as to what those ideas definitely are and to what extent they have been adopted or modified by the promulgators of those systems to suit their specific purposes.

In discussing these ideas some scholars make a broad distinction between Vedāntism, which they identify with Pantheism, and Theism. If they find any passage expressive of the immanence of God in the world in a work whose main aim is theistic, they consider such a passage to be interpolated. I have already alluded to this mental attitude in the beginning of the present work, but it is necessary to say something more on the subject. If they mean by Theism the Deism of the eighteenth century according to which the world is a machine constructed and set in motion by God who remains apart from it, with perhaps the additional doctrine that he enters into relations with men who worship him and appeal to him, they are probably right. But this is not Hindu Theism. The immanence of God in the external world and in the heart of man is its essential doctrine. But that is perfectly consistent with the belief in God's transcendency, that is, his being distinct from the world and man and above them, influencing them, controlling them, protecting them, and listening to prayers. That the ideas of immanence and transcendency are not incompatible or inconsistent with each other is admitted even by European thinkers. The Theism of the Bhagavadgītā is a Theism of this nature, and consequently the passages expressive of immanence are by no means to be regarded as interpolated. Theism of this nature is contained in the Upaniṣads also, though there are pantheistic doctrines of varied sorts. Pantheism as formulated by Spinoza is thus stated: — "God, though undetermined *ab extra*, is capable of infinite self-determination. Thus God, the *causa sui* manifests himself in an infinite multiplicity of particular modes. Spinoza is, therefore, both pantheist and pancosmist: God exists only as realised in the cosmos: the cosmos exists only as a manifestation of God[1])." The

[1]) Encycl. Brit. Eleventh Edition, Vol. XX, p. 683a under Pantheism.

Upaniṣads contain pantheistic doctrines corresponding to what is stated in the first two sentences of this quotation. There are affirmations that when one thing is known, everything becomes known, as in the case of a ball of earth, on knowing the true nature of which one knows the true nature of all that is made of earth, etc. (ChU. VI, 1, 4); that when the soul is seen, heard and known, all this becomes known, and the Brahman, the Kṣatra, these worlds, these gods, these Vedas, these elements, — all this is the soul (BU. IV, 4, 6). Then again there are such statements as that Sat alone existed in the beginning, one without a second. That reflected "I may be many and multiply". It created light. This statement is to the effect that everything existing is a form or modification of God. There are many such passages in the Upaniṣads and several of these are quoted in Śaṃkarācārya's Bhāṣya on the Brahmasūtras I, 4, 23—27. But it is by no means to be inferred that the Upaniṣad Pantheism is of the nature set forth in the last sentence of the quotation from Spinoza, that is: Brahman is not exhausted in the world, but it exists separately also. But the objection to this view is that Brahman being of the nature of spirit is not like the body divisible into parts, so that one may become developed into the world and another remain outside; and this is affirmed in a text of the ŚU. (VI, 19). This inconsistency is removed by Bādarāyaṇa in Brahmasūtras II, 1, 26—27. The argument is that though the Upaniṣads state that the constituent cause of the world is Brahman, they at the same time affirm the existence of Brahman separately from the world (ChU. III, 12, 6; and VI, 3, 2.). The two are inconsistent on the theory that Brahman is a spirit and not discerptible into parts. Though they are thus inconsistent, they must both be accepted on the authority of the sacred texts, since the true nature of Brahman and the world is beyond the reach of human intellect. This solution of the difficulty is inadmissible to non-believers in the sacred texts, but it shows that Bādarāyaṇa does not agree with the latter part of Spinoza's definition of Pantheism, i. e. according to him the sacred texts do not affirm that "God exists only as realised in the cosmos: the cosmos exists only as a manifestation of God". The inconsistency pointed out by him is based on the impossible conception of Brahman's being divisible into parts. But it will not arise if, instead of bringing in this conception, we suppose that in one aspect Brahman is the material or constituent cause of the world or realised in the world and from another point of view it remains pure and becomes the object of contemplation and devotion. Whatever it may be, Bādarāyaṇa's view appears to me to be correct, and the Pantheism of the Upaniṣads is not exactly the same as that formulated by Spinoza.

But even this partial Pantheism is only one of the doctrines set forth in the Upaniṣads. As mentioned in the beginning, they contain the rudiments not only of one system of religious philosophy, but of a good many and even of Buddhism. When Brahman or the Supreme Soul is affirmed to be distinct from the world and thus there is a denial of the partial Pantheism I have spoken of, that soul is represented as dwelling in the external world and in the soul of man; that is to say,

Theism is taught with the immanency of God in the world and in man. For instance in the BU. III, 7, 7—30 [1]) we have first "He who dwelling in the earth is distinct from it, whom the earth does not know, whose body the earth is, and who, being in the inside, controls the earth, is the indestructible controlling soul". In the following passages up to 30 we have precisely the same statement about water, fire, the sky, wind, the sun, the moon and stars, the quarters, the lightning, thunderbolt, all the worlds, all the Vedas, all sacrifices, all beings, the vital breath, speech, the eye, the ear, the mind, the skin, light, darkness, the seminal fluid, and the (individual) soul. Here the inward controlling soul is mentioned as distinct from the earth and all the rest, up to the individual soul, and still as dwelling in them, controlling them from the inside, and having these for his body. The whole section winds up with the affirmation that this controlling soul is not seen, but is the seer; is not heard, but hears; is not apprehended by thought, but apprehends by thought; is not known, but knows; there is no other seer, no other hearer, no other apprehender, and there is no other knower. Herein are brought out the peculiar points of Hindu Theism: God is the only seer, the only hearer, and the only knower, that is, he is all-seeing, all-hearing, and all-knowing; and nobody can see him, hear him, or know him. He is distinct from all objects, but dwells in them and controlls them. Texts expressive of such an immanency are to be found in many places in the Upaniṣads. God being thus distinct from the world, though immanent, can be the object of devoted meditation and can be attained by means of truth, knowledge and purity. Mere immanency of this nature does not at all constitute the Pantheism formulated by Spinoza. There is therefore no ground whatever for regarding as an interpolation the occurrence of texts expressive of it in such a theistic work as the Bhagavadgītā.

We have noticed above the manner in which Bādarāyaṇa removes the inconsistency between God's developing himself into the world, while at the same time he is transcendent, and his being a simple spirit without parts. Śaṃkarācārya fairly explains, I think, Bādarāyaṇa's view. But raising a further objection he brings in his own doctrine eventually, that the so-called development of Brahman into the world is fancied by ignorance and is not true, that is, the world is an illusion. There are two doctrines indicative of the relation of God to the world, the so-called Pariṇāmavāda and the Vivartavāda. The former implies real development and the latter, an illusive development. This last is the doctrine of Śaṃkarācārya, wherefore his system should be called Singularism rather than spiritual monism; while the first is that clearly held by the author of the Sūtras. This is evident from his very definition of Brahman as that from which everything originates, in which everything lives, and into which everything resolves itself in the end, and from the manner in which in the first Pāda of the second chapter he answers the objections based upon the theory that an intelligent being cannot develop

[1]) Mādhyaṃdina recension.

into non-intelligent or insensate matter; and Śaṃkarācārya himself acknowledges at the end of his comment on II, 1, 14 that the author of the Sūtras follows the Pariṇāma doctrine, though to save his theory he imagines without any grounds that Bādarāyaṇa has in view the ordinary or illusory condition of things in doing so. Śaṃkarācārya's Vivartavāda it was which the later schools of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism contended against; for even according to him it leaves no scope for the relation of the ruler and the ruled, i. e. God and the devotee in the condition of reality when all illusion is dispelled and one spirit alone exists (II, 1, 14). Most of them adopted Bādarāyaṇa's Pariṇāmavāda, but the distinctness of God, man and the world, which was necessary for the validity of their doctrines of worship and devotion, they secured by qualifying the mode of development. By this qualification they also steered clear of the inconsistency pointed out by Bādarāyaṇa in II, 1, 26, so that his mode of satisfaction was not necessary for them. Rāmānuja lays down that the rudiments of the individual souls and of the insensate world exist in God himself as his characteristics or body, and with these he develops into the world, thus giving rise to the three distinct substances, the material world, the individual soul, and God as the controller. Nimbārka maintains that the other two substances do not characterise God or form his body, but are dependent upon him for their existence, and in a subtle form constitute his power or capacity, which develops into the animate and inanimate world. Viṣṇusvāmin, and therefore Vallabha, hold that the highest God, or Parabrahman, manifests himself as the material world, the individual soul, and the supreme controller, but in the course of development his attributes of intelligence and joy are concealed by his mysterious power, and thus is produced the material world, while, his joy alone being concealed, individual souls come into existence, and when the three are manifest or unconcealed, he becomes the supreme controller. Vallabha adds two other forms of Parabrahman or Puruṣottama, as mentioned in the section on his system. Madhva rejects the doctrine of God being the constituent cause of the world and consequently that of his development, and lays down the five eternal distinctions between God, man, and the world and between different individuals and objects involved in the last two. Of the older Śaiva schools, the Pāśupata brings in the Pradhāna of the Sāṃkhyas with its developments as the material cause of the world with Paśupati as the efficient cause. Śrīkaṇṭha Śivācārya in his comment on Br. S. II, 2, 38 states that according to his predecessors a certain branch of the philosophy based on the sacred texts revealed by Śiva (Āgamas) held Śiva to be only the efficient cause of the world. This must be a reference to the Śaiva school which, as we have already stated, was a dualistic or pluralistic school. The Vāyavīyasaṃhitā according to him states that Śakti, or power, first originates from Śiva, thence Māyā, thence Avyakta (I, 7, 3). By Māyā is to be understood the wonderful creative power of Śiva, as is evident from the following verse 4, and Avyakta means the Pradhāna, as appears from that verse as well as verse 7. He gives another verse which sets forth that everything from the Śakti to the earth is produced from the essence of

Śiva, so that Śiva through the Śakti is both the efficient and the constituent cause of the world. This Śakti is brought in by those who hold creation to be the development of Śiva, while it is not wanted for those Śaiva philosophers who would keep the creative principle Māyā or Pradhāna as distinct from Śiva and undergoing independent development. Śrīkaṇṭha explains the expression 'Śiva alone existed' occurring in ŚU. IV, 18, under I, 4, 27, by 'Śiva, with whom the Śakti (the power) in the form of the animate and the inanimate world was united, alone existed so as to form one entity', so that he here understands Śiva as possessed of the Śakti to be the constituent cause. In this respect his doctrine is similar to that of Nimbārka. But immediately afterwards he speaks of the Cit and the Acit forming the body of Śiva and thus puts forth the same theory as that of Rāmānuja. Practically he makes no distinction between the two. The theory of the Liṅgāyats is the same as the first form of the theory set forth by Śrīkaṇṭha Śivācārya. Śiva as qualified by the Śakti is the creator, that is, is the efficient and the constituent cause of the world. The Kaśmīr Śaivism attributes the production of the world to the will of God without any material cause or affirms that God makes the world appear in himself.

Thus most of these schools avoid the Pantheism of Spinoza and the incompatibility between God's development into the world and his transcendency by holding that the rudiments of the material and the spiritual world associated with God as his characteristics or as his body or as his power only undergo development, he himself remaining pure. Viṣṇusvāmin and Vallabha, admitting, as they do, the development of Puruṣottama into the world and at the same time his trancendency, follow Bādarāyaṇa. The mysterious power which causes the differences by rendering certain qualities imperceptible, may be compared to the self-determining power of God involved in Spinoza's statement. The Kaśmīr Śaivas do not bring in the idea of God as a constituent cause undergoing development and seem to admit the doctrine of creation out of nothing.

List of Abbreviations.

AB. = Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa.
ĀG. = Āśvalāyana-Gṛhyasūtra.
AU. = Atharvaśiras-Upaniṣad.
AV. = Atharva-Veda.
BhG. = Bhagavad-Gītā.
Bibl. Ind. = Bibliotheca Indica.
Br.S. = Brahma-Sūtra.
Bṛ.S. = Bṛhat-Saṃhitā.
BU. = Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad.
Chowkh. = Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series.
ChU. = Chāndogya-Upaniṣad.
HG. = Hiraṇyakeśi-Gṛhyasūtra.
KB. = Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa.
KBU. = Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa-Upaniṣad.
KnU. = Kena-Upaniṣad.
KU. = Kaṭha-Upaniṣad.
MaiU. = Maitri-Upaniṣad.
MBh. = Mahābhārata.
MU. = Muṇḍaka-Upaniṣad.
P. = Pāṇini.
PG. = Pāraskara-Gṛhyasūtra.
RV. = Ṛg-Veda.
RVS = Ṛg-Veda-Saṃhitā.
ŚB. = Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa.
ŚU. = Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad.
TA. = Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka.
TS. = Taittirīya-Saṃhitā.
TU. = Taittirīya-Upaniṣad.
VS. = Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā.
YV. = Yajur-Veda.

I. INDEX OF SANSKRIT WORDS AND PROPER NAMES.

[The Indexes have been compiled by V. Sukthankar, M. A. Throughout the references are to pages.]

II. GENERAL INDEX.

III. LIST OF SECTARIAN WORKS CONSULTED.

